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SPECULUM

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

DANTE AND THE MOSAICS OF HIS *BEL SAN GIOVANNI*

BY ERNEST HATCH WILKINS

I

IN May of the year 1225, forty years before the birth of Dante, a Franciscan friar by the name of Jacobus began the mosaic of the *tribuna* of the Florentine Baptistery (Plate I, centre). The work was probably completed in 1228 or soon thereafter.[1]

Within the same century the Baptistery was further decorated by the mosaics of the octagonal cupola (Plate II). Those on the three faces to the west, above the *tribuna*, represent the Last Judgment; those on the other five faces narrate, in four bands, each containing fifteen scenes, the story of Genesis up to the Deluge, the life of Joseph, the life of Christ, and the life of John the Baptist. Above all these the topmost band represents the nine orders of the angels.[2]

There are two opinions with regard to the dates of these mosaics. Van Marle regards the Last Judgment and the angels as earlier than the narrative scenes; Venturi regards them as contemporary. Van

[1] R. Davidsohn, "Das älteste Werk der Franciscaner-Kunst," in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXII (1899), 315; A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, III (Milan, 1904), 872; K. Frey, in his edition of Vasari's Lives, Part I, Vol. I (Munich, 1911), 328; R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, I (The Hague, 1923), 262.

[2] A. Aubert, *Die malerische Dekoration der San Francesco Kirche in Assisi* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 68; Venturi, V (1907), pp. 217–239; van Marle, pp. 262–270. Several mosaicists took part in the work, among them, presumably, the two, Andrea Tafi and Apollonio, to whom Vasari, in his life of Tafi, ascribes it.

Marle thinks that the Last Judgment and the angels may have been begun at the same time as the mosaic of the *tribuna;* and that the narrative scenes were begun in 1271 or soon thereafter and not finished until after 1300. Venturi assigns them all to the period 1271–1300.

The general appearance of the mosaics representing the Last Judgment and the angels is certainly more archaic than that of the narrative scenes. Venturi is, I think, misled by his belief that the lack of narrative scenes for the lives of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Esau indicates that the plan of including the Last Judgment in the decorative scheme was an afterthought which prevented the carrying out of the previous plan. This belief, however, does not appear to be valid. The Last Judgment is the dominating feature of the decoration and holds the position of honor over the high altar; the narrative scenes are subsidiary to it. Surely it is probable that the Last Judgment was from the beginning the dominating element of the decorative plan. Each of the four narrative bands is complete in itself, and each begins to the right of the Last Judgment.

In any case, we may be confident that the mosaics of the *tribuna* and the upper mosaics representing the Last Judgment and the angels were known to Dante.

It is inherently probable that Dante, as boy and young man, was very greatly interested in all the mosaics of the Baptistery visible to him. There is no need of stressing his love for his *bel san Giovanni;* there is no need of stressing his sensitiveness to art. And the mosaics of the Baptistery, instead of being, as they are now, very minor items in the extraordinary artistic wealth of Florence, were in Dante's boyhood and youth the most notable works of modern art in Florence. There was, indeed, nothing to rival them, so far as I can ascertain, except the small mosaic of the façade of San Miniato, and at the very end of the century the mosaic of the apse of San Miniato and possibly the mosaic of the coronation of the Virgin, now in the cathedral.[1] We have no record of any Florentine fresco sequence prior to 1300; and even the altarpieces were few.[2]

[1] Venturi, V, 241–242; van Marle, I, 261–262, 271–275.

[2] O. Siren, *Toskanische Maler im XIII. Jahrhundert,* Berlin, 1922.

It is further to be borne in mind that this representation of the Last Judgment was presumably better known to Dante than any other representation of the same theme, and that it is indeed the only representation of the Last Judgment which we know him to have seen; [1] also that there must have been a natural psychological tendency for him to form or modify his youthful concept of Heaven by what he saw when he looked upward in his church.

It would seem to be worth while, therefore, to consider whether there be a relation between the mosaics of the Baptistery and any of the visual imaginings of the *Commedia*.

II

Let us examine first the mosaic of the *tribuna* (Plate III). To the right Mary sits enthroned; opposite her, to the left, John the Baptist sits enthroned; between them is a round design, floreate in decoration, containing curiously shaped compartments occupied by individual figures. This round design, with its compartments, suggests a flower with its petals — even more strongly when seen from an angle (see Plate I) than when seen from directly below.

The visible semblance of Dante's Empyrean consists of a great

[1] The most notable other monumental representations of the Last Judgment produced in Italy before 1300 are: the fresco in Sant'Angelo in Formis, near Capua, on which see P. Jessen, *Die Darstellung des Weltgerichts bis auf Michelangelo* (Berlin, 1883), pp. 12–14, G. Voss, *Das jüngste Gericht in der bildenden Kunst des frühen Mittelalters* (= *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, VIII, Leipzig, 1884), pp. 45–47, and van Marle, I, 139–140 and VI (1925), 62; the mosaic in the cathedral of Torcello, on which see Jessen, pp. 8–11, Voss, pp. 48–52, C. A. Levi, *Dante a Torcello e il musaico del giudizio universale* (Treviso, 1906; known to me only through the unsigned notice in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, XX, 1913, 238) and van Marle, I, 236–239; and the fresco by Cavallini in Sta. Cecilia in Rome, on which see van Marle, I, 515–519. For other less notable representations see the references in van Marle, VI, 62; also van Marle, I, 448. There is no specific reason to think that Dante saw any of these representations. No one of them, so far as I can ascertain, possesses similarities to the *Commedia* so extensive or so striking as those pointed out in the present article. On the possibility of Dante's knowledge of Giotto's fresco of the Last Judgment at Padua, see below, p. 9. A fresco, now destroyed, containing a Satan *con più bocche* existed in Boccaccio's time on the façade of the church of San Gallo in Florence: see *Decameron*, viii, 9, and Francesco Sansovino's comment thereon in his *Dichiaratione di tutti i vocaboli . . . che nel . . . Decamerone si trovano* (Venice, 1546), reported in D. M. Manni, *Istoria del Decamerone di Giovanni Boccaccio* (Florence, 1742), pp. 515–516. In view of the general dearth of frescoes in Florence before 1300 and their multiplication soon thereafter, the chances are that the fresco was painted after Dante's exile.

Rose containing a petal-seat for each of the redeemed. At one point of the upper rim is the throne of Mary, and directly opposite is that of John the Baptist (*Par.* xxxii, 28–31):

> E come quinci il glorioso scanno
> de la donna del cielo e li altri scanni
> di sotto lui cotanta cerna fanno,
> così di contra quel del gran Giovanni.[1]

The figures in the round design of the mosaic fall historically into an earlier and a later group. The four to the left are patriarchs, Jacob, Isaac, Abraham, Moses; the four to the right are prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel. Just so the Rose is divided upon an historical basis into two halves, the one for those who believed in Christ *venturo*, the other for those who believed in Christ *venuto* (*Par.* xxxii, 19–27).

It does not seem to me that under the circumstances these likenesses can be dismissed as coincidental. Neither would I claim that this mosaic was specifically the source of the concept of the Rose. But I believe we may fairly conclude that it is probable that memory of this mosaic, impressed upon the mind of Dante in his most impressionable years, remained therein, more or less conscious; and that when Dante came to the devising of his Rose this memory at least confirmed, and perhaps to some extent determined, his great plan.[2]

It may be added that the caryatids of the same mosaic very possibly shared in the building of the memory which led in general to the concept of the punishment of the proud in Purgatory and in particular to the simile (*Purg.* x, 130–135):

> Come per sostentar solaio o tetto,
> per mensola tal volta una figura
> si vede giugner le ginocchia al petto,

[1] I quote from *Le opere di Dante, testo critico della Società Dantesca Italiana*, Florence, 1921.

[2] For previous suggestions as to art sources for Dante's concept of the Rose, see P. Savj-Lopez, *Il canto XXX del Paradiso* (*Lectura Dantis*, Florence, 1906), pp. 15–19 (Savj-Lopez does not regard as significant such suggestions as had thitherto been made); A. Gottardi, "La città di Dio e la città di Satana in una raffigurazione simbolica del secolo XII," in *Giornale dantesco*, XXIII (1915), 208–219; V. Zabughin, "Dante e la chiesa greca," in *Roma e l'Oriente*,

la qual fa del non ver vera rancura
nascere in chi la vede; così fatti
vid' io color, quando puosi ben cura.[1]

III

Let us turn now to the upper mosaics representing the Last Judgment and the angels. Let us first review from left to right the three faces of the cupola upon which the Last Judgment is represented, and note elements of the mosaics which correspond to elements in the *Commedia.*

In the left face (Plate IV) the correspondences are not striking. The central band of the mosaic, in this and the right face as well, pictures certain of the blessed as seated in a definite order. The lower band shows a gate guarded by an angel, who is welcoming a newly arrived soul. Just to the right an angel leading a group of the blessed toward the gate bears a banner inscribed VENITE BENEDITTI PATRIS MEI POSSIDETE PREPARATUM — the summons of Dante's angel to spirits passing from Purgatory to the Earthly Paradise (*Purg.* xxvii, 58).

In the central face (Plate V), at the bottom, are six tombs, the covers raised at varying angles, with two or more figures in each tomb rising to varying heights. These tombs are the first thing the eye sees as one looks upward above the *tribuna* (see Plate I, top), and the individual variation with which they and their occupants are rendered makes them striking. They remind one of the tombs of the heretics with their raised covers (*Inf.* x, 8–9), and in particular of the tomb in which Cavalcanti kneels while Farinata stands upright (x, 52–54):

Allor surse a la vista scoperchiata
un' ombra lungo questa infino al mento:
credo che s' era in ginocchie levata.

Above the two right-hand tombs stands a gigantic demon whose

1915–1916 (known to me only through the notice by A. Marigo in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana,* XXVI, 1919, 85–86); F. Ermini, "La candida rosa del paradiso dantesco," in *Giornale dantesco,* XXV (1922), 306–308.

[1] On the plastic precedents for the concept of the caryatids, see N. Campanini, *Il canto X del Purgatorio* (*Lectura Dantis,* Florence, 1901), pp. 31–33.

wings, unlike those of his neighbor to the right, are bat-wings — as are those of Dante's Satan (*Inf.* xxxiv, 49–50):

> Non avean penne, ma di vispistrello
> era lor modo.

Above the head of this demon is a tailed monster with a large head and a pair of flippers, apparently swimming in the air — reminding one slightly of Dante's Geryon.

In the lowest band of the right face (Plate VI), at the top near the left, is a demon carrying a sinner over his shoulder, as in *Inf.* xxi, 34–36:

> L' omero suo, ch' era aguto e superbo,
> carcava un peccator con ambo l' anche,
> e quei tenea de' piè ghermito il nerbo.

In the mosaic, however, it is the arms that the demon is gripping. A similar but much less striking group, facing the other way, appears in the right half of the scene, a little to the right of the head of Satan.

Judas appears, hanging, with his name inscribed beside him, in the lower right corner of the mosaic.

The grotesque figure of Satan (Plate VII) has in effect three mouths — since short open-mouthed serpents project right and left from his ears. In each of the three mouths is a sinner. The sinner in the central mouth has his head within, and his body and legs hanging out. Those in the side mouths hang forward, head down. The situation is the same as in *Inf.* xxxiv, 61–67:

> "Quell' anima là su c' ha maggior pena,"
> disse 'l maestro, "è Giuda Scariotto,
> che 'l capo ha dentro e fuor le gambe mena.
> De li altri due c' hanno il capo di sotto,
> quel che pende dal nero ceffo è Bruto;
> vedi come si storce e non fa motto;
> e l' altro è Cassio che par sì membruto."

In the central part of the scene there are several serpents of various sorts. Two sinners — the two standing to the left and right of Satan, with their heads in the mouths of the large-headed serpents on which Satan is seated — are attacked each by two serpents.

These four serpents have each four very short legs, and in each case one of the two serpents stands upright and bites a sinner in the back. Two, at least, of the serpents in Dante's seventh *bolgia* have legs, specified in one case as short (*Inf.* xxv, 50, 113); and one, at least, stands upright and bites (xxv, 51 ff.). The same sinners in the mosaic are bitten, by other serpents, in the neck — as is Vanni Fucci (xxiv, 97–99):

> Ed ecco a un ch' era da nostra proda,
> s' avventò un serpente che 'l trafisse
> là dove 'l collo a le spalle s' annoda.

The serpents on which Satan is seated hold in their open mouths, as has been said, the heads of these same sinners, and the serpent to the right presses a great tooth against the cheek of his victim— just as a serpent, attacking Agnello, puts teeth into his cheeks (xxv, 54):

> poi addentò e l' una e l' altra guancia.

In the upper right-hand quarter of the scene is a sinner held feet upward with his head out of sight — reminding one slightly of Dante's simonists.

The mosaic figures representing the nine orders of the angels dominate the whole Baptistery from above. Their order, beginning at the east and reading back and forth from north to south, is Angels, Archangels, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Dominations, Thrones, Cherubim, Seraphim. The first seven are designated by their names in large letters. The last two are not named. The order in which they appear is that followed by Dante in the *Commedia*, not that of the *Convivio*.

In the case of the mosaics of the cupola, as well as in the case of that of the *tribuna*, it seems to me impossible under the circumstances to dismiss all the likenesses as coincidental. Nor is it possible on the other hand to prove absolutely that any of the motifs of the mosaics specifically suggested any of Dante's concepts. The possibility of the existence of other plastic or pictorial suggestions now lost must be held in mind; also the possibility of invention based upon purely literary sources or upon thought alone. Yet an

influence of these mosaics, even if not exclusive, may have been significant in the formation of a concept resulting from a combination of various suggestions. And it remains inherently and strongly probable that these mosaics made a deep impression upon the mind of the young Dante.

All things considered, it seems to me probable almost to the point of certainty that the striking figure of Satan in the mosaic — three-mouthed, a sinner in each mouth, legs pendent from the central mouth, heads pendent from the other two mouths — is the primary source of Dante's concept of his Satan;[1] that the biting serpents and the bitten sinners shared in the formation of the concept of the punishment of some of the thieves;[2] and that the group, to the left of Satan, of the demon carrying a sinner slung over his shoulder is the primary source of Dante's group of the demon carrying the grafter.[3]

Next in degree of probability I should place the supposition that the bat-wings of Dante's Satan were suggested by the bat-wings of the gigantic demon in the central face of the mosaic; and the supposition that the tombs of the mosaic shared in the formation of the concept of the tombs of the heretics.[4] If this latter supposition is valid, it becomes further probable, though I think somewhat less so, that the tombs of the mosaic were also in Dante's mind, consciously or unconsciously, when he wrote (*Inf.* vi, 94–99):

> Più non si desta
> di qua dal suon de l' angelica tromba,
> quando verrà la nimica podesta:
> ciascun rivederà la trista tomba,
> ripiglierà sua carne e sua figura,
> udirà quel che in etterno rimbomba

[1] For previous suggestions as to art sources for Dante's concept of Satan, see A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, II (Turin, 1893), 92–94, 127–128; F. X. Kraus, *Dante* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 439–440; R. T. Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom* (New York, 1902), pp. 72–76; and Gottardi, *loc. cit.*

[2] For a previous suggestion as to an art source for this concept, see *La Divina Commedia . . . illustrata nei luoghi e nelle persone*, ed. by C. Ricci (Milan, 1898), pp. xxix and xxxvi.

[3] So far as I can ascertain, no suggestion of an art source for this concept has previously been made.

[4] This suggestion is entirely consistent with the fact that Dante's concept of the tombs of the heretics was influenced by knowledge, gained through visit or report, of the tombs at

and (*Purg.* xxx, 13–15):

> Quali i beati al novissimo bando
> surgeran presti ognun di sua caverna,
> la revestita carne alleluiando.

With regard to the other elements noted in the mosaic of the Last Judgment — the orderly seating of the blessed, the gate, the angel with the words VENITE BENEDITTI PATRIS MEI, the Geryon-like figure,[1] the presence of Judas, the sinner held feet up with head out of sight, I should claim possibility rather than probability of influence.

As to the angels, it seems to me inherently probable that their dominance in the mosaic increased Dante's interest in the angelic host in general, and in the question of the relative order of the several orders of angels in particular.

Dante's fellow townsman and contemporary, Giotto, was certainly deeply impressed by the mosaic representing hell; for, as Mr. E. F. Rothschild and I are showing in a presently forthcoming study, he repeated several of its motifs, with minor changes, in his fresco of the Last Judgment in the Arena Chapel at Padua, painted probably about 1305. Notable in particular are his repetitions of the Satan, of the demon with a sinner slung over his shoulder, and of the sinner bitten in the back by an upright reptile, and his extension of the motif of the sinner held feet up with head out of sight. He does not repeat specific motifs from the other faces of the mosaic. Dante may or may not have seen Giotto's fresco.[2] In the respects in which

Arles (see C. Cipolla, "Sulla descrizione dantesca delle tombe di Arles," in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXIII, 1894, 407–415) and Pola. My suggestion is to the effect that Dante gained from the mosaic a general impression of tombs as part of an image of the otherworld and the specific impression of spirits rising therein to different heights, and that knowledge of the tombs of Arles and Pola later gave breadth and definition to his concept.

[1] For previous suggestions as to art sources for Dante's concept of Geryon, see A. De Vit, "Il Gerione dantesco," in *L'Alighieri*, IV (1893), 202–203; A. Venturi, "Dante e Giotto," in *Nuova Antologia*, Ser. iv, LXXXV (1900), 667; Holbrook, pp. 62–66; Gottardi, 211–213; and Zabughin.

[2] The only specific basis for the supposition that Dante saw Giotto's fresco is the anecdote narrated by Benvenuto da Imola in his commentary on *Purgatorio* xi: "Accidit autem semel quod dum Giottus pingeret Paduae, adhuc satis iuvenis, unam cappellam in loco ubi fuit olim theatrum, sive harena, Dantes pervenit ad locum: quem Giottus honorifice receptum duxit ad domum suam, ubi Dantes videns plures infantulos eius summe deformes . . ." and then

the fresco differs from the mosaic, Dante's concept is, except in one instance, closer to the mosaic than to the fresco. The serpents projecting left and right from the head of Giotto's Satan project so far that the effect of a three-mouthed Satan is lost; and Giotto's upright biting reptile is much less serpent-like than that of the mosaic. Giotto's increased number of figures with feet up and head out of sight reminds one, however, of the simonists more clearly than does the single figure of the mosaic.

Even if we knew that Dante saw Giotto's fresco, there would be no indication that he derived independent suggestion from it, except possibly in the case of the simonists. It is, of course, possible that sight of the motifs of the mosaic as repeated by Giotto reënforced them in Dante's memory.[1]

follows the jest as to the painter's fashioning better figures in art than in life, a jest found, as Benvenuto himself notes, in Macrobius (Benvenuto Rambaldi, *Comentum super Dantis Aldigherij Comoediam*, ed. by W. W. Vernon, III, Florence, 1887, 313). The statement of Dante's visiting Giotto appears to have been introduced as a setting for the jest. It is just such a statement as might readily have been invented, and is not confirmed by other sources. It cannot, therefore, be relied on as authentic. See A. Moschetti, *La cappella degli Scrovegni e gli affreschi di Giotto in essa dipinti* (Florence, 1904), pp. 16–17; N. Zingarelli, *Dante* (Milan, 1904), p. 215; A. Zardo, "Padova al tempo di Dante," in *Nuova antologia*, Ser. v, CXLVI (1910), 88; Holbrook, *Portraits of Dante from Giotto to Raffael* (London, 1911), pp. 128–129; A. Belloni, "Nuove osservazioni sulla dimora di Dante in Padova," in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, N. S., XLI (1921), 40–80 (Belloni argues that Benvenuto's statement is reliable: his arguments do not seem to me valid); and A. Moschetti, "Questioni cronologiche giottesche," in *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Padova*, XXXVII (1921; known to me only through the unsigned notice in *Giornale dantesco*, XXV, 1921, 80–81).

[1] I am gladly indebted to my colleague Professor Rudolph Altrocchi for securing for me photographs and books used in this study. The plates are made, in accordance with permission asked and received, from photographs of the Fratelli Alinari of Florence. The photographs are, in the order of the plates, those numbered 1880, 3738, 17250, 3739, 3746, 3745, 17246.

The University of Chicago.

PLATE I

THE INTERIOR OF SAN GIOVANNI LOOKING TOWARD THE TRIBUNE

Plate II

The Mosaics of the Cupola

Plate III

The Mosaic of the Tribuna

Plate IV

The Last Judgment: Left Face

Plate V

The Last Judgment: Central Face

PLATE VI

THE LAST JUDGMENT: RIGHT FACE

Plate VII
The Last Judgment Detail

PRE-GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE: A MIRROR OF THE SOCIAL-RELIGIOUS RENAISSANCE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

By LOREN CAREY MACKINNEY

SOMEWHERE about 1000 A.D., as Western Europe was recovering from the ravages of more than a century of invasions, there occurred a marked increase in church-building indicative of important underlying social and religious changes. This Renaissance — for surely the period of Burgundian, Norman, and English Romanesque churches, and of the transition to the Gothic Cathedral may be thus designated — derived its primary impulse from immediate native influences which, under the stimulus of powerful religious forces, interacted with earlier architectural tendencies. Aside from the strong religious trend, one of the most marked characteristics of the architectural and social acitvity of this Pre-Gothic period was its predominantly collectivistic spirit: to a much higher degree than perhaps in any other age of history, art was produced for and by whole communities. In architecture, coöperative tendencies are usually more prevalent than in the other arts. Victor Hugo expressed the feelings of many students of architecture when he wrote:

> The grandest productions of architecture are not so much individual as social works, rather the offspring of nations in labor than the inventions of genius. . . . Every wave of time superinduces its alluvion, every generation deposits its stratum upon the structure, every individual brings his stone. Such is the process of the bees, such that of the beavers, such that of men.[1]

In church-building during the eleventh century one finds notable examples of such coöperative activity. The building of Romanesque churches in this period was, for example, indicative of a tendency which, as it developed later, characterized the High Middle Age and

[1] *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, iii, 1.

its new social-religious processes. This new collectivistic spirit was also manifest in pilgrimages, in the cult of relics and of the saints, in group heresies, in the Truce and Peace of God, and in the monastic revivals of the late eleventh century. It is in the various regions of France that one finds not only the highest developments in mediaeval architecture, but also the clearest evidences of this new spirit.

The eleventh-century Renaissance, this strange popular enthusiasm for more and greater churches, is mirrored in two phases of church-building, namely the change in quantity and the change in quality. While the increased quantity is important in that it reflects the speed of social evolution, the change in quality, the new methods of building, and so forth, are of even greater significance; for therein especially will be found the expression of group activity and of a new social psychology.

The increased, and often enthusiastic, architectural activity around the year 1000 is recorded in no uncertain terms by contemporaries. Raoul Glaber's well-known passage, which was written about 1030, vividly expresses the feelings one who was a keen observer and who during his lifetime had many opportunities of becoming familiar with social and religious conditions. He remarked on the fact that

> all Christian people were vying with one another in establishing new churches; so that the world seemed to be putting off its old garments and was everywhere putting on a white vestment of new churches. Everywhere the faithful were changing over the churches of their bishops, the monasteries of their saints, or their small village chapels.[1]

In another passage concerning the building of Abbot William's church at Dijon, he mentions the fact that "all Gaul was building more wonderful churches than ever before." [2] The anonymous recorder of the building and dedication of the church of Saint Remi, writing about 1005, also mentioned the many churchmen of his time

[1] Radulphus Glaber, *Historia,* ed. Prou (Paris, 1838), iii, 4; in his own monastery at Dijon, a new crypt was begun in 1001.

[2] *Idem, Vita S. Guilelmi Abb. S. Benegni Divionensi,* c.q., in Migne, CXLII, 710–11; also, V. Mortet, *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Architecture . . . en France au Moyen Age. . . . .* (Paris: Picard, 1911), p. 5.

who were renovating or restoring churches throughout Gaul.[1] Within a half-century the movement had spread to Normandy, and chroniclers such as Orderic Vital were impressed with the fact that in those regions princes, as well as churchmen, were founding monasteries.[2] William of Jumièges asserted that after the middle of the century the Norman nobles "vied with one another in building churches on their estates," and in founding monasteries.[3] In England after the Conquest, according to William of Malmesbury, "one might see everywhere in villages and towns monasteries of the new style arising; for the nobles felt that day to be lost which they had not celebrated by some deed of magnificence." [4] William writes again of the new style of building "first introduced into England by Edward the Confessor at Westminster, and since emulated by almost all in a most sumptuous manner;" [5] elsewhere he asserts that in his time "monastic flocks were increasing on all sides, while monasteries of old orders but of new architectural style were arising." [6] In Aquitaine during the last quarter of the eleventh century the pious chronicler, Martinus Pictavensis, exclaimed over the religious fervor of his age as exemplified in the many Cluniac monasteries scattered abroad, and still more definitely, in those founded by the Dukes of Aquitaine.[7] It would seem that from the beginning to the end of the century, from the Ile-de-France to Aquitaine and from Burgundy to the Normanized British Isles, contemporary historians were conscious that their age was displaying unusual activity in church-building and increased religious enthusiasm.

In a much more mechanical way and with little realization of the import of such events, most monastic annalists as early as the tenth

[1] *Historia dedicationis basilicae S. Remi*, in Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–40: *"Airardus abbas . . . cum sagaci intenderet animo plures dominici gregis pastores sua aetate per Gallias enituisse qui ecclesias suas ex uetustate in potiorem in eius quae sibi commissa erat renouatione."*

[2] Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in Bouquet and others, ed., *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1840 ff), XI, 224; also edited separately by Le Prévost (Paris, 1911); also translated into English by Forester (London: Bohn, 1835), Bk. I, pp. 457, 469; Bk. X, pp. 58 ff.

[3] William of Jumièges, *Historiae Normannorum*, VI, 22, in Mortet, *op. cit.*, 151.

[4] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, V, 3; ed. by Stubbs in Rolls Series XC.

[5] *Ibid.*, 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, 3.

[7] Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XI, 119–20.

century were recording from time to time the joint activity of nobles and clergy; the nobles furnished the means, the monks carried out out the actual building operations.[1] Toward the millenial year activity increased: besides numerous small foundations, extensive

[1] In France churches were built in great numbers; e.g., 903 'Cella Balmae,' rebuilt by monks (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, IX, 692); 910 at Vaucluse, cathedral rebuilt (E. O'Reilly, *How France Built Her Cathedrals*, London: Harpers, 1921, p. 510); 911 at Rouen, church endowed by Rollo (*ibid.*, 510); 920 at Vienne, Church of St Pierre rebuilt (A. K. Porter, *Medieval Architecture*, New Haven, 1912, I, 186); 903 ff., at Tours, Church of St Julian built, dedicated in 927 (*ibid.*, I, 186; Bouquet, *op. cit.*, IX, 52); tower built in 966 (J. Bourasse, *Archéologie Chrétienne*, Tours, 1878, p. 154); after 903 at St Ambin, Vallières, and Cigogne near Tours, parish churches were built on urging of archbishop (*ibid.*, p. 153); 936 at Jumièges, Chapel of St Pierre built by William Longsword (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 198; E. W. Church, *Saint Anselm* (London, 1881), p. 17; 939 at Chinon, Abbey of St Maxime built by Archbishop Theotolon of Tours (Bourasse, *op. cit.*, p. 153); 940 at Limoges, *castella* built (Ademar de Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. by J. Chavann, Paris, 1897, iii, 25); 942 at Gourge, Deux Sevres, church built (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 198); 942 at Dolensis Burgus chapel built by monks (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, IX, 197); 944 at Orléans, Church of St Ernulf rebuilt by *ciues* (*ibid.*, IX, 15); 946 at Tournus, abbey rebuilt (O'Reilly, *loc. cit.*, p. 336); 946 at Clermont, cathedral built (*ibid.*, p. 336); 960 at Montier-en-Der, Haute-Marne, abbey built (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 186); 962 at Chartres, Hôpital of Church of St Bryce built (*ibid.*, I, 198); 965 at Loches, Church of Notre Dame built by Count Geoffrey (Bourasse, *op. cit.*, p. 154); 975 at Lodève, church dedicated (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, IX, 98); 970 ff. at Sens, cathedral rebuilt after fire (F. Miltoun, *Cathedrals of North France*, Boston, 1905, p. 379); 982 at Marmoutier, church built by Eudes of Blois (Bourasse, *op. cit.*, p. 154); 984 at Périgueux, cathedral built (C. Moore, *The Development and Character of Gothic Architecture*, New York, 1906, p. 42); 989 at Noyon, church built (Miltoun, *op. cit.*, p. 375); 987 at Fleury, Church of St Mary (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, IX, 142); 989 at Saumur, Monastery of St Louand built by abbot (Bourasse, *op. cit.*, p. 154); 990 at Bourgueil, abbey founded by Countess Emma (*ibid.*, p. 154); 990 at Poitiers, Church of St Hilaire founded by Adele of Angoulême (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 177); 996 at Le Mans, Church of Notre Dame de la Couture rebuilt after devastation by Norsemen, by means of gifts by the Count (*ibid.*, I, 189); at Fécamp, monastery built by Richard I (O'Reilly, *loc., cit.*, p. 496), who also founded many churches for canons and monks throughout Normandy (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 142); at Etampes, Senlis, Avignon, Carcassone, and Limoges churches were begun (C. Pfister, *Etudes sur le Règne de Robert le Pieux*, Paris, 1885, p. 324); 997 at Beauvais, Basse Ouvre Church begun by the bishop (O'Reilly, *loc. cit.*, p. 224; Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 176); 998 at Montier-en-Der, monastic church built (F. Simpson, *A History of Architectural Development*, London: Longmans, Green, 1913, II, 196); about 1000 many churches were begun in Poitou and Vendée (Bourasse, *op. cit.*, p. 155). Many other churches, of uncertain dates, were built in southern France (O'Reilly, *loc. cit.*, 351; Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 198 f.); crypts were built at St Quentin, Amiens, Chartres, Orléans, Auxerre, Flavigny, Rheims, etc., during the tenth century (O'Reilly, *op. cit.*, p. 224). In Bouquet (*op. cit.*, X, *passim*, cf., index) are records of many tenth-century churches founded by nobles and built by monks; although there is no mention of interest or activity by the populace as a whole in any of these cases, it is possible that toward the end of the century when interest in building became more intense there may have been some group activity, which however was unmentioned in the meagre annals. For tenth-century church building in Normandy, cf. below, pp. 15, 16; in England, cf. below, pp. 17 ff.

operations were commenced on large churches in various parts of France.[1] During the opening years of the eleventh century, in the Ile-de-France the spirit of coöperation in church-building found its expression and ideal in Robert the Pious, a much lauded founder of monasteries and churches.[2] In the neighboring Low Countries, the same enthusiasm for religion in general and church-building in particular is to be noted. At the building of the Abbey of St Trond near Liège, there occurred a remarkable example of popular coöperation.[3] In the Loire valley, Fulk the Black of Anjou played a rôle similar to that of Robert the Pious. In fits of remorse and penitence he founded Beaulieu Abbey near Loches, St Florent Abbey at Saumur, St Nicholas Abbey near Angers, and Ste Trinité near his wife's nunnery. He and his son Geoffrey established many other churches and monasteries.[4] South of the Loire, the dukes and nobles, either from pious or mercenary impulses, aided their bishops and abbots in founding churches and monasteries.[5] Dukes William VIII and William IX of Aquitaine were second to none in their zeal for church building.[6]

It was in Normandy, however, that the ruling class caught and gave expression to the spirit of the age most rapidly and most completely. As early as 940 William Longsword, in refounding Jumièges Abbey, showed how quickly the Norse church-destroyers could become church-builders.[7] Later, when Robert the Pious was acquiring

[1] From 990 on, the records show many great churches begun in Normandy, Poitou, and Vendée (cf. above, p. 14, note 1; Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 324; Bourasse, *op. cit.*, p. 155; Simpson, *op. cit.*, II, 136). The history of church building around the year 1000 furnishes interesting evidence as to the improbability of the curious myth concerning a millenial panic.

[2] Eighteen monasteries and six churches are credited to him from 996 to 1031 (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 115). Many monastic churches were founded, some by Robert, others by the great dukes; among them were churches at Angers, Limoges, Saumur, Dijon, Fleury, Rheims, Tours, etc., Monastic churches were prominent until about 1025, when cathedrals (e.g., at Orléans, Chartres, Cambrai, Coutances, Angers, Vienne) came into prominence.

[3] Cf. below, p. 28. [4] Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 17; O'Reilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 304–05.

[5] Tenth-century churches at Puy, Auch, Périgueux, Poitiers, Bordeaux, etc., were completed or rebuilt. *Ibid.*, pp. 318 ff.; Simpson, *op. cit.*, II, 203 ff.; Moore, *Development of Gothic*, p. 42; Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 86, 141; Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 177 (Limoges).

[6] E.g., churches at Bordeaux (St Croix, St Seurin, St André), at Poitiers (Notre Dame, St Hilary), assistance to Bishop of Chartres, etc., (*ibid.* XI, 119–20; O'Reilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 318 ff.; A. Lenoir, *Architecture Monastique* (Paris, 1852), I, 31–2; II, 9–11, 24).

[7] Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 290–1, 242–3; O'Reilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff., 473 ff. By 1000 Bernay, Fécamp, etc., had been founded.

his name and reputation for piety, the Norman dukes were, fully as ardently and perhaps more astutely, founding monasteries and churches throughout their domains.[1] The reign of Duke William the Conqueror was the high-water mark: he speaks of ten foundations by his father and of twenty-three during his own reign, and expresses the hope that his sons will continue such works of piety.[2] The Norman barons, inspired by such an example, and perhaps impressed with the possibilities of financial profit, soon rivaled their duke by establishing the Trinité-de-Monte at Rouen, St Pierre-sur-Dives, Conches, Lire, Bec, Evroult, Cormeilles, and other monastic churches.[3] William of Jumièges's impression as to the enthusiasm and rivalry of the nobles in church building,[4] is corroborated by the actual records of numerous foundations by Roger de Toeni, Goscelin de Archis, Hugh Grentemaesimilia, and others.[5] The example set by the duke and his barons led the people to aid in building operations; on some occasions, with both gifts and labor. It is evident that in Norman church-building, the dukes, barons, and people were developing habits of coöperation.[6]

[1] Richard I and Richard II started or carried on building operations at Fontanelle, Fécamp, Cerisy-le-Forêt, Jumièges, Mont St Michel, St Ouen, etc., William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, ii, 10, 13; R. W. Church, *St. Anselm* (London, 1881), pp. 17 ff.; O'Reilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 496, 501.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 473 ff.; Ordericus Vitalis, *op. cit.*, vii, in Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XII, 621; Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 243, also index *s.v.* Caen, Coutances, Rouen, etc.; Church, *Anselm*, pp. 45 ff.; William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, V, 2, 3.

[3] Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff.; Church, *Anselm*, p. 18; O'Reilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 395, 473 ff., 510; Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 243 ff. *Ibid.*, I, 293, gives an account of William's *magister aulaeque et camerae princeps* building a church at Bocherville, at his own expense. A. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London: Methuen, 1917), pp. 97 ff., describes most interestingly the building operations at Bec.

[4] Above, p. 13.

[5] Ordericus Vitalis, *op. cit.*, in Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XI, 223 ff.; Church, *Anselm*, pp. 17 ff.

[6] At Evroult in 1066, there were "munificent contributions by the brethren and friends of the abbot," and both the monks and the "faithful" assisted in the building. (Ordericus Vitalis, *op. cit.*, I, 457 ff.; X, 58.) There must have been much activity of this kind in the building of the numerous parish churches, which existed in almost as great profusion in Normandy, then as now (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 104). If, as William of Malmesbury asserted (*op. cit.*, III, 308), William's increased revenues after the Conquest, led to more lavish building activity than before in Normandy, much of this must have been on small churches, since Bayeux was the only great cathedral erected there during that period (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 245 ff.). The silence of the chroniclers as to the building of small parish churches is by no means proof of the absence of activity. Note the situation in the Ile-de-France where, according to the chronicles there was little building during the latter half of the eleventh century; Porter (*ibid.*, I, 245 ff.), however, has listed extant remains of over sixty small churches built

Great as was Norman zeal for church-building at home, it was overseas that the followers of William found a still more fertile field of operations. In England, Norman enthusiasm for architecture and building, somewhat like Norman political genius, was given free rein and developed quickly, unhampered by traditions of the past. Anglo-Saxon architecture, which had developed rapidly during St Dunstan's Benedictine reform and under patron monarchs such as Cnut and Edward the Confessor,[1] quickly succumbed to the dominating Norman style which even before the Conquest had been filtering into England.[2] Such influences were multiplied and inten-

during that period. In England, also, in addition to the great noble- and clergy-endowed cathedrals, there were, according to Domesday, almost as many parish churches as today; on these, much building must have been done; cf. A. Thompson, *Historical Growth of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge University Press, 1811), p. 10.

[1] Before 1000 there were important works of architecture at Oxford, Durham, Worcester, Ripon, St Albans, Ely, Bangor, etc.; cf. C. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest* (5th ed., London, 1923), p. 449; C. Power, *English Medieval Architecture* (London: Talbot, 1923 *passim;* H. Traill, *Social England* (London, 1894), I, 116, 299, 319. Aethelstan's (925–40) laws encouraged ceorls to obtain four hides of land with a church thereon, thus obtaining knighthood (E. Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England*, London, 1898, p. 51). Edgar (959–75) boasted that forty monasteries had been restored during his and Dunstan's reform régime. An interesting example, was the building of the church at Ramsey in 968; this was looked upon with wonder by those used to "the old-fashioned method of building." One wonders whether the new style of architecture or the new zeal for building was the more notable feature. G. Baldwin Brown (*Arts in Early England*, London: Murray, 1903, I, 241 ff.) gives interesting details of the preparations, the gathering of materials demanded by the masons, the hiring of both skilled and unskilled workmen who were "inspired as much by the warmth of pious devotion as by the desire for pay," etc. During the first quarter of the eleventh century, Cnut founded many churches, perhaps for the most part as restorations of what his countrymen had destroyed; among them, Cambridge, Greenstead in Essex, Bury St Edmunds, etc. (Cutts, *loc. cit.*, p. 37; Powers, *loc. cit.*, p. 440). Edward the Confessor built many stone churches in the old Anglo-Saxon style. William of Malmesbury (*op. cit.*, V, 2, 3) tells of Cnut and his nobles, both Danish and English, making gifts at dedication ceremonies; also of Léofric and Harold, toward the middle of the century, giving lands and money to Coventry, Wenlock, Waltham, etc., Parish communities were undoubtedly affected by such revivals, for the parish church was the centre of the vigorous, if not always pious, rural life (Cf. Cutts, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ff., for Edmund's Synod of London and provisions for repair of churches; also Edgar's action against irreverence, etc., in churches and church-yards). Such local conditions, with their strong group tendencies, help to explain the rapid and universal spread of building enthusiasm, and suggest an unrecorded undercurrent of parish church-building by the people, in addition to the recorded foundations of nobility and clergy.

[2] In the seventh century, Frankish masons were imported to build an abbey "in the Roman manner with stones" (H. H. Statham, *A Short Critical History of Architecture*, London: Batsford, 1912, p. 307). In the eleventh century, Edward the Confessor brought masons from Normandy to build Westminster Church "after that kind of style which now (William of Malmesbury's time) almost all attempt to rival" (William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, ii, 13;

sified when William brought to England his Norman ecclesiastics and barons. In fact, more churches were built in England during this period than anywhere in any mediaeval half-century, save in the Ile-de-France during the period of the Gothic cathedrals. Newly installed Norman clerics not only constructed churches to meet new needs, but even demolished Anglo-Saxon Churches of great beauty in order to replace them with more splendid edifices.[1] During this period were begun many of the English cathedrals that are still treasured as relics of the great era of church-building. Under the Conqueror's sons and during Stephen's troubled reign, church-building continued undiminished, by both clergy and nobility.[2] It is possible that most of the great churches and cathedrals were built without the enthusiastic support of the native populace, who must have seen in them the heavy hand of the hated foreigner. Occasionally the people responded willingly to appeals for assistance, as in the case of the Norman cleric, Abbot Ingulf, who rebuilt Croyland Abbey in 1091 after a fire.[3] To what extent the populace itself

W. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, London: Duckworth, 1911, pp. 99 ff.). Near Shrewsbury in 1056 a Norman named Roger founded a "castle of monks where cowled champions may resist Behemoth in continual battle (Church, *Anselm*, pp. 102 ff.). Churches at Earls Barton and Coshampton (Traille, op. cit., I, 198 ff.) and castles at several places were built by Normans before the Conquest (*Medieval England; a new edition of F. Barnard's Companion to English History*, edited by H. W. C. Davis, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924, pp. 95 ff.; Oman, *op. cit.*, pp. 648–49.)

[1] Little regret was shown at demolishing old churches. Even the Anglo-Saxon abbot of Worcester, Wulfstán, said, "*nos inquit miseri Sanctorum opera* (referring to the sainted Bishop Oswald's work) *destruimus ut nobis laudem comparemus*" (William of Malmesbury, quoted in Brown, *op. cit.*, II, 313). Ordericus Vitalis told of the enthusiasm with which the people helped tear down old buildings; his own father, a Norman priest, replaced an Anglo-Saxon parish church with a new all-stone edifice (Cutts, *op. cit.*, p. 90). At Chichester, Stigand's recently erected wooden cathedral was rebuilt in stone, as were other churches (*ibid.*, pp. 359, 503). A Norman bishop at Exeter who failed to replace the old cathedral was considered ambitionless, and his successor hastened to the work (*ibid.*, p. 313). It was undoubtedly ambition, rather than failure to appreciate Anglo-Saxon architecture, that motivated the destroyers of most of these churches (Brown, *op. cit.*, II, 314).

[2] Cf. above, p. 13, for William of Malmsbury's impressions. Powers, *op. cit.*, p. 95 (chart of buildings) and *passim*.

[3] Neighbors and people from a distance responded to his call for aid. Cf. document translated in S. Maitland, *The Dark Ages* (London, 1890), pp. 286–92. Perhaps the fact that there had been a great catastrophe, or that the church was a monastic foundation, helps to explain the strange enthusiasm; possibly the chronicler exaggerated for pious reasons; it may be that the native populace did not respond. Usually the people aided the monastic clergy more readily than the secular.

coöperated in the building and repairing of the four hundred or more rural churches that existed in England in the late eleventh century, the chroniclers leave us in almost total darkness. It seems, however, quite clear that, in the wake of the Danish invaders, England like Normandy and France experienced a revival or acceleration of church-building, in which clergy, nobility, and probably the people as well, eagerly joined.

Although the Normans led Western Europe in quantity of church-building, the real climax to eleventh-century architectural development took place in France proper. Toward the end of the century the Ile-de-France and those neighboring regions that were already coalescing with it to form the nucleus of modern France gave birth to a style that ultimately became almost universal under the name of 'Gothic.' [1] During the first half of the eleventh century few outstanding works of architecture were completed in the Ile-de-France; the great building operations were in Champagne, Burgundy, Normandy, and Touraine. Later on, however, records testify to the construction of many small parish churches, usually under the direction of the secular clergy.[2] These obscure churches, erected by unknown builders supported by parish communities under the leadership of their own priests, are perhaps of greater significance in the history of mediaeval church-building and of social psychology than the more famous works of great churchmen or nobles. Raoul Glaber and his fellow chroniclers must have had in mind many such enterprises when they penned their glowing descriptions of the architectural revival of their age.

A clearly marked change in the quality of church-building also occurred in the eleventh century. In new kinds of building material, new styles of architecture, and new classes of builders, can be seen

[1] Moore, *Development of Gothic*, pp. 6 ff., has a good summary.

[2] The Gothic cathedral seems to have been born in small, rather than large, churches; under the direction of secular, rather than regular, clergy. Porter, *Med Arch.*, II, 63–81, 200 ff., lists many parish churches. The large churches of surrounding regions (e.g., at Tours, Saumur, Orléans, Chartres, Vendôme, Dijon, Veezlay, and the church at Cluny, the largest in Christendom at that time) furnish a strange contrast. *Ibid.*, II, 12–22; Bourasse, *op. cit.*, Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii ff.; Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 43; see above, pp. 14 ff.

the reflection of new social aims, ideals, and habits.[1] The evolution of the all-stone church, one of the distinctive features of mediaeval architecture, was connected with, and accompanied, the development of popular coöperation.[2] The rise of schools of architecture and of masons' gilds in place of unorganized labor, was dependent upon the increase in stone-work. The change from monastic to lay participation, and from individual to group activity in church-building, was likewise closely connected with the popularity of the all-stone church. Even though stone was quarried and shipped in small blocks, the poor roads and primitive means of transportation created a situation where mass labor was necessary. The exploitation by the Church of the religious enthusiasm of the people in cart-hauling pilgrimages and processions, for instance, was one means of obtaining the unlimited man-power that Antiquity found in slave labor, and for which modern builders have substituted machinery.

New ideas in building, developing parallel with the Gothic style, also reflect new social and religious attitudes. Everywhere there appeared enlarged and enclosed choirs, raised chancels over burial crypts, radiating chapels for the expanding cult of the saints and their relics, ambulatories for processions, and immense naves, transepts, and porches for the convenience of pilgrims and large festival crowds.[3] Many changes in church-building that were factors in the

[1] Architecture as a mirror of social development is treated in an interesting manner by M. L. Vitet, *Monographie de l'Eglise de Notre Dame de Noyon* (Paris, 1845), pp. 125, 127, 131; C. Norton, *Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1908), p. 12; R. A. Cram, *Six Lectures on Architecture* (Chicago: University Press, 1917), 4, 8; *idem*, *The Substance of Gothic* (Boston: Marshal Jones, 1917), p. 15.

[2] Quarried and dressed stone, in place of brick or rubble, was characteristic of building during this period; e.g., at Como, Italy (A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, New Haven, 1918, I, 33 ff), in Auvergne where lava stone was used along with brick, in France (Lenoir, *op. cit.*, II, 12), Norman stone from Caen, quarries of Nivernais (C. Enlart, *Manuel de l'Archéologie Française*, Paris, 1902, I, 79), stone from Pontoise used at St Denis, lime- and sand-stone quarries of northern England, Hereford, Shropshire, and Cheshire (Powers, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 343–4). The Gothic cathedral region of France used stone from Tournai, Ghent, Boulogne, Thérouanne, Pontoise, etc. (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–3). Considerable timber was still used; e.g., at St Denis (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, II, 194 ff., gives documents) and on English parish churches. For an unusual case (a stone church replaced by one of wood), see Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii. See also Lenoir, *op. cit.*, II, 274 ff.

[3] L. Hourticq, *Art in France* (New York, 1911), p. 13, suggests that pilgrimages not only made necessary the building of larger churches in order to house the pilgrim crowds and to advertise the local saint and relics, but that in the course of time the increased gifts often paid the cost of the new church and then yielded big dividends. Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii,

emergence of the Gothic style seem to have arisen in response to the demands of an increasingly collectivistic trend. The conditions underlying the evolution of Gothic architecture were indicative of the new social unity of the realm of France during the second half of the eleventh century. With the increase of royal power, economic prosperity, and order, pilgrimages increased and church-building was accelerated. A high degree of group consciousness seems to have been at work among the various classes of French society long before the famous mass movement known as the First Crusade. The period of group movements among students, merchants, masons, and heretics was the period during which the first Gothic churches were built by groups of people in little-known parishes under the direction of a few skilled workers and their local priests.[1] It is certain that the early Gothic churches grew out of community effort, whether the evolution be traced through the secular clergy and their parishioners coöperating in the erection of parish churches, or through coöperative enterprises led by the monastic clergy, such as the building of Suger's abbey-church at St Denis in 1140.[2] In either case, it was

discusses the influence of relics on architecture. The relation of the increase of the cult of saints to the building of chapels around the apse is touched upon by Lenoir, *op. cit.*, II, 37 ff.; Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 149 ff.; Norton, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.; Cram, *Six Lectures*, p. 21, etc. I believe that there should be emphasis not only on the increase in cults, and attendance thereon, but on the increase in the size of the crowds (due to the increase of group activity), in mass pilgrimages and the like.

[1] It seems probable that the Gothic style was produced during the last half of the eleventh and the first quarter of the twelfth century by experiments on small churches of the Ile-de-France and vicinity; e.g. St Germain-des-Prés, St Martin-des-Champs, Poissy, Cambronne Berzy-le-Sec, Bury, Laffaux, etc. The long evolution culminated in 1130 in the parish church of St Germer-du-Fly, which is probably the first complete Gothic church. For the evolution of the Gothic, cf. Porter, *Med. Arch.*, II, 12 ff., 63 ff.; Cram, *Substance of Gothic*, pp. 123 ff.; Moore, *Development of Gothic*, pp. 29 ff., 51–70.

[2] Cram (*Substance of Gothic*, p. 115) and Enlart (*op. cit.*, II, 629 ff.) hold to the theory of strong Cistercian influences in the origin of the Gothic style. Porter (*Med. Arch.*, II, 172 ff.) and Vitet (*op. cit.*, p. 125) deny it – on good grounds, I believe. The fact that the two great churches built in the Ile-de-France during this period (viz., St Remi about 1005, and St Denis in 1140) were built by Benedictines, and that St Bernard severely criticized the new tendencies in architecture as ultra-worldly (Porter, *Lombard Arch.*, I, 170 ff.; Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii, 165, 360 ff.), would seem to exonerate the Cistercians from complicity in developing the Gothic style. To be sure, by 1100, under the leadership of Stephen Harding, they had completed sixteen abbeys and begun seven more (William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, V, 4); all, however, in their characteristically ascetic style. Enlart (*op. cit.*, II, 629 ff., discusses the building activities of the various monastic orders. O'Reilly (*op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff., 28 ff.) suggests that progress in styles of building was evident in all regions of France, among monastic

groups of hard-working masons that perfected the ogival method of building, and groups of parishioners that made possible the work. Like the First Crusade, this period—and the coöperative activity displayed in its building operations—not only marks the beginning of an important epoch, but, perhaps even more significantly, indicates the culmination of an evolution that had been going on for a half-century or more.

The most significant factors in the birth of the Gothic style and the parallel evolution of coöperative community activity, must be sought in the more practical and humble realm of actual building operations, such as the provision of funds, materials, and workmen, and the hauling of stone and mortar. The work of building a church was twofold; first, the process of causing to be built, i.e., taking the initiative and providing the necessities; second, the actual construction, including the making of plans and overseeing the work.[1] In both phases of the process, all classes of eleventh-century society are found coöperating to a greater or lesser degree.

Kings, nobles, bishops, and abbots often joined with monastic orders in providing for the building or repair of monasteries and abbey-churches.[2] Tenth-century French chronicles are replete with records of religious establishments, founded by nobles and built by monks.[3] During the eleventh century there were innumerable foun-

builders in the earlier period, and later on, under secular-clerical and lay influences, in coöperation rather than conflict. Valuable light might be thrown on this problem, by a careful study of the comparative intensity of popular enthusiasm in support of building operations of secular and regular clergy during the late eleventh century.

[1] R. Rosières, *Histoire de la Société Française au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1882), p. 209, gives a summary of the procedure. Brown, *op. cit.*, II, 241 ff., quotes a document showing the actual process at Ramsey in 968, viz., preparing materials, getting workmen, digging foundations, etc.

[2] E.g., King Cnut founded many churches, repaired others, and gave rich gifts of gold, silver, jewels, etc. (above, p. 17, note 1); Queen Emma gave towards the building of Winchester Cathedral (William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, ii, 13); Edward the Confessor rebuilt Westminster (above, p. 17, note 2); William the Conqueror gave lands, etc., for building St Etienne, Caen (William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, v, 3); Robert the Pious endowed the Cathedral of Orléans, and founded twelve monasteries and six churches (Bouquet, X, 110, 115); the kings of France and Spain aided in the building of the church at Cluny in 1089 (Viollet le Duc, *Dictionaire*, I, 125); in 1083 the king of France gave liberally toward the construction of several churches (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, II, 16). Cf. below, p. 23, note 2.

[3] E.g., Rollo's church at Rouen, William Longsword's at Jumièges (above, p. 15). Cf. Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, *passim*, also index, for other instances; also O'Reilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 510; Church, *Anselm*, p. 17.

dations by the dukes and lesser nobles of Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, and England.[1] Although many such foundations served primarily the selfish gratification of ambition, expiation of crimes, or mere religious rivalry,[2] kings and princes often displayed a broad spirit of coöperative Christian piety in giving toward the building or repair of foreign churches.[3] Occasionally a nobleman, for pious example or penance, even took a hand at the manual labor.[4] To just what extent clerical urging or the possibilities of economic profit were responsible for royal and baronial activity in church-building, is impossible to estimate. Monasteries and abbey-churches undoubtedly contributed to the interests of both the lay patrons and the monastic possessors. Whatever the motives, church-building was shot through and through with an enthusiastic spirit of community effort.

Although the provision of the material means of building was primarily by royalty or nobility, the planning, supervising, and carrying out of the actual operations was practically monopolized

[1] Above, pp. 13 ff.; Bouquet (*op. cit.*, XII, 621) mentions many others; Mortet (*op. cit.*) cites cases of nobles granting timbering or quarrying privileges to builders: e.g., 1080, for Sauve-Majeure Abbey (p. 260), and 1094 at Nogent le Routrou (p. 288). In 1065 at the building of the Abbey of Hubert-d'Ardenne, the countess gave money and lodged the *operarii* (*ibid.*, p. 192).

[2] E.g., William the Conqueror, who when near death gave for the repair of the church at Nantes which he had burned (William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, v, 3); his and Mathilda's foundations; Fulk the Black, who refused to restore confiscated church lands yet resented the refusal of the outraged prelates to consecrate the new monastery where monks were to chant day and night for the salvation of his soul, and finally imported a cleric from Rome (Garreau, *op. cit.*, p. 428, note 2; Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 103); people at Rheims in 1038 donated to the building fund "*pro facinorum suorum abolitione parentumque suorum*" (*ibid.*, pp. 41–2; also below, p. 27, note 3, on indulgences). Wulfstan, Abbot of Gloucester, admitted that building-clergymen of his day worked for the satisfaction of personal ambition (Brown, *op. cit.*, 313, II). Cf. above, p. 20, note 3, for a hint as to unmentioned economic motives often present.

[3] E.g., Cnut, William of Aquitaine, etc., aid in rebuilding Chartres after 1020 (William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, ii, 11; Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 465 ff.); Apulians and Calabrians gave to the Bishop of Coutances for rebuilding his cathedral (Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 7); "Catholic men from a distance" gave to build St Remi in 1005 (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, II, 206); Raynauld of Beaune, his wife, and the Duke of Burgundy gave to build Citeaux (Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 295); William the Conqueror and his nobles in England gave generously to Norman foundations (William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*,v,3); Siward of Norway, en route to Jerusalem (twelfth century), "expended vast sums on churches" in England (*ibid.*).

[4] At Verdun, in 1005, Count Frederick carried cement to the masons (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.), as was often done by noble abbots or noble monks such as Herluin of Bec. (Below, p. 24, note 3.)

by clerical groups until late in the eleventh century. During the tenth century energetic Benedictine and Cluniac monks, besides furnishing the impulse for religious foundations, performed much of the actual labor. The Cluniacs often sent groups of their own master-masons to build priories.[1] Most eleventh-century building operations seem to have been dominated by monastic groups, through trained architects from schools such as that of William of Volpiano in Normandy.[2] Although they used lay masons and local workmen, monks themselves often took part in the manual labor, [3] and thus not only exemplified their ideal of the obligation and dignity of manual labor, but also encouraged popular coöperation. In all such activities the Cluniac monks were the leaders until late in the eleventh century. Even then, although the new monastic orders exercised powerful collectivistic influences in other lines, because of their anti-cultural tendencies, they had less effect on architecture than the Cluniacs and Benedictines.[4] Until about the middle of the eleventh century,

Viollet le Duc, *op. cit.*, I, 130; Porter, *Lombard Arch.*, I, 158 ff.; Mortet, *op. cit.*, index, *s. v.* "missions."

[2] Cf. Porter, *Lombard Arch.*, I, 157–58, for William's forty churches; Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 279 ff., for school at Tiron Monastery; Cram, *Substance of Gothic*, pp. 84 ff.; Vitet, *op. cit.*, p. 121 and Enlart, *op. cit.*, I, 62, for pilgrimages of clerics to various monastic schools of architects. Clergymen also relied on their local brethren for advice: e.g., at Rheims, 1038–39, Abbot Airardus, and later Abbot Theodoricus took the advice of the wiser monks and elders of the diocese (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–41; Porter, *Med. Arch.*, II, 206 ff.); Herluin of Bec consulted others (Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 46).

[3] E.g., the Abbot of Ramsey in 968 "got ready all that the forethought of the masons demanded" (Brown, *op. cit.*, II, 241); Abbot Suger at St Denis, 1140 ff., consulted local carpenters and men of Paris (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, II, 194 ff.). For Burgundy and Italy, cf. Porter, *Lombard Arch.*, I, 157. At Rumelingen (Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 362–63); in Bas Languedoc where in 1036 a bridge-building confraternity of monks existed (Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 109); at Bec, 1034, where Herluin and Lanfranc worked (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff.; Lenoir, *op. cit.*, I, 37); at Oise, 1083, five monks built a priory (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 16); at Poitiers, 1080, a monk-architect worked on Montierneuf church; at Selby. Yorkshire, Abbot Hugues, in mason's garb, carried stone; at Pompose Monastery monks worked on the walls. The Benedictine Rule had always emphasized manual labor; at St Gall in the ninth century the whole congregation worked all day to set a column in place; at Ramsey in 968, monks worked continually on the walls (Lenoir, *op. cit.*, I, 36–38). Nobles, turned monks, often worked; e.g., at 'Cella Balmae,' 903; on the church of Dolensis Burgus, 942 (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, IX, 597, 693); at Evroult, Herluin worked (O'Reilly, *op. cit.*, 475); at Shrewsbury, 1056, Roger and his family (Church, *Anselm*, pp. 102 ff.); at Evroult after 1055 monks and "faithful" assisted (Ordericus Vitalis, *op. cit.*, i, p. 457 ff.; x, p. 58); Frederick, ex-Count of Verdun, carried mortar as an example to noble-monks (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.). Also below, p. 25, notes 2, 3.

[4] Above, p. 21, note 2.

the secular clergy lagged far behind the monks in building activity,[1] while bishops and their assistants, though they often planned churches, rarely shared in the manual labor.[2] Rural priests, on other hand, must have taken as active and whole-hearted a part in the work on a new church as they did in other parish affairs.[3]

In all church-building, both monastic and secular, there was doubtless much non-clerical labor. Even if abbots and bishops were willing to have their clergy perform humble tasks, and if the canons and monks were willing to do manual labor, there was scarcely sufficient man-power in the clerical body to build a church without lay assistance. There were, during the eleventh century, unorganized groups of lay-masons who moved from place to place with their apprentices and families, settling down for a time where a great building was being erected.[4] In addition to the skilled artisans,

[1] Orléans Cathedral was not finished until 1029 (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 110; Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 57). Poitiers Cathedral was started a few years before (*ibid.*, p. 63), and shortly afterwards cathedrals were begun at Angers, Maguelone, Vienne, and Chartres (*ibid.*, pp. 84, 86, 88; Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 465 ff.). During the second half of the century cathedrals were begun at Coutances by Geoffrey (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–86), at Bayeux (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, II, 288 ff.), and in England at many of the great episcopal centres.

[2] There are a few cases: e.g., at Coutances, Auxerre, and Avignon secular canons worked at building, sculpturing, or painting (Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. lv). Bishops, of course, planned or supervised the work on their cathedrals (Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. xxxix for Bishop of Cambrai; William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, iv, 352, for Bishop of Norwich).

[3] At Rumelingen a priest led his people in assisting a group of monks in building a church (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 362–63).

[4] Vitet's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 121) that "before the twelfth century not a single religious edifice was built in Northern Europe without monastic canonical, or ecclesiastical architect," is untenable. Most of the following must have been lay master-builders, many of them acting as supervising architects; e.g., *custodes operis* at Orléans in 1003 (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4), *viri* skilled in architecture at Rheims in 1005 (*ibid.*, pp. 39–41; Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 183), *operarius* at St Florent, Saumur in 1026 (Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 19), *architecti* at Oudenburg, 1056–91 (*ibid.*, p. 174), *artifices Franci et Angli* at Canterbury in 1070 (*ibid.*, pp. lix, 207 ff.). *Cimentarii* or masons were present at Westminster in 1006 (Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 111), at St Lucien's Church, Beauvais in 1078, Lérins, 1073–88, where two of them built a tower, and Grenoble in 1094 (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 231, 289, 343). Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 26, asserts the existence of lay artists in France during the eleventh century. Enlart, *op. cit.*, I, 72, cites laymen who signed their names to their architectural work; e.g., *Hugo Monetaurus* at St Hilary's Church, Limoges, *Umbertus* at St Benoît-sur-Loire, *Isembardus* at Bernay. Porter (*Med. Arch.*, II, 183–191) believes that, in the building of the vaulted churches of the Ile-de-France in the late eleventh century, lay master-workmen, like modern contractors, must have made plans, hired workmen, and worked at the job themselves. These master-masons were the architects of the cathedrals and churches much more truly than the clergy-employers who seldom did more than "over-look" the work. For the twelfth-century lay-masons and arch-

there were also corvées of church serfs [1] and hired laborers from the region concerned or bands of migratory workers.[2] In the coöperative work of such skilled and unskilled workers belonging to monastic, priestly, and lay groups, early Gothic building truly reflects the distinctively mediaeval spirit of socialized religious activity under the banner of the Church.

From the standpoint of social evolution, however, the most noteworthy characteristic of eleventh-century church-building was not the material contribution of the nobility, the spiritual initiative and supervisory activity of monastic and secular clergy, nor the hired labor. There was present a more vital and far-reaching social factor, namely, popular group participation, evident in the giving of money and provisions, in the actual manual labor, and in the religious celebration of the accomplished task, the dedication ceremony. Therein are unsounded depths of mediaeval social psychology.

The mediaeval ecclesiastic was doubtless fully as dependent as his modern successor upon outside aid for his building programs. Probably he was as cognizant of the possibilities and as skillful in employing the proper psychological means for rallying all classes to the support of a community project, as the clerical leaders of modern times. Eleventh-century founders of churches in many cases relied

itects, cf. *ibid.*, II, 183–91; Lenoir, *op. cit.*, I, 33, 35; Enlart, *op. cit.*, I, 72; Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. lx; by this time the master-masons had ceased to work and merely supervised. For eleventh-century lay architects in Italy, cf. Porter, *Lombard Arch.*, I, 12; *Med. Arch.*, II, 182. Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 279 ff., mentions many artisans *utriusque ordinis* who gathered at Tiron Monastery in 1040 to practice architecture, sculpture, etc.

[1] Rosières, *op. cit.*, II, 212; Norton, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–27 (workmen supplied by the cleric employer); Lethaby, *Med. Art.*, I, 44.

[2] William of Volpiano used Norman workmen (Porter, *Med. Arch.*, I, 152); at Ramsey in 968 hired workmen were used (Brown, *op. cit.*, I, 242); at St Albans in 1077 native workmen were used instead of Normans (Cram, *Substance of Gothic*, p. 101); at St Denis in the twelfth century Suger "employed summer and winter a larger number of workmen at great expense" in order to complete the church (*De Consecratione*, excerpt translated in Porter, *Med. Arch.*, II, 196). A. DuCange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Paris, 1842), describes the classes of unattached workers, merchants, and mere wanderers of this period; *s. v.*, *albani* (I, 162), *mansionarii* (IV, 238), *extranae* or *pede puluerosi* (V, 172), etc. (I, 96; IV, 236). Porter, *Med. Arch.*, II, 7, holds that "these laborers who went from place to place offering their services to the highest bidder formed a regularly recognized social class" ("guests" or "strangers," he calls them). So far as eleventh-century building is concerned, I have not discovered any definite evidences of such migratory laboring classes; the hypothesis is not, however, improbable.

on the people of the locality concerned for money, for other contributions, and sometimes for mass labor. It is possible that in some places the custom of earlier times, when the people were held responsible for the upkeep of the nave of the church, the clergy providing for the choir, was still in operation.[1] During the eleventh century, however, appeals for contributions from the populace were made in places of such varying location and with such frequency as to lead to the inference that it was almost universal.[2] In several places, especially in Northern France and the Low Countries, *conuentia* or *confraternitates* of contributors were organized, and inducements, such as burial privileges or remission of sins, were offered,[3] devices suggestive of the privileges later accorded the Crusaders, and of indulgences. On the other hand, such popular action was rarely spontaneous; clerical manipulation was obvious in most cases, and even where it was not, there is the possibility that the pious chronicler withheld facts that might minimize the power of religion.[4]

[1] In 944 the *ciues* of Orléans built a church (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, IX, 15).

[2] E.g., contributions by *parochiani* at Coutances (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–86), at Maguelone near Montpellier, 1030–60 (*ibid.*, pp. 88–89), and at Vienne, 1030–70 (*ibid.*, pp. 86); by *omnes fideles* at Aix in 1070 (*ibid.*, pp. 204–205); *ecclesiastici familia* and *catholici uiri* at St Remi in 1039 (*ibid., pp.* 41–42); *omnis plebs* at St Florent, Saumur in 1026 (*ibid.*, pp. 17–9); *ciues* at Oudenburg, 1056–81 (*ibid.*, p. 169); *plurimi* at Elne (*ibid.*, p. 200, note 4); *populi* of Huy near Liège, 1066 (*ibid., p.* 200, note 4); *rusticani* near Poitiers, for Church of St Hilary, 1068–70 (*ibid.*, p. 200); *ciues* and *rusticani* of St Riquier (P. Blok, *History of People of Netherlands*, New York, 1898, IV, 30, 36); *ciues* and *rusticani* of Cambrai, who also built a wall around the bishop's *ciuitas*, 1076–92 (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.); *ciues* near Croyland, after fire of 1091 (Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 286); *parochiani* at Rumelingen who aided in building a monastery (*ibid.*, pp. 362–363); by unnamed peoples at St Benigne's, Dijon in 1077 (*ibid.*, p. 245), at St Martin's of Tournai, by *donationes fidelium* (*ibid.*, p. 290), and at Soissons about 1090, *ex eleemosynis fidelium* (*ibid.*, p. 291).

[3] E.g., at Elne in 1058, Aix in 1070 and 1092, Poitiers, 1068–70, and Huy in 1066 (*ibid.*, p. 200, note 4) there were confraternities. The people near St Riquier *in unum congregatus* brought their gifts in a procession with songs (Blok, *op. cit.*, IV, 36). At Croyland, 1091, the Bishop of Lincoln offered a forty-day indulgence to all who *gave and assisted* (Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 286). Cf. also below, p. 28, note 5, and note 4 below, for possible indulgences at Rheims and Angers.

[4] There is evidence of considerable spontaneity of action at Rheims in 1039 when *plures catholici uiri feruore diuinae religionis ut pro facinorum suorum abolitione parentumque suorum quorum corpora ibi humata erant, requie, pro posse id opus condigna subsidia studerent suppeditare. Nonulli etiam de ecclesiastica familia suum auxilium prompta impenderunt beneuolentia, suisque plaustris et bobus tantis incoeptis competentia aduexerunt onera . . .*" thus finishing the work (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–42); and also at Oudenburg where the *ciues* in 1056, and the *habitores* in 1091 took the initiative in repairing and rebuilding the church (*ibid.*, pp. 169, 174); and at St Riquier (above, note 3).

In Northern France and the Low Countries, during the latter half of the century, many building operations point clearly to the intense religious enthusiasm and strong group spirit prevalent in those regions. At Rheims in 1039, under Abbot Theodoricus, an enthusiastic community enterprise was under way, during which men were moved by religious emotion to the point of assisting the workmen with their own wagons and oxen, and possibly with their own hands.[1] During the construction of the Abbey of St Trond near Liège, after 1055, popular coöperation expressed itself in a still more remarkable manner. Abbot Rudolph waxed enthusiastic over the crowds of men who "labored zealously, joyfully, and unceasingly, day and night, at their own expense, hauling wagon-loads of building material from a distance." Columns brought from Cologne by boat were loaded on "carts which the people dragged from village to village by ropes, in a delirium of ardor; finally, after hauling them through the very depths of the Meuse River, they arrived at St Trond singing hymns of joy. What could be expected. The walls were finished speedily and almost the whole roof." [2] At Oudenburg, in 1056, the citizens took the initiative in building a new church,[3] and in the construction of the Monastery at Hasnon near Arras in 1067, popular zeal was evident.[4] At various other places during the century occurred similar manifestations of group activity where both materials and actual labor were furnished by the populace.[5] It is probable that such highly emotional episodes of community spirit were strongly influenced by the example of monastic coöperation in manual labor. The most notable cases were in connection with the building of monastic edifices in the Low Countries where

[1] See page 27, note 2.

[2] *Gesta Abb. Trud.*, in Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–158.

[3] Above, p. 27, note 4.

[4] Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XI, 109–110.

[5] E.g., at St Riquier (above, p. 27, note 3) people provide gifts and possibly labor; at Evroult, 1055–66, monks and "faithful" assist in actual work (Ordericus Vitalis, *op. cit.*, I, 457, 467 ff., X, 58); at Rumelingen, priest and parishioners assist monks in work (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 362–363); at Conques, about 1035, *omnes qui aderant humeris lacertisque* assist in moving cartloads of stone (*ibid.*, p. 106); at Cambrai in 1076 a wall was built *ciuibus auxiliantibus* (*ibid.*, pp. 67–68); at Croyland all who gave *and aided* in the building work received forty-days indulgence (Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 286); Vienne Cathedral was built *cum parochianorum suorum adiutorio* (Mortet, op., *cit.*, p. 86).

monasticism was very prominent. Noble abbots like Herluin and Lanfranc, rather than noble bishops, were lauded by the chroniclers for performing menial service with cement hods, clad in the garb of common workmen. The monastic ideal of coöperative manual labor doubtless exerted considerable influence upon the laity by means of either legendary or truthful accounts of noblemen outside the monastic life who displayed their zeal and humility in similar ways. It was doubtless this monastic influence that gave to mass demonstrations their distinctly penitential character with the consequent tendency toward the levelling of class barriers and toward emotional abandon. It will be noted that such processions as occurred at St Riquier and St Trond[1] were also a manifestation of the increasing popularity of mass pilgrimages. In the opening years of the twelfth century, as enthusiasm for crusading-pilgrimages found wider expression, the emotional tendency in community church-building became more intensive and spontaneous in many places.[2] The climax came just after 1140, when a widespread but short-lived mania for cart-hauling became prevalent, especially throughout Normandy and at Chartres.[3] This phenomenon, like the Crusades,

[1] Above, pp. 27–28.

[2] In 1103 people near Tulle helped on the monastery *prout cuique facultas et bona uoluntas attribuit* (Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 15); in 1112 two paralytics, healed at Beaugency by the Laon *Relic Circus*, followed the monks to Laon and joined in the work on the cathedral (Herimannus Tornacensis, *Miracula S. Mariae Laudunensis*, i, 4; Migne, CLVI, 961–1018); in 1109 a confraternity of *pauperes* rebuilt Morigny Abbey unaided by nobility (Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. p. 341); in 1110 near Amboise the people built a priory in response to the bishop's urging (*ibid.*, p. 342); in 1120 at Prémontré Norbert's friends contended with one another in building the monastery (Norbert, *Vita*, c. 12, Mon. Ger. Hist., XII, 669); at Fonguillem near Bazas, 1126–38, the bishop urged people to join a contribution-confraternity by promising a forty-day indulgence (Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 375); Tarragone had a similar confraternity in 1127 (*ibid.*, p. 341, note 3); at Bruges, at the same time, clergy and people worked feverishly, tearing down buildings and building a wall for defence (*Histoire du Meurtre de Charles le Bon, Comte de Flandre*, Paris, 1891, ed. by H. Pirenne, c. 25); J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life* . . . (London: Unwin, 1921), pp. 40, 45, mentions later orders of bridge-building monks, e.g., at Avignon and London, where they were assisted by the people.

[3] Porter, *Med. Arch.*, II, 151 ff., gives the chief documents on the cart-hauling at Chartres and St Pierre-sur-Dives, both in Latin and English. He concludes that the dominant motives were expiatory rather than architectural. It seems likely that the clergy used the existing popularity of pilgrimages, etc., to provide materials for building; little actual labor was obtained from the mobs that were in a state of frenzied abandon at the time they were present at the place of building. Cf. also Enlart, *op. cit.*, I, 74 ff., on Chartres particularly, and Ordericus Vitalis, *op. cit.*, I, 298, on St Pierre-sur-Dives. Later in the century similar camp-

was merely the climax of tendencies that had been developing for decades and that were widely prevalent during the eleventh century.

Not unimportant in the expanding interest of all classes in church-building and in the spread of architectural styles, was the custom of celebrating the completion of a church by a great dedication service.[1] At important dedications, as many as fifty abbots and twenty bishops might be present; [2] the inspiration for them to rival the edifice whose completion they were celebrating must have been a great impetus to church-building.[3] Important nobles were always present,[4] and on most occasions the chroniclers record the presence of "innumerable multitudes of the faithful of both sexes and orders."[5] Such an occasion, with the vast concourse of people, the solemn processions, the sacred relics, and all the mysticism of religion centered in a splendid architectural setting, could not fail to make a tremendous impression on all who attended, and these impressions would be transmitted to every diocese, monastery, castle, and parish represented. How many abbeys, cathedrals, and parish churches were built as a result of the psychological influence of dedications, can only be left to the imagination. Through such gatherings, many of which might occur in the same year, and which might be repeated

meeting building revivals were attempted; e.g., at Chartres after the 1194 fire; at Ardres Monastery near Boulogne, 1164–72, where all the parishioners rallied to furnish money and labor (Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 390 ff.).

[1] In 1076 *basilicae plures in Normannia cum ingenti tripudio dedicatae sunt* (Ordericus Vitalis, *op. cit.*, V, 548).

[2] E.g., in 1040 at Vienne, 8 bishops, 23 abbots (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XI, 506); in 1047 at Charroux, 13 bishops (*ibid.*, XI, 218); in 1049 at Rheims, 20 bishops, 50 abbots (*ibid.*, XI, 466, 522); in 1049 (?) at Poitiers, 300 clergy (Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 141).

[3] Cf. above, p. 18, note 1, for examples of tearing down adequate edifices in England to satisfy building ambitions of prelates.

[4] E.g., in 1040 at Vienne, *barons* (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XI, 506); in 1056 at Coutances, *nobles* (Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 74); in 1075 at Lille, *the count* and *nobles* (Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XII, 272); in 1067 at Hasnon, *praesules* (*ibid.*, XI, 109 ff.); in 1077 in Normandy, *optimates* (*ibid.*, XII, 598); Cnut and his nobles (above, p. 17, note 1).

[5] E.g., in 1029 at Tours (Bouquet, *op. cit.*., X, 30); in 1030 at Fleury, *populus* (*ibid.*, X, 112); in 1047, at Charroux, *omnium ordinum multitudines Christianorum* (*ibid.*, XI, 218); in 1049 at Rheims, *uillani oppidani ciues innumerosa concio* (*ibid.*, XI, 466, 522); in 1077 in Normandy, *ingenti frequentia populorum multitudo populorum* (*ibid.*, XII, 589); in 1095 and annually thereafter, at Maguelone, *populus* (*ibid.*, XII, 371); in 1095 at Angers, *populus*, and indulgences (*ibid.*, XII, 491); in 1114 at Laon, 200,000 people (Herimannus, *Mirac.*, iii, 2; Migne, CLVI, 918 ff.); 1120 at Prémontré, *crowds* (Norbert, *Vita*, c. 12; M. G. H., XII, 669).

annually as commemorative festivals,[1] the contagion of group activity must have penetrated the lives of the people.

Because of the lack of definite data, one of the most important aspects of building activity, that of the innumerable parish churches, must be left relatively untouched. The assistance once given by the rural populace in erecting a great monument to the ambition of a spiritual or temporal noble, must have been given repeatedly and much more whole-heartedly to the work of repairing or constructing their own parish chapels. But, unlike the monastic and secular clergy of the eleventh century, and unlike the twelfth-century communes, the rural parish had no chronicler; it left no record save its church ruins.[2]

The increase in church-building in the eleventh century, as illustrated in the preceding pages, is indicative of the universal and rapid emergence of that group-conscious mediaeval spirit that has left its noblest record in the great Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals. New methods, new styles, and new classes of participants in the work mirror the new social habits of people who were entering upon larger group activities. Mass processions and dedications tended to unite royalty, nobles, clergy, and the populace, at least temporarily, in a common responsiveness to religious emotionalism. In the Middle Ages, the building of a church was, infinitely more than in our present age, an integral part of the life of the community; for the whole people was a unit inspired collectively by the needs of the Church. In our own day, drives such as the Liberty Loan campaigns of the World War, based on appeals to the patriotic emotions of the masses, are much more like the mediaeval building programs, in that they show the latent group emotionalism so often unnoticed in routine life and unrecorded by annalists. From

[1] Above, p. 30, note 1 (many dedications in Normandy in 1076), note 5 (repeated annually at Maguelone).

[2] P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les Origines Religieuses de la France; les Paroisses Rurales du IVe au XIe Siècle* (Paris, 1900), pp. 165 ff., gives a few scattered records: e.g., *ecclesias quas construxerunt . . . fabrili construentes arte*, in 821, and *ecclesiolam paruulam ex luto et lapidibus confectam* in 823, and quotes Hincmar of Rheims' accounts of the restoration or construction of chapels, oratories, etc. Cf. above p. 16, note 6; p. 17, note 1; p. 19; p. 21, note 1; p. 25, note 3, on parish churches.

this standpoint, eleventh-century social psychology is, in many respects, akin to that of our own times.

The study of mediaeval group-consciousness in church-building may open up many vistas to the historian of social evolution. In every phase of eleventh-century religious life one may look, and not in vain, for traces of the instinct of coöperative community effort as it worked toward the levelling of class barriers and the fusing of men into a broader Christian brotherhood and a more workable social organism. From Fulk the Black's thinly veiled selfishness to Saint Bernard's other-worldliness, from kings to rural parishioners, from church-building revivals to crusading outbursts, one finds the same spirit; and over it all there hovers like incense the mystical sacramentalism and intense devotion of the mediaeval religious mind.

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KING ARTHUR AND POLITICS

By GORDON HALL GEROULD

THERE is nothing new in the statement that Geoffrey of Monmouth was inspired to write his great *Historia Regum Britanniae* by other considerations than a passion for historical truth; nor is there any doubt in the minds of scholars that *it was owing to the influence of this book, direct and indirect, that the Arthurian stories leapt into general literary popularity just at this time.*[1] In all the writing about these matters, however, I cannot find that anyone has ever suggested a line of inquiry that seems to me very helpful to an understanding of why and how the Arthurian romances came into being.

There has been a great deal of discussion, some of it fruitful and some of it barren, about the genetics of these works, as well as a considerable amount of sheer quarrelling about the relative contributions of Wales and Armorica to the stories upon which they were based; but there has been too little effort to study their origins in relationship to other phenomena, literary, political, and religious, of the twelfth century. Yet it should be evident to all of us that the sudden development of Arthurian romance must have come about through ideas and impulses more or less consciously operative in people of the time. Scholars have too often treated this sudden florescence of romance as if it were a true and not a metaphorical flowering: something botanical, uncontrolled by human action, which is to lose sight of the plain fact that neither spurious history nor acknowledged fiction comes into being of itself.

Of course we do know that stories about Arthur and at least some of his followers had long been told by the Celts. There is the reference in Nennius, which takes us back to the seventh century; there is the entry in the tenth-century *Annales Cambriae*, which mentions the battle between Arthur and Mordred; there are the monks of Laon, who found in 1113 that people in Cornwall believed

[1] J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (1923), I, 20.

Arthur to be alive, just as did the Bretons; and there is the allusion to Arthur from about the same time in the life of the Cornish Saint Carantoc. [1] William of Malmesbury, writing in 1125, was cognizant of these tales, but condemned them as unworthy of the real Arthur, whom "*non fallaces somniarent fabulae, sed veraces praedicarent historiae.*" [2] According to William these were mere *Britonum nugae*, although he recorded in another passage [3] the discovery of Gawain's tomb in Wales, explaining that it was the ignorance about Arthur's burial place which had given rise to the "popular songs" prophesying his return. William's account of the Saxon conquest is a sober one, depending upon Nennius and Bede. It is noteworthy that Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote his *Historia Anglorum* [4] before 1133, added nothing to the account of Arthur found in Nennius, though he arranged the material otherwise than William. Gifted as he was with more imagination than critical sense, capable for instance of describing battles of the Arthurian period with invented detail, Henry nevertheless dealt with Arthur himself in a single chapter, lacking, it would appear, any impulse to enlarge upon the theme.

The ways of folk legend, if not past finding out, are undeniably dark; and we shall probably never know with any degree of certainty the extent and precise character of the *naeniae* to which William of Malmesbury referred. The phenomenon we are now considering is this: after Geoffrey of Monmouth published his astounding *Historia*, there followed, though not so immediately as we sometimes rather carelessly think, a succession of writers who made Arthur, before the twelfth century had run its course, the great king of romance which he has remained from that day to this. Geoffrey issued his history, we are fortunate in being able to say with precision, between 1136 and 1138.[5]

[1] For a convenient summary of these references, see Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 6, 12.

[2] *De Gestis Regum*, i, 8, ed. Stubbs, 1887, Rolls Ser. XC, 1, 11–12.

[3] iii, 287, Stubbs, II, 342. [4] Ed. T. Arnold, 1879 (Rolls Ser. LXXIV).

[5] See Sir F. Madden, *The Archaeological Journal*, XV (1858), 299–312; A. Leitzmann, *Arch. f.d. Stud. d. neueren Sprachen*, CXXXIV (1916), 373–75, and Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 18, note. Of even greater importance is Acton Griscom, "The Date of Composition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*," *Speculum*, I (1926), 129–156, which embodies the results of the first systematic examination of MSS ever made. It is regrettable that one cannot accept as anything better than an interesting possibility Mr Griscom's suggestion that the *Historia* was completed by the spring of 1136.

Several questions at once come to mind with reference to Geoffrey, only two of which concern us at present, since the very natural and important one about his sources has been admirably studied by the late Professor Fletcher and by many other scholars,[1] while we may now hope for new light from Mr Acton Griscom. Quite as important as any other matters, however, are the questions of the extent to which Geoffrey's work differed in emphasis from previous chronicles, and of plausible reasons for his becoming the father of Arthurian romance. Was his history, in the first place, so new a departure? In the second place, what led him to give Arthur so important a place? If we could answer these questions — and I can pretend to do no more than make certain suggestions as to the second — we should come to a better understanding of the Arthurian florescence in the second half of the twelfth century.

The first question, happily, is not a difficult one. We need only compare the outline of Geoffrey's book with those of his immediate predecessors to see that even his ostensible purpose was different from theirs. William of Malmesbury called his book *Deeds of the English Kings*, Henry of Huntingdon entitled his a *History of the English*, but Geoffrey wrote a *History of the Kings of Britain*, which at once limited his scope in one sense and enlarged it in another.

William, a sober and sophisticated historian, and an honest one as modern research has proved,[2] divided his history into five books. The first ran from the conquest of Britain by Julius Caesar to the reign of Egbert; the second went on from Egbert to the Norman Conquest; the third dealt with the reign of William I; the fourth had to do with English and Continental affairs during the time of William Rufus; and the fifth concerned itself with the days of Henry I. To Arthur he devoted part of one chapter in Book i, giving him as much space as the sources available warranted — and

[1] R. H. Fletcher, *Arthurian Materials in the Chronicles*, [Harv.] Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit., Vol. X (1906), remains the most important landmark. See Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 20–23, for a review of investigations in this field.

[2] The crucial test is his little work *On the Antiquity of Glastonbury*, which W. W. Newell stripped of its later accretions (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XVIII, 1903, 459–511) as did Dean J. Armitage Robinson even more clearly (*Somerset Historical Essays*, London: H. Milford, 1921, pp. 1–25). It is unfortunate that Dean Robinson failed to read the earlier monograph and give due credit to it.

no more. Whatever fault may be found with William's judgment in dealing with this detail or that, there can be no question that he had both a sense of proportion and a sense of fact. He was, in short, a worthy example of twelfth-century scholarship, and he wrote after the best manner of his kind.

When we turn from him to Henry of Huntingdon's *History of the English*, we find ourselves in a different atmosphere. His first edition was divided into seven books, only two of which were concerned with the Norman Conquest and later events. He began with a description of Britain and took over from Nennius the Trojan foundation, but devoted most of the first book to the Romans. The second book described the Saxon conquest, and therefore included Arthur, but only in a single chapter — like William. His third book was an account of the conversion of the English and Scots; the fourth of English history down to the death of Egbert; and the fifth chiefly of the Danish wars. There is nothing wrong with his outline, therefore, but every evidence of carelessness in the treatment of events. Compared with William of Malmesbury, Henry was a very incompetent person, who thought to make up for general dullness by passages of flashy rhetoric and who was obviously incapable of the critical effort of his predecessor. Yet Henry, though without distinction of manner or close veracity of substance, was writing a survey of English history down to his own day and was not tempted to indulge his imagination except in details. What he might have done, had Geoffrey furnished him with the materials, his famous letter to Warinus, written in 1139, shows only too well.

Yet Geoffrey of Monmouth had an entirely different purpose, according to his own statement, and therefore a different scope. He had wondered much, he says, even before getting his "very ancient book" from Walter of Oxford, why Gildas and Bede had failed to tell of the kings who ruled Britain in the pre-Christian era, and failed also to tell of others, like Arthur, who lived in succeeding centuries. It is significant that, according to his own avowal, he had thus "wondered." Walter's book, of course, enabled him to supply the lack; and nothing was ever more lordly than his epilogue, in which he grants to William of Malmesbury and Henry of

Huntingdon their Saxon kings but enjoins silence about the kings of the Britons, since they do not possess the book that Walter brought from Wales.[1]

His theme was therefore the glory and the decadence of Roman and Celtic Britain, and with this theme the entire twelve books into which he divided his work are concerned. So fully was he informed that he does not reach the invasion by Julius Caesar until Book iv, although William of Malmesbury began with this event and Henry of Huntingdon came to it early in the first of seven books. That Geoffrey included in this section of his narrative various stories that have enriched later literature is beside the point of the present discussion. After two books devoted to the Romans, he arrives at the Pictish invasions, and so at his Arthurian material, which extends past the beginning of Book xi, while the remainder of that book and the twelfth are given up to Arthur's successors down to Ivor and Iny, who were kings of Wales only and ended the day of British supremacy.

Thus, although Arthur's actual reign occupies only slightly more than two books, more than half of the entire work is devoted to persons connected with his story. No wonder that Geoffrey remarked of Arthur in his *Prophecies of Merlin*, which constitute the seventh book: "*et actus ejus cibus erit narrantibus.*" [2] As Fletcher so well said, "*in his* History *Geoffrey did nothing less than to create the historical romance of Arthur for the mediaeval world*";[3] and his work as a whole is nothing less than the romance of Celtic Britain. In the matter he presented he was no rival of William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, for he pretended to be the historian not of the dominant races in the island but of the subdued and backward-driven Celts.

Why — we come now to the second and difficult question propounded above — should an aspiring scholar have thought it worth his while to gather the scattered materials he used, and stretch his imagination as he stretched it, to write a history of Celtic Britain?

[1] If *ex Britannia* can bear this meaning, as I believe. It seems to me that chapters 17 and 18 of Geoffrey's Book xii, coming as they do just before the passage cited, make his usage plain.

[2] Ed. San Marte, p. 93.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

The suggestion proffered at the end of the twelfth century by William of Newburgh that Geoffrey and others who made up stories about Arthur did so either *from an inordinate love of lying or for the sake of pleasing the Britons* [1] is clearly inadequate, even though the famous story by Giraldus Cambrensis [2] that the devils who were routed by the *Gospel of John* returned when Geoffrey's *History* was substituted, shows the same tendency of critical persons to look upon him with distrust. The explanation will not do, because no one has ever lied at such length and at such pains simply for the sake of lying, while it is unreasonable to suppose that Geoffrey had any special wish to placate the Welsh themselves. The Welsh of that day did not furnish prime ministers to England, with deaneries and bishoprics in their gift. That Geoffrey was an ardent patriot has been more than once suggested, but it does not seem probable on any score.

In the first place, there is no evidence, despite the *Britonum nugae* mentioned by William of Malmesbury, that a coherent legendary sequence about Arthur existed until Geoffrey created it. Indeed, the way he played upon passages from Nennius and Bede, using them as so many spring-boards for his airy flights, indicates pretty clearly his lack of any source that he could follow straight on. Moreover, there can scarcely have been a 'Celtic movement' to inspire him. In the second place, he was connected throughout his career with the Normans and English, and certainly wrote for them. Be it noted that he dedicated his *Prophecies of Merlin* to the great Alexander of Lincoln and his *History* — exclusively in its final form — to the still greater Robert, Earl of Gloucester, although he did not achieve a bishopric (or take full orders as a priest) until 1152. In addressing these men, he was unquestionably putting himself under the patronage of the two persons in high place most likely to appreciate literary efforts and to reward them.

Robert of Gloucester, as the one surviving son of Henry I, was a power in England not only before his father's death but still more

[1] *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, Proemium, ed. Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen* (Rolls Ser. LXXXII, 1, 14). I quote the translation by Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[2] *Itin. Cambriae*, i, 5, ed. J. F. Dimock (Rolls Ser. XXI, p. 58).

during the reign of Stephen, when he became the chief stay of his half-sister, the Empress Matilda, and of her son, Henry of Anjou. Between 1136 and 1138, however, the date of Geoffrey's *History*, he was at peace with Stephen, having sworn a conditional oath of fealty in the former year, which he renounced in the latter.[1] Although illegitimate, he had received great honors and wealth from Henry I, and gained much through his marriage. Indeed, he was like a vassal king in the western counties and the Welsh marches, and he was withal accounted a man of learning — Beauclerc like his father. To him William of Malmesbury addressed his *Gesta Regum* in 1125 and later his *Historia Novella*. If he could never quite hope to be king, he was certainly a good person to have for friend. It is perhaps not without significance that Geoffrey in his dedication referred to him *as if another Henry*.

Alexander of Blois, too, who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1123, was a great personage in his day. William of Malmesbury says in downright fashion: *There were then two most powerful bishops in England, Roger of Salisbury and his brother's son, Alexander of Lincoln*.[2] Roger was justiciar of England and in Stephen's reign papal legate, but he was scarcely more magnificent than his nephew, a worldly Norman prelate more concerned with politics than with the practice of religion perhaps, but a patron of letters withal. Henry of Huntingdon, who — about 1133 — dedicated to him his *History*, says that he wrote the work at the bishop's command, which may very well be true. Alexander was considered a learned man, even though it was probably flattery on Geoffrey's part to say that he would have sung "*prae ceteris audaci lyra*"[3] if he had not been called to higher things.

My point in citing these magnates of state and church is not merely to show that Geoffrey of Monmouth was ambitious, which is sufficiently evident from what we know of his career as a whole,[4] nor

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, i, ed. Stubbs, II, 541 and 545.

[2] *Hist. Novella*, ii, ed. Stubbs, II, 547.

[3] vii, 2, ed. San Marte, p. 92.

[4] It is certainly significant that he never visited his remote bishopric of St Asaph's, though appointed to it two years before his death.

that he was aware of the chief fountain-heads of honor in his time. The point is rather, it seems to me, that he should have hoped to interest the prince of the royal house and the great prelate in the romance of British history, and that, judged by the later fame of the book, he should have been so successful in doing this. It might be argued, to be sure, that Earl Robert, as lord of the West, would have liked to know the past of his Welsh neighbors; but it could hardly have been expected that he would welcome a glorification of their kings. It could not have been expected, that is, unless there were reasons other than propinquity to account for it.

To understand the situation as I see it, one must view both sides of the Channel at once and notice certain parallels in the history of the Capetian and Norman dynasties, which can scarcely be fortuitous and which throw a very interesting light on literary as well as political events of the twelfth century.

Hugh Capet dispossessed the last of the feeble Carlovingians in 987, and in that same year had his son Robert II (the Pious) crowned and anointed, the double rite having been instituted in 816 for Louis the Pious, the son of Charlemagne. As Professor Marc Bloch has shown in his wholly admirable work, *Les rois thaumaturges*,[1] it was quite possibly Robert II, who reigned from 996 until 1031, who first "touched" for scrofula. Certainly his grandson Philip I (1060–1108) exercised this regal and dynastic gift, and by the time of Louis VI (1108–1137) the custom was firmly established in tradition. M. Bloch pertinently remarks [2] that one has difficulty in believing that this crystallization of thaumaturgic power took place with no thought of its political bearing on a dynasty still far from sure of its position. It must be remembered, furthermore, that the French kings considered themselves successors of Clovis, in connection with whose baptism, according to a legend first recorded by Hincmar of Rheims in the ninth century, the Sainte Ampoule was divinely provided. This phial containing celestial balm was preserved in the Abbey of Saint-Rémi, and was produced at the consecration of all

[1] *Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg*, Fasc. 19, 1924, pp. 29–41.

[2] *Idem*, p. 81.

kings of France, who thus had a sanction to which English kings could not aspire until a far later date.[1]

By the end of the eleventh century, the house of Capet was thus buttressed by a set of beliefs and practices that were of inestimable advantage to monarchs surrounded by hostile rivals and ambitious vassals. The Capetians might lack the energy and sagacity of the house of Anjou, for example, but they were more highly favored of Heaven than any other sovereigns in Europe; and in the long run they gained solid power from such imponderables as miraculous unction and the gift of healing. Robert II, Henry I, and Philip I were not great kings, as the world counts success, but they managed to attain, or their counsellors attained for them, a unique position. It may be surmised that the final emergence of France, as France, from the welter of struggling dukedoms was due, in a far higher degree than historians have been accustomed to tell us, to the factors here mentioned. Feeling is, after all, one of the great realities of politics in any age.

Since the Capetian dynasty regarded itself, and was regarded, as carrying on the succession of Merovingian and Carlovingian rulers, it benefited also, without much doubt, from the extraordinary and complicated growth of the *chansons de geste* in the second half of the eleventh century. Whatever may be thought of Professor Bédier's conclusions as to the making of the French Epics,[2] it is scarcely disputable that he has shown them to be a product — and what we may justly term a literary product — of the eleventh century, and of no earlier date. Their development thus synchronized with the accession of sanctity attained by the Capets. It would be absurd to argue, of course, that the royal line of France fostered the growth of the Charlemagne legend in order to strengthen its own position; for that would attribute to those monarchs a machiaevellian shrewdness certainly not theirs, and it would have been impossible geographically besides. It is almost certain, however, that they profited from the popular fame into which the great emperor emerged. How

[1] See Bloch, pp. 224–229, for the French legend, and pp. 238–242, for the English imitation. Henry IV, be it noted, was the first king to use the sacred oil in England: Henry IV, whose rights were far from clear.

[2] J. Bédier, *Les légendes épiques*, 4 vols., 2d ed., 1914–21.

could have it been otherwise, since they traced their sacred descent far back of his time to Clovis himself? Feeble though they were, the divine sanction was there, and it must have come to the minds of men as they listened to the tales of the heroes who surrounded Charlemagne. Bédier's suggestion [1] that the very insignificance of such kings as Robert II, Henry I, and Philip I recalled the glories of Charlemagne by contrast, and was partly responsible for the development of the *chansons de geste*, may possibly be right; but it seems to me more probable, in view of Capetian success during the same period in asserting a distinctive claim to sovereignty, that the romantic tales merely strengthened — even if fortuitously — a growing sentiment of nationality, which looked to the kings of France for titular leadership.

Across the Channel, a Duke of Normandy seized the English throne in 1066, when Philip of France was still at the beginning of his long reign. Duke William won and held his kingdom by right of conquest; but he took pains, as everyone knows, to make it appear that he and not Harold was the legitimate ruler of the land and the proper heir of Edward the Confessor. He was wise enough to see that only by a process of adaptation and amalgamation could his successors and the Norman nobles keep what they had won. The results of his policy are descernible even in the reign of his not very wise or successful eldest son, when *in the wars of Rufus and Robert the change of feeling shows itself in the altered use of names; the appellations 'Norman' and 'French' are reserved exclusively for the duke and his allies, and the supporters of the king of England are all counted together indiscriminately as English.*[2] Henry I, who was an astute if not a brilliant monarch, married a granddaughter of Edward the Confessor, thus linking his house more firmly with the old line of Saxon kings. Their son William, born in 1103, seemed destined to settle for all time any question of Norman rights to the throne of England. But William perished when the White Ship went down in 1120, and by his death made perhaps inevitable the struggle between Stephen of Blois and the Empress Matilda that followed 1135.

[1] *Op. cit.*, IV, 454.

[2] K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings* (London and New York, 1887), I, 24.

Henry Beauclerc, as M. Bloch has shown,[1] probably touched for the evil, although the evidence for it is an indirect reference by William of Malmesbury,[2] who was concerned at the moment with Edward the Confessor rather than his own king. M. Bloch's inference that Henry I began the practice in England is strengthened, however, by the quite unequivocal testimony of Peter of Blois [3] as to its customary and conventionalized use by Henry II. It would be extremely interesting to know, although we are unlikely ever to discover, whether Henry Beauclerc assumed the power in the lifetime of Prince William, or only when his hope of leaving his crown to a son who united the English and Norman dynasties was so violently shattered. In any case, it would have been very natural for Henry to take up the practice, very easy for him to believe in the thaumaturgic efficacy of his touch, for he must have regarded himself as quite as good a king as his feudal lord and rival, Louis VI of France.

We know — again through the researches of M. Bloch — that Henry Beauclerc was not averse from taking advantage of his connection with the English house.[4] Instead of acknowledging his imitation of the Capetians in the matter of healing, he — or the monks of Westminster for him — developed a suitable legend with regard to Edward the Confessor, according to which the Saxon king "touched" successfully by virtue of his royalty. William of Malmesbury's otherwise somewhat equivocal reference makes it abundantly clear that in 1124 the belief was current — a falsity, William thought — that Edward's healing power came *non ex sanctitate, sed ex regalis prosapiae hereditate.* Henry undoubtedly profited by this belief, as he did by the rise of the cult of St Edward which accompanied it.

The story of this development, indeed, is an interesting one, and pertinent to our inquiry. Edward, who died at the opening of the year 1066, had acquired no reputation for sanctity during his lifetime, nor do references that immediately followed his death indicate

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 41–49. [2] *De Gestis Regum*, ed. Stubbs, I, 273.

[3] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CCVII, col. 440.

[4] Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–49, 82–84; and, more particularly, "La vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLI (1923), 17–44.

that he was regarded as a person of distinguished holiness. The tendency to elevate him to sainthood must have begun ere long, however, since two writs from the time of Abbot Gilbert Crispin, who ruled Westminster between 1085 (or thereabouts) and 1117, state that refugees sought sanctuary at "*the altar of St Peter and the body of King Edward.*" [1] The movement, quite possibly begun by popular veneration, was equally useful to the abbey and to the Norman kings, who from the first had virtually adopted Edward as their own and in the person of Henry I had allied themselves with his blood. How cleverly the monks fostered the cult is shown by a prophecy attributed to the Confessor, which is found in an anonymous *Vita* [2] written between 1093 and 1120 and referred to by William of Malmesbury towards 1125.[3] This prophecy clearly indicated young William, the son of Henry, as destined to heal the land of its ills, he being a bough reunited to the ancestral stock.

Although the busy propagandist who invented the prophecy was doomed to disappointment in the early death of the prince, he and his fellow-workers succeeded in attaching to the Norman house the legend of a saint in the making. Osbert of Clare, in 1138, could write a life of Edward that showed him ready for canonization, and doubtless could write it in all sincerity, although it was not till 1161, when a more politic king than Stephen was on the throne, that the Saxon monarch was finally made a saint. For Ailred of Rievaulx, who in 1160 wrote the official *Vita*, St Edward's prophetic vision was adequately fulfilled in the fusion of races that had taken place.

The Norman dynasty had thus acquired before the end of Henry Beauclerc's reign not only power, but most of the trappings of power so valuable by way of inspiring respect. It had not, to be sure, the royal balm descended from Clovis, which gave the French kings a special sanction; but it had coronations and anointings, and it had established relations with a member of a former dynasty whose repute for sanctity was growing and was certain to lead to canoniza-

[1] J. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin* (Cambridge: University Press, 1911), p. 37.

[2] Ed. Luard, *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, 1858, pp. 430–31 (Rolls Ser. III). For the date, see Bloch's masterly discussion, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–44.

[3] *De Gestis Regum*, v., ed. Stubbs, II, 495.

tion in due time. Perhaps, after all, it was quite as satisfactory to lean for support on the divine favor accorded to the grandfather of a living queen as on someone so remote as Clovis. Furthermore, the Norman line gave proof of its legitimacy by its thaumaturgic gift: Henry by a touch of his hand could heal the evil as well as Louis, and must therefore be an equally sacred king.

In one essential respect only was the English dynasty less well provided than the French with the pomp and circumstance of royalty. There was not in the background any figure of heroic size such as Charlemagne had come to be in the imagination of the eleventh century. The Capetians could not lay claim to descent from the mighty emperor, but the legitimacy of their succession from him was attested by the sacred gifts they possessed. England had no such world-conqueror to boast; and a dynasty become English in sentiment, if not in manners and speech, could not well encourage its supporters to chant a *Song of Roland* as a Norman duke could afford to do in 1066. There were plenty of Anglo-Saxon royal saints, to be sure, who were not neglected in the new era,[1] but nowhere in English history was there a universal glory like Charlemagne.

It is Geoffrey of Monmouth's one clear title to genius, I believe, that he saw the situation as it was: that only from British history could the want be supplied. He well deserved all the fame he won in his own day, and all the fame that has been his ever since — in spite of detractors — if only for the moment of inspiration when he conceived the notion of his "*librum vetustissimum, qui a Bruto primo rege Britonum usque ad Cadwaladrum filium Cadwalonis, actus omnium continue et ex ordine perpulcris orationibus proponebat.*" [2] Indeed, he deserved a much greater reward than was his in his own lifetime, since what he accomplished by his pen was something of inestimable advantage to his country — something worth infinitely more than the inconspicuous bishopric of St Asaph's.

Some strokes of political genius, however, and most literary inspirations can scarcely be paid for in worldly honors, the more so that frequently their importance is not understood at the time.

[1] See Gerould, *Saints' Legends* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916), pp. 132–136, 140–142.

[2] *Historia Regum*, i, 1, ed. San Marte, p. 3.

Of necessity, it seems to me, Geoffrey had to veil himself behind his "very old book" and Walter of Oxford, who was erudite "*in exoticis historiis.*" There is no sense in regarding Geoffrey as a vulgar forger or a humorist. He could not well pose as the discoverer of hidden things; he must appear merely as the disseminator of information that ought to be common knowledge. Yet it is more than possible that he won less personal reputation by his book because he wrote himself down simply as translator and compiler.

It has never been suggested, I believe, but it is a point to consider in connection with Geoffrey's intentions that his seventh book, the *Prophecies of Merlin*, so curiously rivals and outdoes the single prophecy attributed to Edward the Confessor, discussed above. This seventh book, perhaps in a longer form, appears to have been issued as a separate work before the publication of the *History*.[1] It was dedicated, as we have seen, to Alexander of Lincoln. Now, Professor Rupert Taylor in his very useful monograph, *The Political Prophecy in England*,[2] has shown it to be a peculiarity of Geoffrey that he used animals and trees as prophetic symbols, which connects his work with later Welsh poems in which the same device is found. We have noted that the Edwardian prophecy employs a tree with its branches to hide its meaning; noted, too, that by 1120 the prophecy was famous.[3] Geoffrey could perfectly well have received the inspiration for his *libellus* from this source, carrying out the idea with the thoroughness so characteristic of him. In saying this, I do not imply, however, that he may not have obtained material for some of his prophecies from Welsh or Breton sources, but merely the probability that he was stimulated by the success of the earlier vision.[4]

[1] The evidence rests on Geoffrey's own statement and on the quotations made by Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, xii, 47, ed. LePrévost, IV, 486–492.

[2] New York: Columbia University Press, 1911, pp. 45–47.

[3] Professor Taylor's slighting reference to the *Vision of Edward*, p. 8, is not strange, since its importance had not been demonstrated at the time he wrote.

[4] In view of Geoffrey's reference to his shepherd's pipe (*fistula*), his rustic pipe (*agrestis calamus*), as well as to his folk melody (*plebeio modulamine*), in the epistle which he sent, according to his own statement, with the *Prophecies of Merlin* to Bishop Alexander, it seems evident that he could not have had in mind simply the prose prophesies as they are found in Book vii of the *Historia*. He says of Alexander, furthermore: *qui prae ceteris audaci lyra caneres*. What does all this mean? It has never been explained.

In many ways, though the idea and its execution were so admirably adapted for success, the date of publication of Geoffrey's *Historia* was a bad one. As I have already said, we know that the book must have been given to the world between 1136 and 1138. Stephen of Blois had made his *coup d'état* after Henry's death at the end of 1135, and in the following spring Robert of Gloucester had given his conditional oath of fealty; but no thoughtful person could have failed to have misgivings about the new reign. Hope there must have been, nevertheless, that Stephen — impulsive and likable — would keep his oath to follow out the policies of his late uncle. Actuated by some such hope, no doubt, Geoffrey, who had just dedicated his book to the Earls of Gloucester and Mellent, changed the dedication to exclude the latter, putting the new king in first place. One extant manuscript [1] thus links Stephen and Robert. It is not inconceivable that the ambitious author may have believed the time propitious to launch a history designed at once to put such fellows as William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon in their place,[2] to flatter the followers of Earl Robert who had Celtic blood, and to show to all the world that young King Stephen had predecessors as glorious as any of whom King Louis could boast. There was Arthur, his whole life now made clear to anyone who could read Latin — Arthur, before whom the kings of the Continent bowed down either in fealty or fear — Arthur, who worsted even the Emperor of Rome. Charlemagne was no greater, and he was much less ancient.

Unfortunately Stephen did not keep the peace with Gloucester, but in the summer of 1138 seized his castles and plunged the country

[1] Codex 568, Staatsbibliothek, Bern. The description by Acton Griscom, *op. cit.*, supersedes all previous accounts. Mr Griscom's argument that Geoffrey's double dedication to Robert of Gloucester and Waleran, Earl of Mellent, preceded that to Stephen and Robert seems to me as sound as it is brilliant. I take the more pleasure in saying this, since I cannot accept as proved his attempt to give a precise date for the double dedications. Similarly, Mr Griscom's "The *Book of Basingwerk* and MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. V," *Y Cymmrodor* XXXV (1925), 49–116, XXXVI (1926), 1–33, has the great value of showing quite conclusively the need for proper texts and textual studies of the Welsh chronicles posterior to Geoffrey, even though the arguments for the existence of Walter's book seem to me negligible.

[2] It is interesting that this gibe is not found in one Cambridge MS., as Mr Griscom shows, *Speculum*, I (1926), 137, but it does not affect my argument.

into a devastating civil war. It must have seemed to everyone then that Geoffrey had hit upon a very inauspicious time to celebrate the splendors of the past, unless indeed as consolation for the sorry present.

Some immediate success the *Historia* must have had, or so we are led to believe by the twin double dedications. We know from the case of Osbert of Clare, who presented his *Vita* of Edward the Confessor to the new papal legate in 1138, and took it to Rome, together with other documents, presumably in the following year,[1] that what we nowadays call propaganda did not cease when Stephen quarrelled with Robert of Gloucester. It is perhaps significant, however, that except for Gaimar no writer in the vernacular literature shows the influence of Geoffrey until the end of Stephen's reign. The flowering of romance, as I have already hinted, did not come at once. It was delayed for some two decades, and began almost immediately after Henry II came to the throne.[2] One is led to believe that the advent of Henry Plantagenet, with a court acknowledged to be one of the most brilliant in Europe, brought Geoffrey's work into prominence and gave rise to the romances that drew upon it for material.

What can be said safely is this: the coincidence in the cultivation of various means calculated to increase the prestige of the Norman dynasty, so curiously paralleling similar movements in France, shows that Geoffrey's *History* was even more important than it has hitherto been considered. The researches of many scholars have demonstrated that stories about Arthur were circulating both in Wales and in Brittany when Geoffrey wrote.[3] They have not shown, however, that the "popular songs" mentioned by William of Malmesbury were coherent, well-organized tales. Since investigation has proved that Geoffrey, while using Nennius and Bede extensively, while adapting themes from the Old Testament and certainly picking up much from current tradition, invented and embroidered with the utmost freedom, we are forced to the conclusion

[1] See Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14.

[2] Wace's *Brut*, 1155, and Thomas's *Tristan*, 1155–70, are, by common agreement, among the earliest.

[3] About the evidence from the reliefs in Lombardy, there is still the gravest doubt.

that without him there might never have been any Arthurian romances at all.

Geoffrey formed Arthur in the image of Charlemagne — for very good and sufficient reasons, as I have tried to show. Whether or not he was wholly conscious of these reasons matters little, though I cannot help believing that he was. His was the notion of Arthur, I need scarcely say, that persisted in all the romances except a few late ones of English derivation. If Arthur became the centre for the exploits of the knights of the Round Table, but himself took small part in them, it was because his position had been fixed by Geoffrey as a world-conqueror: he was too lofty a person to be involved in adventures by the way. M. Bédier has pointed out that Charlemagne, in the same fashion, was almost never given the centre of the stage in the *chansons de geste*. It is not without significance that Geoffrey listed the Twelve Peers of France among Arthur's lords.[1]

If the views I have been presenting have validity, it follows that the question as to the Welsh *versus* Armorican derivation of the material used by Geoffrey, and by the romancers after him, has less importance than has been assumed. If, that is to say, the *genre* of Arthurian romance be conceived not as a self-directed and spontaneous growth, but as a kind of fiction cultivated by story-tellers perfectly conscious of what they were doing, there is no reason why the story-tellers should not have derived suggestions from the folklore of both Brittany and Wales, at the same time adapting and inventing without scruple. The sanctity of popular tradition is a fetish of modern scholarship: it was no affair of mediaeval writers.

That material was readily accessible from Cornwall, as well as Wales and Brittany, scarcely needed demonstration, though it has been sufficiently proved many times over. Under the conditions that existed, there was no strict line of separation between Celtic and non-Celtic populations. Did not the monks of Laon visit Cornwall as well as Devon in 1113? Did not Henry I plant a colony of Flemish folk in the heart of Wales?[2] Was not Brittany allied now with Anjou and now with Normandy; and did not Breton troops

[1] ix, 12, ed. San Marte, pp. 132–3.

[2] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum*, v, ed. Stubbs, II, 477.

serve under William the Conqueror? It is not unlikely that Geoffrey of Monmouth himself had Breton blood, though born in Wales.[1] Such waifs and strays of tradition as would serve the turn of romancers were to be had from every side; and it is quite apparent that writers were not too particular about the genuinely Celtic provenience of everything that went into a Breton lay or an Arthurian romance.

Should anyone inquire how it happened that a set of stories developed in England to enhance the glory of English kings and minister to the pride of nobles who had learned to call themselves English, to serve withal as a balance against the tales of Charlemagne, came to be woven into romances chiefly at the rival court of France, my answer is ready. Such was not the case. We know all too little about the Arthurian romancers of the twelfth century, but we can say with considerable assurance that it was neither Louis nor Philip Augustus who fostered their undertakings.

Gaimar wrote for the benefit of an Anglo-Norman lady, and Wace, according to Layamon, presented his *Brut* to Queen Eleanor of Poitou. The enigmatic Marie de France, whoever she may have been, was somehow connected, everyone now agrees, with the court of Henry II.[2] The equally unknown authors of the two early poems on *Tristan*, Thomas and Béroul, were respectively Anglo-Norman and Norman. Chrétien de Troyes had as patrons Marie de Champagne, the daughter of Eleanor of Poitou, and Philip, Count of Flanders. Robert de Boron's dialect has been much in dispute, but has been thought to have Anglo-Norman characteristics, though prevailingly that of Picardy. Attempts have been made to identify him with two knights holding land in England; and he himself refers to Gautier de Mont-Belial as his lord, Mont-Belial being interpreted as Montbéliard in Burgundy. Wauchier de Denain, finally, appears to have written his continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval* while under the protection of Philippe, Marquis de Namur.

What can be ascertained from dialect and dedications indicates, accordingly, that the Arthurian material was used in the first place

[1] See Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 19.

[2] See, *Die Lais de Marie de France*, ed. K. Warnke (Bibliotheca Normannica, Vol. III, 3d ed., 1925), pp. iii–ix.

by writers who either had English or Norman connections, or at least were not nearly concerned with the prestige of the French kings as set over against the English. Once popularized, of course, the stories belonged to all the world, and were obviously used and embroidered by Continental writers without thought of any dynastic or national considerations. Chrétien de Troyes, who cannot have been a nationalist of any stripe any more than his royal patroness (or her mother, for that matter) may well have been the chief instrument by which the matter of Britain passed into the realm of pure fancy. But Geoffrey of Monmouth, meanwhile, had accomplished his purpose: he had romanticized England's past, and done it so effectually that we are under the spell of Celtic tradition even to this day.

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ON THE SYMBOLS OF ABBREVIATIONS FOR *-TUR*

By EDWARD KENNARD RAND

IN that indispensable work, *Notae Latinae*, Professor Lindsay pointed out, on the basis of a wealth of illustrations, that the figure-2 symbol for *-tur* is later than the apostrophe-sign, not coming into general use until about the year 820.[1] From this fact, three inferences, it would seem, may be drawn:

(1) The constant use of the 2-symbol in a manuscript indicates, *ceteris paribus*, that the manuscript was written after 820.

(2) If a manuscript contains both symbols, or other varieties, it probably belongs in a period of transition, being written either just before or just after 820.

(3) The presence of the apostrophe-sign alone indicates a date clearly before 820.

That these rules are in general most helpful, any one who has worked with them will gladly admit. There is a question, however, whether we are so certain of the date when the new symbol was invented. I have long been perplexed as to how to apply the rules to certain books of Tours. The "Alcuin Bible" of Bamberg, for instance, which I have always regarded as genuinely an Alcuin Bible, written either under Alcuin himself or not many years after his death, contains both the apostrophe and the figure 2 as symbols for *-tur*, and on this ground should be dated not much earlier than 820. Another book is the Virgil of Bern (No. 165), which, so far as I am aware, has only the 2-sign. This manuscript, therefore, which I have been tempted to place not much later than the Bamberg Bible, ought to have been done after 820. I am aware of the slippery nature of the ground on which palaeographers must proceed in the various attempts — which owe so much to Traube's inspiration — to trace the history of the different schools of script in the eighth and

[1] *Notae Latinae: An Account of Abbreviations in Latin MSS of the Early Minuscule Period (c. 700–850)*, (Cambridge, England: the University Press, 1915), p. 377. Lindsay adds certain examples in his article, "The (Early) Lorsch Scriptorium," *Palaeographia Latina*, III (1924), 13 f.

INCOLA EGO SUM IN TERRA · NON ABSCONDAS A ME
MANDATA TUA ; Ibi quisq; est peregrinus · ubi absens à patria
sua ; Iste ergo qui supernae hierusalem ciuis adscriptus ē
peregrinum se profitetur in terra · quia certus est de be
reditate promissa ; Sed quia temptatio est uita humana
super terram · petit ne in tempore tribulationis & inco
latus sui abscondantur a be o mandata di ;
CONCUPIUIT ANIMA MEA DESIDERARE · IUSTIFICATIONES
TUAS IN OMNI TEMPORE ; Ut siue manducem siue bibam
siue aliud quid faciam ea semper desiderem meditet
ad prachendam ; Tu enim me iustificas · tua me facit
gratia iustum & bonum · mihi est semper hoc desidera se
& in hoc tuo p̄sidio dilectari ; Alioquin iustus non ero
si defuerit mihi gratia tua aut inflauerit me
superbia ·

INCREPASTI SUPERBOS · MALEDICTI QUI DECLINANT
A MANDATIS TUIS : Increpatio haec intellegenda est
quam primi hominum genitores sua transgressione
meruerunt · declinantes a mandato di per superbiam
quam concupierunt ; Non quod dr diligendum praecipit
sed quod diabolus inuidendo persuasit ; Omnis itaque
superbus hac increpatione subiectus est · siue heredita
rio merito · siue uoluntatis arbitrio ; Superbi enim
declinant a mandatis di · aliud est quippe mandata eius
per infirmitatem uel ignorantiam non implere · aliud
ab eis per superbiam declinare ; Tunc omnes impii ple
nam accipient maledictionem · cum audierint ; Ite
maledicti in ignem aeternum ;
AUFER A ME OPPROBRIUM ET CONTEMPTU QUIA TESTIMO

COLOGNE, DOMBIBLIOTEK, MS. 106, FOL. 29 v

ninth centuries. The task is fascinating; the danger's self is lure alone. When the evidence is all in — and it will come from a study not only of the script but of the illumination[1] — I may perhaps have to modify the theory of the history of the script of Tours that I have thus far held and briefly presented.[2] For the moment, I would not abandon my position; for certain data have come to light which lead me to doubt whether one should date a book of Tours as late as 820 just because it contains the 2-symbol.[3]

Lindsay's treatment is a model of caution as well as of research. He makes clear that the 2-sign appeared at different times in different centres. His material indicates that North France and North Italy led the way in the adoption of the new symbol,[4] and he summons investigators to follow farther the clues that he has discovered. In a very recent work, moreover, he presents new evidence, the importance of which is obvious enough. In collaboration with Professor Paul Lehmann, Traube's worthy successor at Munich, Lindsay has published a study of certain manuscripts of Mayence,[5] a companion-piece to his previous article[6] on the early scriptorium of Lorsch, and thereby has thrown no little light on one of the dark spots which the present method of palaeographical investigation is seeking to illuminate. Lindsay shows that the apostrophe is the symbol employed in *MSS. Vat. Pal. 578, 579,* and *1447,* but he also records one instance of the 2-sign in the *Codex Oblongus* of Lucretius.[7] This symbol, as the Keeper of the Manuscripts at Leyden informed him, is by the scribe himself.[8] This is a point of some importance; for,

[1] Forthcoming publications by Professor Wilhelm Köhler of Weimar and Professor A. M. Friend of Princeton should add greatly to our information on the latter point.

[2] See "The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome,* I (1917), 19 ff.

[3] Correspondingly, I have been led to doubt whether the presence of the apostrophe-sign is as conclusive evidence as Lindsay believes (*Palaeographia Latina,* III (1924), 8, 13) that a book "cannot be so late as the second half of the ninth century." I must reserve this point for a later discussion.

[4] *Notae Latinae,* p. 378.

[5] *Palaeographia Latina,* IV (1925), 15 ff.

[6] *Ibid.,* III (1924), 1 ff.

[7] Leyden, *Voss. F. 30,* fol. 34: *ferantur.* The manuscript has been published in facsimile in *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti duce Seatone de Vries,* XII (1908), with an introduction by E. Chatelain. Abbreviations are rare in this *edition de luxe.* Apparently the scribe permits them only when forced by the length of the line. I have discovered no other cases, in the first hand, of the abbreviation of *-tur* by the figure-2 or any other symbol.

[8] *Pal. Lat.* IV (= *P. L.*), p. 32.

as Lindsay points out,[1] it is often impossible to decide from photographs or facsimiles whether the final stroke in a figure 2 is not due to a later corrector, to whom the apostrophe-sign had come to mean nothing but *-tus*. Abbreviations of any sort are comparatively rare in the books of Mayence, as both Lindsay and Lehmann testify.[2] Apparently, at the opening of the ninth century, whenever the writers in this scriptorium did abbreviate *-tur*, they regularly used the apostrophe.[3] And yet the occurrence of even one case of the figure 2 in one of these ancient books — for Lindsay apparently associates the *Oblongus* with this group — makes us pause. One swallow does not make a spring, but what if it appears on New Year's Day? Lindsay had already trapped one of these *rarae aues*, for he records as the earliest appearance of the 2-symbol known to him that in *Paris, B. N. lat. 13159*, a *Psalter* of Charlemagne, written in small uncial script between 795 and 800.[4]

Two manuscripts are described by Lindsay in his article on the School of Mayence and rightly excluded from his list of the books of that school: *Vat. Pal. lat. 1448, Computistica*, etc., "written by various scribes at various times, the first part (foll. 1–44) at Trèves in the year 810," [5] and *Vat. Pal. lat. 161*, Lactantius, *Institutiones Diuinae*, "written at St Amand when Lotharius presided over the scriptorium, *saec.* viii/ix." [6] On the first of these books he notes that the 2-symbol occurs "both in the Trèves portion and the rest but the apostrophe-symbol on fol. 70^{r}." [7] Whether the latter symbol is also found in the Trèves portion or not, here is good evidence that the 2-symbol was employed in this scriptorium at least as early as 810. In the book of St Amand, which would seem to be at least as early, the 2-symbol is used by one of the scribes. Here, then, are two different centres in which this sign was known and at least to some extent practised in the opening years of the ninth century. Perhaps, as the *Oblongus* of Lucretius indicates, the same thing may be said about Mayence. All of these cases illustrate Lindsay's further statement that the new symbol was adopted early in the monasteries

[1] *Notae Latinae* (= *N. L.*), p. 378. [2] *P. L.*, p. 32.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 35. [4] *N. L.*, p. 376. [5] *P. L.*, p. 22. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[7] *Ibid.* See also *N. L.*, p. 376.

sexto · ccc lxv · dies sunt in anno solis · In luna uero · ccc · liiii · ii dcccc xx ·
quadrantes in anno · viii dcc · lx · horae sunt in anno · xxxv xl · puncta
sunt in anno · lxxxvii · dc · minuti sunt in anno · cccl · momenta sunt in
anno · hoc totum sine bissexto · viii DE ANNO ISIDORUS DICIT

Annus solis est anfractus cum per actis tricentis sexaginta quinque dieb;
ad eadem loca siderum redit, Annus autem dictus quia mensib; in se
recurrentib; uoluitur, Unde et anulus quasi annuus idest circulus quod
in se redeat uirgilius atq; in se sua per uestigia uoluitur annus Sicenim apud
aegyptios indicabatur ante inuentas litteras pictodracone caudam suam
mordente quia in se recurrit, Alii annum dicunt a puto anaessia idest ab
innouatione renouatur enim semper, Tria sunt autem genera annorum
Aut enim lunaris annus est triginta dierum · Aut solisticialis qui xii con
tinet menses · Aut magnis omnib; planetis in eundem locum recurrentib;
qui fit post annos solisticialis plurimos, Aera singulorum annorum est
constituta a cesare augusto · quando primum censu exagitato romanum
orbem discribsit · Dicta autem aera eo quod omnis orbis aes reddere
profes est rei publicae viiii · DE OLIMPIA OES Olimpias apud

Cologne, Dombibliotek, MS. 83[11], Fol. 25

of Italy and North France, with which would be included the districts along the Rhine.[1]

Still another example may be added from Lindsay's article on the early Scriptorium of Lorsch.[2] Among the books left to that monastery in 814 by Gerward, who lived at Ghent in Holland, is a copy of St Augustine on *Genesis* (*Vat. Pal. lat. 234*); it was written for Gerward by Flotbertus, '*clericus suus.*' This scribe uses the 2-symbol. Lindsay states that for this reason it must be the latest of Gerward's books. Whether this deduction is sound or not, here is a book of the north in which the 2-symbol occurred at least as early as 814.

From the valuable collection of photographs amassed by the late Abbé Liebaert, whose death is the most deplorable loss sustained by palaeography since that of Traube, at least two further examples may be gathered. One occurs in *Paris, B. N. lat. 17371*, a copy of St Jerome on Jeremiah written at St Denis, 793–806. On fol. 18^{v},[3] which shows a clear round minuscule following a rather crude heading, the 2-symbol appears in the word *arbitrantur*. This fact should be added to Lindsay's statement [4] that in this manuscript the apostrophe is used for *-ur*. How frequent the 2-sign is and whether it is surely by the first hand I do not know. Similarly, in a manuscript of Montpellier, *Univ. 141*, an approach to the 2-symbol is found in *saluabuntur* [5] and in *contristetur*.[6] The form resembles an inverted *v*, which Lindsay at first was tempted to call a Burgundian symbol.[7] He dates the book "c. 800," and certainly the script has early traces, such as the Merovingian *h* with the tall shaft curving to the left. It contains, among other things, Alcuin's *de Fide Sanctae Trinitatis* and his letter to Gundisda, *de Animae Ratione*, both works being written only a year or two before their author's death.[8] I

[1] *N. L.*, p. 378. [2] *P. L.*, III, 1 ff.

[3] No. 1154 in Lindsay's printed account of these photographs; No. 1213 in the typewritten list furnished by the Vatican authorities.

[4] *N. L.*, p. 376. It is used for *-us* twice in the small section of text reproduced in Liebaert's photograph (*dictamus* and *deploremus*).

[5] Fol. 53 (No. 1228 Lindsay = 734 Vatican).

[6] Fol. 118 (1231 L = 737 V). [7] *N. L.*, p. 374.

[8] In the preface to the *de Fide*, Froben finds a reference to the year 802; see Migne, *P. L.*, C (1851), 1. The letter is ascribed to the period 801–804. See *Mon. Germ. Hist., Epistolae Karolini Aeui*, iv (1895), 473 ff.

venture to think that the Montpellier manuscript was written in the south of France, as its present location would indicate.

Here, then, are four and perhaps five or six different places in apparently different regions in which the 2-symbol was known in the early years of the ninth century. Another scriptorium in which this sign was in use was Cologne. Says Lindsay: [1]

> We might give this form [the recumbent *u* or *y*] the name of the 'Burgundian' symbol (although it is probably also to be found outside of Burgundy), were it not that the Cologne usage suggests that it is merely a variety of the 'Italian' symbol. For in Cologne MSS of Hildebald's time practically any form of stroke above *t* represents 'tur,' a wavy form, a 7-form, a cup-form, the lower half of a small circle, an almost vertical stroke hooked at each end, etc., as well as the normal horizontal straight stroke.

These last two are varieties of what Lindsay calls the Italian symbol. He refrains from assigning approximate dates to the different books written under Hildebald (794–819). There are ten manuscripts in the Dombibliotek to-day that bear the inscription CODEX SANCTI PETRI SUB PIO PATRE HILDEBALDO SCRIPTUS or the like,[2] and twelve others that owing to the nature of the correcting hands seem to belong with this group. Some of these, surely, must show the style in vogue at St Peter's at the very beginning of the century.

Since the publication of *Notae Latinae*, the abbreviations of Cologne have been very profitably studied by H. Foerster.[3] With one exception, which we shall presently note, he does not distinguish the manuscripts in point of date. For a preliminary study this caution is commendable. Possibly, however, we may at least separate the earlier from the later books of Hildebald in several cases. Thanks to the kindness of Domprobst Middendorf and Dr Lohmann, in charge of the Dombibliotek when I visited it last summer, a num-

[1] *N. L.*, p. 374.

[2] See the catalogue by Jaffé and Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Coloniensis, Codices Manuscripti* (Berlin, 1874), pp. 4 f. No. 212, which is inscribed *in dei nomine Hildibaldus*, must not be reckoned in the list. See H. Foerster, *Die Abkürzungen in den Kölner Handschriften der Karolingerzeit* (Tübingen, 1916), p. 3. Foerster selects for treatment fourteen manuscripts that surely were written under Hildebald.

[3] See the preceding note.

ber of the manuscripts were sent to the Universitäts- und Stadtbibliotek, where through the courtesy of the librarian Professor Dr Loeffler and the unfailing kindness of Dr Theele and Obersecretär Thomann, I was able to make some study — all too brief — of these books.

The book to which I devoted most time was *Codex 106*, which some authorities have assigned to the School of Tours.[1] According to their view, it was written under the supervision of Alcuin in 802 for his friend Arno of Salzburg and contains, among other things, Alcuin's *Exposition of the Psalms*. The noted mediaevalist, Wilhelm Meyer, had made a minute study of this manuscript and had come to the conclusion that it was surely a book of Tours. It is a pity, as Lindsay says, that his notes on the matter have not been published. Lindsay subscribes to his opinions in no uncertain terms. "This *must* be the MS.," he declares, "hurriedly prepared for Arn by Alcuin in 802. It is a milestone for the Alcuin-stage of Tours minuscule." [2] If this, then, is a book of Alcuin's time, we may be sure that the 2-symbol was known and used at St Martin's at the beginning of the ninth century,[3] along with the apostrophe-sign [4] and what Lindsay [5] calls the Italian sign, a horizontal stroke with a small vertical cap at either end.[6] The Anglo-Saxon symbol also appears, a long wavy line, suggesting an ancient cursive *s*, cutting the right end of the top stroke of the *t*.[7] Meyer found twenty hands in this book.[8] In the time at my disposal, I was not sure that I could detect so many; it is safe to say that at least a dozen writers can readily be distinguished, and that though in most cases they employ no abbreviation at all for *-tur*, the scriptorium was acquainted with three kinds of compendia just described.

I fear, however, that we cannot maintain on this evidence that the 2-symbol was known at Tours before the death of Alcuin, for

[1] For earlier discussions, see W. Arndt, *Schriftafeln zur Erlernung der lateinischen Paläographie*, II (3te Auflage, besorgt von M. Tangl, Berlin, 1898), *Tafeln* 39, 40, 44–47.

[2] *P. L.*, III (1924), 7.

[3] E.g., *committuntur*, fol. 17^{v}; *dilectatur*, fol. 28^{v}.

[4] E.g., *dominatur*, fol. 40.

[5] *N. L.*, p. 373.

[6] E.g., fol. 10^{v}: *lapidaretur*.

[7] E.g., fol. 51: *loquatur*. See *N. L.*, p. 379.

[8] See *N. L.*, p. 453; *P. L.*, III (1924), 7.

despite the weighty authority of Lindsay I am convinced, if I am convinced of anything, that *MS. 106* was no product of the scriptorium of St Martin's. It clearly is one of the books of Cologne. Proof of this conviction must be postponed to another article, but I can at least indicate now the similarity of one of the hands in this manuscript to one of those in another book written under Hildebald of St Peter's.[1] The hands are not the same, but the general styles are strikingly similar. Meanwhile let us turn our attention to some of these early books of Cologne.

We may begin with the manuscript to which I have just referred, *No. 83*^{II}, which contains various *Chronica* (Jerome, Isidore, Bede, etc.). Its date may be stated with some precision. According to Jaffé and Wattenbach in their catalogue,[2] the first part was written in 798 and the rest of the book in 805. Chroust, with better reason, assigns the entire manuscript to the later date.[3] There are certain signs of antiquity in the abbreviations, as the following list (illustrative, not complete) will make clear:

Ante. *an* with horizontal stroke above. (*F*[*oerster*], p. 51; *N.L.*, p. 8)

Inter. *i longa* with a cross-bar. Often. (*F.*, p. 13; *N.L.*, p. 111)

Ergo. *er* with horizontal stroke above. Often. (*F.*, p. 55; *N.L.*, p. 66)

Secundum. Minuscule *s* with cross-bar; *su*, with horizontal stroke above; rarely *sc* with horizontal stroke above. (*F.*, pp. 73, 75; *N.L.*, pp. 279 ff.) The last two symbols are not cited by Lindsay. Perhaps, in view of the nature of the text, in which numerals abound, these forms should be classed under "Capricious Abbreviations." (*N.L.*, pp. 415 ff.)

Sine. *sn* with horizontal stroke above. (*N.L.*, p. 291; not noticed by *F.*)

These ancient *notae* may well have come in by way of Ireland, where they formed the basis of the elaborate set of symbols developed by Irish scribes.[4] Further marks of Ireland are apparent in the following list:

[1] See *Plate I* (*MS. 106*, fol. 29^{v}), and *Plate II* (*MS. 83*^{II}, fol. 25).

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

[3] A. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica*, Serie II, Lieferung vii, Tafel 1. Hence Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. 5: "um 805."

[4] See the references in *N. L.* to the different symbols just discussed, and the remarks of Dom A. Wilmart in his brilliant article on *Un Ancien Manuscrit de Saint-Bertin en Lettres Onciales* (Saint-Omer, 1926), p. 8.

euenerit luna xsi in aliis annis sabbatum dieb; viii mane seqn̄tis accederit
sn̄ dubitacione celebremus Siu̅ in domicu incederit omnim̄ in septimanam.
sequente ut sepius dictum ÷ differamus p̄ eas q̄s p̄ fatis summus causas his er̄
demonstratis atq̄ patefactis h. & c̄siderandū ÷ q̄ & lex freqn̄t̄ causa neces
sitatis eos qui constriccione tēporis q̄dā non potuerint in primo mense.
pascha celebrare fo idē p̄cepit melius enī est in necessitate positos supiora q̄
inferiora fectare q̄m̄ si inferiora a supiobus continentur supiora aut ab in
feriori nuō n̄ includunt Illud igit̄ q̄ iā posuim; declarantes q̄ x; nūs nonū in
tra se c̄tineat non; h̄ xmū c̄tinere n̄ possit q̄ si lex ad s̄ūm̄ sē t̄rire nos p̄cepit
si n̄ possum; sc̄m pascha p̄mo m̄se celebrare p̄ q̄sdam necessitates n̄ intellego cur n̄
si xiiii ma in domicu incurrerit diem lunā in viii manā seqn̄tē racionabiliter
dilacionem pasche facere debeamus manente & p̄mo m̄se & xvi ma luna.
In q̄ saluatur crucifixus ÷ manente & & xvii ma q̄n p̄ triduū resur̄ Ubi aut̄
primus domic; resur̄is xp̄i dies fuerit uaria efert & quidē ut sup̄ memorauim
quidā viii kalendar̄ aprilis s. alii vi n̄ nulli v kalendar̄ earu ndē die fuis
se adseuerant, ubi notandum quia si viii kalendar̄ memoratarū ut antiqo
res scripsere resur̄ dn̄i facta ÷ Quintus profecto circuli. xviii ōr t̄ c̄ a tebat

Cologne, Dombibliotek, MS. 83[11], Fol. 116

Cuius. *cs* with horizontal stroke above. Often in foll. 114–124^{v}. (*F.*, p. 51; *N.L.*, p. 37)

Tantum. *tm* with horizontal stroke above. *Tamen.* *tn* with horizontal stroke above. Rarely in foll. 110–125. *tm* is used for *tamen* once. (*F.*, p. 77; *N.L.*, pp. 302, 305)

Trans. *ts* with horizontal stroke above. Often. (*F.*, p. 79; *N.L.*, pp. 309 ff.)

Unde. *un* with horizontal stroke above. Often in foll. 110–125. (*F.*, p. 79; *N.L.*, p. 319)

Other examples will be found on Plate III (= fol. 116); for instance *h·* for *hoc*, an Anglo-Saxon symbol (*Notae Latinae*, p. 101) and for *propter*, *p* with an apostrophe above curving to the right and a curved line below continuing the loop of the letter to the left, as in the usual abbreviation for *pro*. This looks like a misunderstanding or a modification of the Irish symbol in which the apostrophe above is attached to the letter and curves to the left; the symbol is thus a combination of the signs for *pro* and *per* (*Notae Latinae*, p. 198). We may also note for *autem* both *aut* with horizontal stroke above, and a modification of the familiar Irish symbol, an *h* with an angular stroke reaching from the end of the loop towards the right. We may perhaps infer that at least in this part of the manuscript [1] a scribe is at work who either is copying an Irish original or is himself familiar, somewhat imperfectly familiar, with the Insular abbreviations. The character of the abbreviations throughout the manuscript bespeaks a fairly early date, well comporting with the year 805 to which the book is assigned.

We may now note that both the apostrophe-sign and the 2-symbol are frequently found as abbreviations for *-tur*, along with various modifications.[2] We may say, then, that the 2-symbol is a constant feature of this book, written not long after the opening of the ninth century.

Another book done under Hildebald is *No. 54*, containing St Jerome's commentaries on Obadiah, etc. It is assigned by Jaffé and Wattenbach to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the

[1] Foll. 110–125. See the Tables in *F.*

[2] See for instance on Plate III (fol. 116) *includuntur* (apostrophe) and *rebatur*, partly cut away on the last line (2).

ninth century. Certainly the script looks earlier than that of *No. 83*II. For instance, *h* with the Merovingian sloping shaft is common in several of the hands. See Plate IV (= fol. 2v). The apostrophe-sign occurs rarely. Much more frequent is the 2-symbol,[1] which shows a number of modifications. In one of these it has the final stroke curved [2] and in another assumes a shape like a sickle or the customary sign of interrogation.[3]

Among other books is *No. 60*, St Jerome on Micah, which is not reported by Foerster and at which I could only glance, noting the 2-symbol on fol. 16v. The book is ascribed to *saec.* viii/ix by Jaffé and Wattenbach. To the same date these scholars assign *No. 74*, St Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, which has instances of both the apostrophe and the figure-2,[4] as well as rare occurrences of the 'Italian' symbol.[5] The date of *No. 92*, containing the letters of Gregory the Great, is not so definitely assigned. The apostrophe is common and the figure-2 is rare, but the horizontal 'Italian' sign or modifications of it are frequently found.[6] *No. 115*, containing *Canonum Collectio Dionysiohadrianea*, has all three of the forms just described and all three are found frequently.[7] *No. 103*, Bede, *de Temporum Ratione*, has all three forms, but the 2-symbol is rarer than the other two.[8] An occasional variation is a wavy line, like an inverted S placed above the *t;* this may occur in the middle of a word.[9] *No. 171*, containing homilies, gives one the impression of comparative lateness. The 2-symbol and decorated horizontal stroke abound; the apostrophe is missing.[10] There is a curious modification of the 2-symbol, consisting of an oblique line sloping to the right with a curve attached to the left of the top point; it is apparently the 7-form of which Lindsay speaks.[11]

An account of other Hildebaldian books may be found in Foerster. I have mentioned here only those that I saw, but I have presented

[1] *F.*, p. 100. E.g., fol. 5, *habetur;* fol. 24, *appellabatur;* fol. 33, *dilatabitur.*
[2] E.g., fol. 14, *sequitur.*
[3] E.g., fol. 82, *interpretatur.*
[4] E.g., fol. 7, *intellegatur.*
[5] *F.*, p. 101.
[6] E.g., fol. 69, *dicitur. F.*, p. 101.
[7] *F., ibid.* The 2-symbol occurs, e.g., fol. 34, *subiciantur.*
[8] *F., ibid.*
[9] E.g., fol. 167v, *conturbato.*
[10] *F., ibid.* For the figure-2, cf. e.g., fol. 4, *contemplabatur;* fol. 20, *dicitur.*
[11] E.g., fol. 30, *adquiruntur; N. L.*, p. 374.

quod in cedulis centia mea. prouocac-
tis ardore. & studio scripturarum.
allizorice interpretatus sum. abdicā
prophetam: cuius historiā nesciebā.
Ardebat animus cognitione mistica
& quia legerā omnia possibilia.
credentib;. Ignorabā. diuersa es
se karismata. litterolas seculi
noueram. & obid putabā me libr̄
legere posse signatū. Stultus e
go uiginti quatuor seniores haben
tes in manibus fialas. & citharas.
& quattuor animalia plena ocu
lis. consurgunt de trono. suo imperi
ticam confitentur. gloria magno
canent & uirgae de radice Jesse
& putabā posse me quod credebā
cuius in manu non fiebat. sermo
dī nec dicere poteram. Amen
datis tuis intellexi: Neque illi
us de euuangelio. beatitudinis.

Cologne, Dombibliotek, MS. 54, Fol. 2 v

enough evidence, I believe, to show that the 2-symbol was practised at Cologne at the opening of the ninth century. If we could call *No. 106* a book of Tours, we could also be sure of the use of this symbol at St Martin's in the same period. Although, once more, I feel confident that this manuscript was written at the scriptorium of St Peter's, its contents bespeak an interest in Alcuin on the part of Hildebald. There are approaches to the script of Tours in the book, best explained, I should say, by supposing that a copy made at St Martin's and presented to Hildebald was the original of the copy made at Cologne. It is clear that the influence of Tours is elsewhere evident in the style of Cologne, a matter that I must leave until another time. For the moment I feel more doubtful than ever that we must assign a book of St Martin's to so late a date as 820 just because it contains the 2-symbol.

Moreover, a crucial instance is perhaps offered us in one of the earlier books of Tours. This is *MS. 10*, formerly *No. 151* of St Martin's, a copy of the *Octateuch* of great importance to the editors of the new Vatican revision of the Vulgate. I had regarded the script as Pre-Alcuinian when I first examined it in 1912, and now it would appear from the monumental work of Dom Quentin [1] that it is one of the sources of Alcuin's recension of the text. Berger [2] followed by Collon[3] had also called attention to the somewhat primitive character of its script, which suggests the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. Recently, M. Lauer [4] ascribes it to a period closely following the writing of the Maurdramnus Bible at Corbie (772–780). This estimate is almost identical with my own; I should put the book a bit later, but still before the arrival of Alcuin at Tours. Dom Chapman, in a penetrating study presented in two numbers of the

[1] *Mémoire sur L'Etablissement du Texte de la Vulgate, 1ère partie, Octateuche* (Rome, 1922), pp. 268, 282 ff. Dom Quentin gives enough facts in this case to allow a judgment independent of his questionable method of textual criticism. See my article in *Harvard Theological Review*, XVII (1922), 197 ff.

[2] *Histoire de la Vulgate* (Paris, 1893), pp. 204, 246, 419.

[3] *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, Départements*, XXXVII (1900), i, 8.

[4] "La Réforme Carolingienne de l'Ecriture Latine et L'Ecole calligraphique de Corbie," *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, XIII (1924), 21. See his Pl. VII for a bit of the script.

Revue Bénedictine,[1] says of our manuscript that "precisely as its palaeography suggests an earlier date than the great Alcuinian Bibles, so its text suggests an earlier date than Alcuin." [2] After considering the rival hypotheses that "it is either derived from the text on which Alcuin based his recension, or else it is merely an Alcuinised text, written by an elderly scribe soon after the publication of Alcuin's Bible," he finally suggests [3] that "the most probable origin for *Mar* is that it is a copy made at Tours c. 800 of the very codex which was the basis of Alcuin's revision," adding that the text has been corrected a good deal in *Genesis* but not much in *Exodus*, and remains close to Alcuin in the latter book.

I wonder whether it is not more natural to suppose that after Alcuin's new recension had appeared, the energies of the scriptorium would have been directed to making copies of that work rather than of one of its sources. In my article on Dom Quentin's *Mémoire*,[4] I expressed the hope that one might find for the *Octateuch* some Irish source, a text as obviously Irish as that of the Gospels contained in the *Book of Armagh*, and added that "we should imagine that Alcuin might have found an Irish text at St Martin's, and used it among his sources; for there is a period of Irish influence in the development of the script of Tours before his coming." This hope has been gratified by Dom Chapman's article, in which he makes it most probable that *Mar* and *Mo* depend upon archetypes of an Irish character.[5] Why the original of *Mar* was "presumably one of Alcuin's own codices," I cannot see. As is stated before, the Irish were in Tours before his time.[6] From considerations of text alone,

[1] XXXVII (1925), 5–46; 365–403.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14. This is my view exactly. Dom Chapman attributes to me the statement that *Mar* "can hardly be later than 810." I made this remark, however (*op. cit.*, p. 240), not about Tours *10* but about the 'Alcuinian' Bibles in general.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18. [4] *Op. cit.*, p. 246. [5] *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

[6] The proof, it seems to me, is found in *MS. Egerton 2831* of the British Museum (St Jerome on Isaiah), which is attested as one of the books of St Martin's by notes (fol. 1) in a Merovingian script. The statement of the editors of *The New Palaeographical Society* (London, 1907), Pls. 107,108 that the manuscript was written "c. 800" must give place to that to which Lindsay seems to incline, "*saec.* VIII *med.*" See *Palaeographia Latina*, III (1924), 7. Of course we must be prepared for the possibility, emphasized by Lindsay, that this book was presented to St Martin's and was not a product of its scriptorium. I must reserve a more adequate discussion for another occasion.

INCIPIT HELLESMOTH IDEST EXODVS

Haec sunt nomina
filiorum israel
qui ingressi sunt
in aegyptum cum iacob;
singuli cum domibus
suis introierunt;
Ruben. simeon. leui. iuda.
issachar. zabulon. et
beniamin. Dan et nep
talim. gad. et aser.
Erant igitur omnes
animae eorum. quae
egressae sunt de fe
ioseph. et ait ad
populum suum.
Ecce populus filiorū
israel. multus et for
tior nobis est; ueni
te sapienter. oppri
mamus eum. ne for
te multiplicetur.
Et si ingruerit contra
nos bellum: addatur
inimicis nostris. ex
pugnatisq: nobis.
egrediatur. e. terra.

eis

it is most natural, I believe, to regard *Mar* as copied from an Irish book of Tours before the coming of Alcuin or at least before his recension appeared. With this supposition the nature of the script comports. For the moment I will content myself with a statement that I think everybody will accept, namely, that Tours *No. 10* was written not later than the beginning of the ninth century.[1]

At least three hands appear in the book, that of the first six leaves being called later by Berger [2] and Collon [3] (= Hand A). The disposition of the text would at first thought seem to warrant this opinion. Hand B begins a new gathering on fol. 7, with part of the eighth verse of *Genesis* 2 (*'dominus deus paradisum'*). Hand A in the preceding leaves writes St Jerome's introductory matter and the text of *Genesis* through a part of 2, 14, ends abruptly in the middle of a word (*fluminis tertii tig*) and leaves a half of the second column on fol. 6 and all of fol. 6v vacant. This looks as if he were supplementing a book that had lost its first gathering. But it is also possible that scribes A and B began at the same time to copy different portions of the original manuscript, which, like the *Puteanus* of Livy,[4] had been dismembered and assigned to several scribes for simultaneous copying. I will not go further into details, and I will also admit that the second hypothesis is, in the present case, less probable. But even if the opening leaves are a later addition, they were not added very long after the book was done, as I think is obvious from the script — the original leaves might have been mislaid, or somehow damaged. As Plates V and VI will make clear, the same general style is exhibited in Hand A as elsewhere in the book, — a round, clear, unusually large minuscule, distinguished by various Pre-alcuinian features on which I will not comment here. Berger [5] expresses the essential character of Hand B, which he regards as "*l'écriture primitive*," in calling it "*une belle et grosse minuscule, que l'on pourrait dater de la fin du VIIIe siècle presque aussi bien que du commencement du IXe.*" He, too, would not date the first gathering

[1] Of course adding '*ceteris paribus*,' mindful (see Dom Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 14) of the possible existence of an aged scribe still bound to the manner of a half-century before.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 419. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

[4] See *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, I (1917), 35 ff.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

much after the core of the book; it is "*un peu posterieur.*" [1] Certainly Hand A has not at all the appearance of an artificial variety assumed by a later writer to comport with the character of the original script; had he been an artist so competent as that, he would have fitted in his supplement less crudely.

The character of the text in the first gathering, as Dom Chapman is kind enough to inform me in a letter, agrees in the main with the Alcuinian revision. One might say, therefore, that these leaves were copied from some manuscript in which that revision was given. Still, in one of the ten test readings mentioned by Dom Chapman,[2] it differs from that text, and in seven of the ten, the reading agrees with *Mo*. Since *Mo* is either a source of *Alc*,[3] or a descendant of that Irish form of text which was accessible at both Corbie and Tours,[4] these seven readings may well have been taken by Hand A not from an Alcuinian book, but from the Irish manuscript at Tours which Alcuin himself had used. Of the three remaining readings, then, it is as reasonable to say that Alcuin took them from the Irish book — or from Hand A in *Mar* — as that Hand A took them from *Alc*.

A further point of importance is that if Hand A were copying an Alcuinian book, he would presumably have added to the preface of St Jerome, beginning '*Desiderii mei*,' the long letter of St Jerome to Paulinus, beginning '*Frater Ambrosius*,' which is a feature of *Alc*.[5] But this letter does not appear in *Mar*. After the preface '*Desiderii mei*' come the *capitula*, which are immediately succeeded by the text of *Genesis*. This tips the scales, I should say, in favor of the supposition that Hand A, whenever he wrote, was copying not some Alcuinian book but its source. In any case, Hand A wrote his part not long after the rest of the book was done.

To come to the point with which I am specially concerned in this paper, the syllable *-tur* is generally not abbreviated in the body of the book. If the scribe wishes to save space, he uses a ligature of

[1] *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, I (1917), p. 419. So Dom Quentin, *op. cit.*, p. 268: "les premières pages . . . refaites, mais de bonne heure."

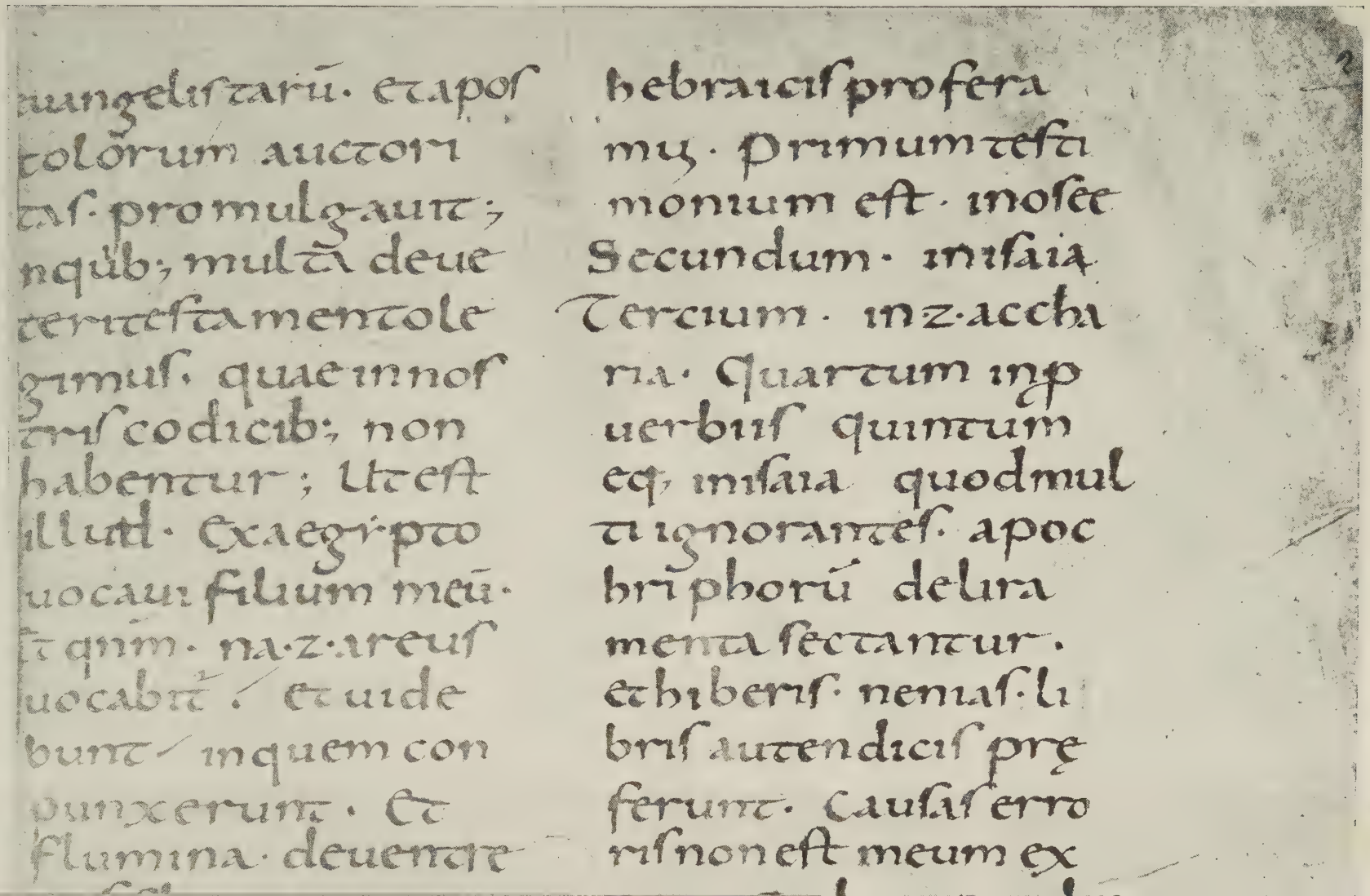
[2] In *Gen.* i, 17 *Mar* (so also *Vall*) does not interpolate *deus* as the other *Alc* do.

[3] Dom Quentin's view; see *op. cit.*, p. 282.

[4] Dom Chapman's view; see *op. cit.*, p. 19, and above, p. 62.

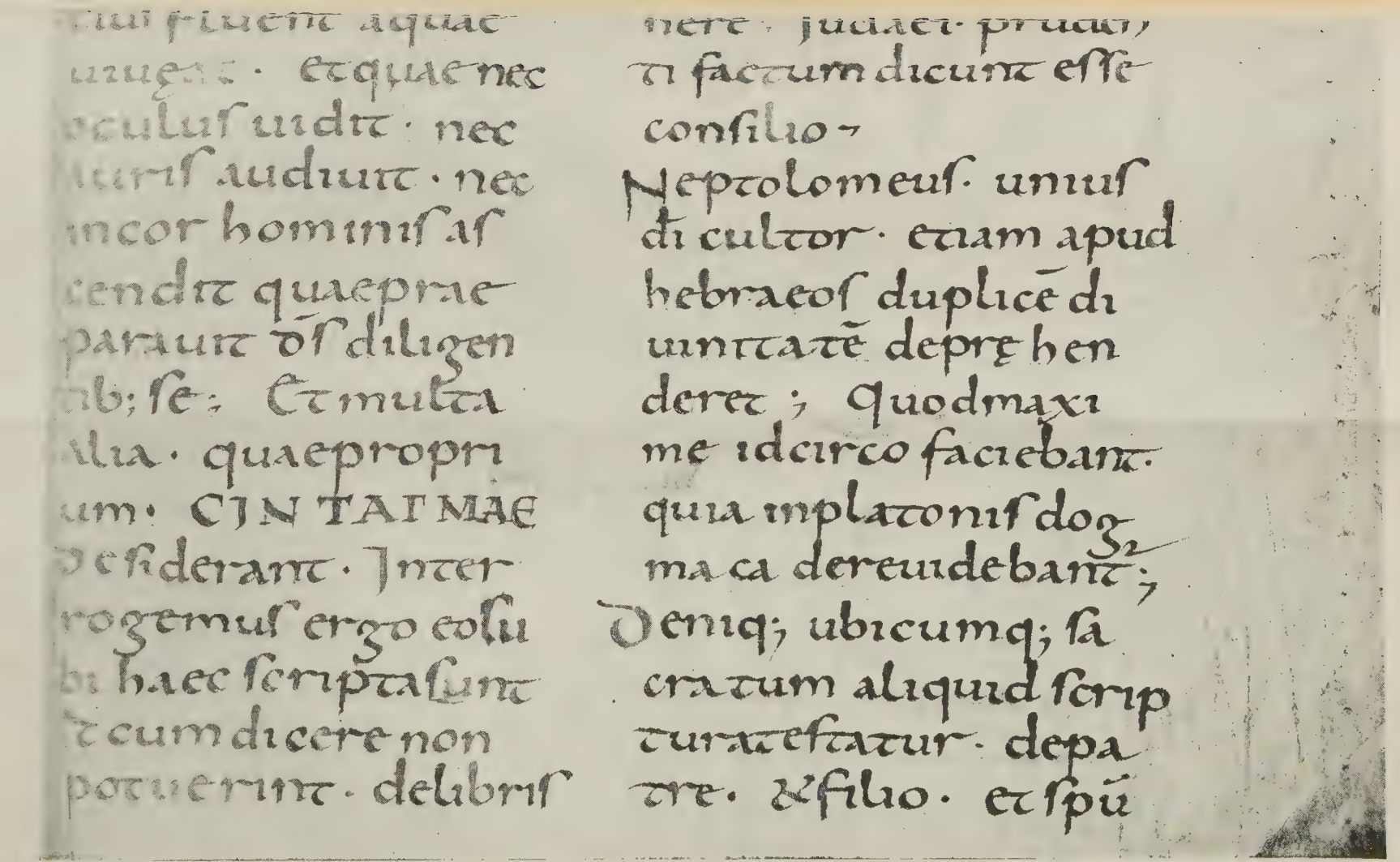
[5] See Dom Quentin, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

Plate VI



uangelistarū. et apos
tolorum auctori
tas. promulgauit;
nqūb; multa deue
teri testamento le
gimus. quae in nos
tris codicib; non
habentur; Ut est
illud. Ex aegipto
uocaui filium meū.
Et qnm. na. z. areus
uocabit. et uide
bunt. in quem con
punxerunt. Et
flumina. deuentre

hebraicis profera
mus. Primum testi
monium est. in osee
Secundum. in isaia
Tercium. in z. accha
ria. Quartum in p
uerbiis quintum
eq; in isaia quod mul
ti ignorantes. apoc
hriphorū delira
menta sectantur.
et hiberis. nenias. li
bris autendicis pre
ferunt. Causas erro
ris non est meum ex



TOURS, MS. 10, FOL. 2

the last two letters, or of all five letters in the case of *-untur*,[1] in the fashion practised at Tours since the oldest sure memorial of the scriptorium of St Martin's of which we have record.[2] Only in the small minuscules used for *capitula*, does the apostrophe-sign occur, and there I observed it but twice.[3] In Hand A, however, the 2-symbol stares the reader in the face.[4]

I think, therefore, that I may conclude with some positiveness that the 2-symbol was known and practised at Tours either before Alcuin or not long after his death, and that its presence in any other of the books of Tours is not *ipso facto* a proof that the book in question was written as late as 820. And thereby hangs a tale.[5]

[1] E.g., fol. 134^{v}, *ceditur*; fol. 57, *co(m)plebuntur*. The reluctance of the scribe to resort to a symbol for *ur* is shown on fol. 142, where *condemnabitur* comes at the end of a line. Instead of putting a symbol above *t*, he writes *conde(m)nabi* and adds the ligatured *-tur* on the line below.

[2] The Paris Eugippius, *B.N., N.A. lat. 1575*. See L. Deslisle, *Notice sur un manuscrit Mérovingien contenant des fragments d'Eugyppius appartenant à M. Jules Desnoyers* (Paris, 1875), pl. 1, l. 3: APERIA*TUR*.

[3] Fol. 221, *moriatur* (*bis*). On fol. 76^{v} the 2-symbol is added to *reuerterent* clearly by a later hand.

[4] Fol. 2, *uocabitur, uidebantur* (see Plate V); fol. 5, *multiplicentur*.

[5] The present article was already in type when I received Luigi Schiaparelli's *Avviamento allo Studio delle Abbreviature Latine nel Medioevo* (Firenze: Olschki, 1926). I will merely observe that Schiaparelli (page 50 ff.) distinguishes the apostrophe used in the abbreviation of *Post, Sed* and *-tur*, from the semicircle which represented *-us* as in *corpus*. Of the figure 2, he remarks "Di derivazione dall'apostrofo, se non dalla corrispondente nota tironiana, è forse il segno *2* per *ur*, che non sembra anteriore alla fine del secolo VIII — divenuto caratteristico della sillaba *-tur* (è usato anche per *-mur*)."

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NOTES

A RESTORATION STUDY OF THE SOUTHWEST TOWER AT CHARTRES

No visitor or student of Chartres fails to admire the sturdy old southwest tower of the cathedral, but the satisfaction of the more discerning is somewhat diminished by the way in which the nave shoulders and crowds against it on the northern side. We should know, even if we had not explicit evidence,[1] that it was designed for a smaller building. The two western towers were, in fact, planned to stand a short distance in front of a spacious basilica dating from 1020 and 1031. The north tower, begun about 1134, is the earlier, but by 1150 both towers had reached the second story level; about 1145 a new façade for the church was undertaken. This was set deep in the recess between the towers, and included the celebrated Royal Portal. Construction continued on the south tower, which was completed about 1190. Meanwhile the church had been lengthened by relocating the façade at the front plane of the towers. All of this later work survived the "wonderful and miserable fire" of 1194, which reduced the church proper to ruins and was the occasion for the building of the existing structure.

It was my purpose in making the drawing presented here to show what the appearance of the cathedral might be, had the old basilica with its west front of 1145 come down to us, and in particular to show how magnificent was the profile of the southwest tower when it still stood free. The north spire is an invention, merely representing, more or less, what must have been in the mind of the designer of the other; the drawing of the basilica is as non-committal as possible, owing to the limited data, and it must be confessed that two eleventh-century belfries of uncertain location do not appear; but after all, the purpose of the picture is to show the unsurpassed loveliness of the old spire.

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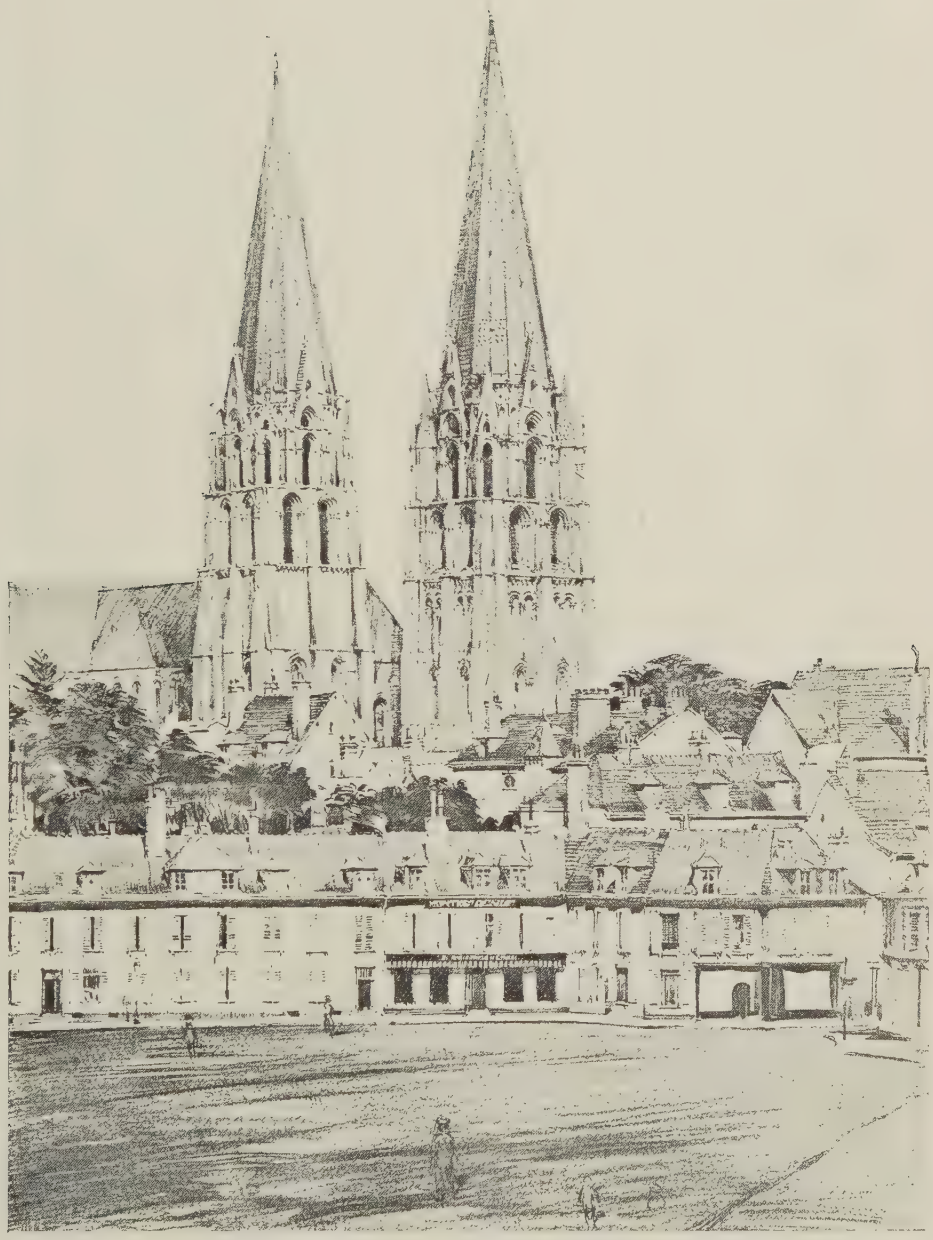
Additional copies of Mr Conant's drawing may be had for twenty-five cents (25¢) each upon application to the Executive Secretary of the Academy. — Ed.

[1] R. Merlet and Abbé Clerval, *Un Manuscrit chartrain du XIe siècle*, Chartres: Garnier, 1893.



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A Restoration Study of the South-West Tower at Chartres

Kenneth John Conant

KING OSWY AND CÆDMON'S HYMN

King Oswy of Northumbria (b. 613–d. 671) came to the throne of Bernicia in 642, and added Deira in 655, after the battle of the Winwæd. As a consequence of this victory, he became, for a few years at least, supreme in England, and, even when his supremacy was threatened or diminished by King Wulfhere of Mercia (659–675), "seems still to have been considered the greatest king in Britain, even though he was no longer its undisputed master." [1] Before there had been any recognition of a decline in his power, Oswy had used his prestige to effect the conversion to Christianity of King Sigbert of Essex (650–660).[2] Bede's account of this,[3] somewhat abbreviated, is as follows:

> At that time, also, the East Saxons, at the instance of King Oswy, again received the faith, which they had formerly cast off [616]. For Sigbert . . . was then king of that nation, and a friend to King Oswy, who, when Sigbert came to the province of the Northumbrians to visit him, as he often did, used to endeavor to convince him that those could not be gods that had been made by the hands of men; that a stock or a stone could not be proper matter to form a god, the residue whereof was either burned in the fire, or framed into any vessels for the use of men, or else was cast out as refuse, trampled on, and turned into dust.[4] That God is rather to be understood as . . . almighty, eternal,[5] the Creator of heaven and earth and of mankind,[6] . . . whose eternal abode must be believed to be in Heaven.[7] . . . King Oswy having often, with friendly counsel, like a brother, said this and much more to the like effect of King Sigbert, at length . . . he was baptized . . . by Bishop Finan,[8] in the king's township . . . which is called At the Wall.[9]

On the death of his father Æthelfrith in 617, and the accession of Edwin, who had been Æthelfrith's rival, Oswy, with his six brothers, had taken refuge among the Irish and Picts, and remained in exile till the death

[1] Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, 1923, p. 289.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[3] *Eccl. Hist.* 3.22. Subsequent citations of this work omit "*Eccl. Hist.*"

[4] Cf. Isa. 40.19–20; 44.9–19; Jer. 10.3–5, 14–5.

[5] Cf. Jer. 10.10 ("the true God, . . . and an everlasting king").

[6] Jer. 10.12: "He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion"; Isa. 44.24: ". . . I am the Lord that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens alone; that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself"; Isa. 40.22: ". . . . that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in"; cf. Ps. 104.2, 14–5, 24; 115.16: ". . . the earth hath he given to the children of men."

[7] Heb. 8.1: ". . . We have such a high priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens."

[8] Bright (*Chapters of Early English Church History*, p. 170) would place this in 653.

[9] According to Bright (p. 168), at Newcastle; cf. Plummer (edition of Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*) 2.176.

of Edwin in 633, when they were allowed to return. During their residence abroad, the brothers "were instructed according to the doctrine of the Irish, and were renewed with the grace of baptism." [1] For our purpose, it is significant that Oswy, "having been instructed and baptized by the Irish, and being very perfectly skilled in their language, thought nothing better than what they taught." [2]

Accordingly, it would not be surprising if, after Oswy began to reign in 642, any religious instruction which he imparted was such as he had himself received at the hands of the Irish, and if the Scriptural foundation on which it rested had been by them impressed upon his mind. Then, too, from his accession till the death of Aidan in 651, he was probably in close touch with that saintly bishop,[3] and afterwards with his successor Finan (651–661), who had also been sent from Iona.[4] The seat of their bishopric was Lindisfarne, while Bamborough, the royal city, where Oswy must often have resided for longer or shorter periods, was but a few miles distant. This association with men who had received a similar Celtic training to his own must have tended to keep his earlier lessons fresh in his recollection. Besides, there had been from about 635 an influx of Irish missionaries into Northumbria, for Bede (3.3) tells us:

> From this time many came daily into Britain from the country of the Irish, and with great devotion preached the word of faith to those provinces of the English over which King Oswald reigned. . . . English children, as well as their elders, were instructed by their Irish teachers in study, and in the observance of monastic discipline, since most of those who came to preach were monks.

The fruits of this teaching were visible some years later in the resort of many Northumbrians to Ireland — or perhaps chiefly to Iona — for the purpose of devoting themselves to the higher life; the hospitality of the Irish to them being nothing less than remarkable. Thus Bede (3.27):

> Many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nation were there [in Ireland] at that time, who in the days of the bishops Finan [651–661] and Colman

[1] 3.1. [2] 3.25.

[3] Bright (p. 156) places in 643 the attack on Bamborough by the heathen Penda (3.16), on which occasion the prayers of Aidan were of vital assistance to the forces of Oswy. Cf. 3.26: "The king himself, when occasion required, would come with only five or six servants, and, having offered his prayers in the church [of Lindisfarne], would take his departure. If they happened to partake of a repast there, they were satisfied with the plain daily fare of the brethren, asking nothing beyond."

[4] The influence of the Irish on the East Saxons must have been further confirmed and extended by Cedd, a product of the monastery at Lindisfarne (3.23), who, while yet a priest, was sent by Oswy to preach to that nation, and afterward, having returned to Lindisfarne on a visit to Finan (in 654, according to Bright, p. 170), was by him made bishop. Then, "pursuing with ampler authority the work he had begun, he built churches in various places, and ordained priests and deacons to assist him" (3.22).

[661–4], forsaking their native island, retired thither, either for the sake of sacred studies or of a more ascetic life; and some of them presently subjected themselves faithfully to a monastic life; others rejoiced rather to devote themselves to study, going about from one master's cell to another. The Irish willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with daily food without cost, as also to furnish them with books for their studies, and teaching free of charge.

In 655, Oswy, then 42 years of age, entered into relation with a woman one year his junior, whose fame has eclipsed his own — Hild, the grandniece of Edwin [1] of Northumbria. She, who had been converted under Roman influence, was baptized in 627 along with that king, being then thirteen years of age. By 649 [2] she had become abbess at Hartlepool. Here she

> began immediately to order it in all things under a rule of life which she had received from learned men; for Bishop Aidan, and others of the religious who knew her, used frequently to visit her, heartily to love her, and diligently to instruct her (4.23).

In fulfilment of a vow which he had made when in conflict with Penda, King of Mercia, Oswy in 655 committed his daughter Elfled, then scarce a year old, to Hild, still at Hartlepool, at the same time devoting twelve of his estates in Northumbria to the endowment of as many monasteries (3.24). By about 657 [3] Hild had established her monastery at Whitby, where in 674 she fell ill, and died in 680, Elfled succeeding her as abbess, and dying in 703.

Hild, as we have seen, was received into the church under Roman auspices; but a score of years later we find her under the influence of the Irish Aidan, Oswy's bishop. Nine years after she had received King Oswy's daughter in charge, she took the part of the Irish at the Synod of Whitby, "together with her followers, and with Bishop Cedd" (3.25). Even after the Synod had decided in favor of the Roman date for Easter, she continued to oppose Wilfrith, who had been the spokesman on the Roman side.[4]

From what has been said, it is clear that Oswy held with the Irish from a date before 633, while there is no proof that Hild submitted to their influence before 647, or thereabouts. In 664 he accepted the Roman Easter (3.25), and by 671 [5] he "bore so great affection to the Roman Apostolic usages that he designed, if he recovered from his sickness, to go to Rome, and there end his days at the holy places, having asked Bishop Wilfrith, with a promise of no small gift of money, to conduct him on his

[1] Whose daughter Eanfled, born in 626, married Oswy about 643–4 (Plummer 2.165).

[2] Bright, p. 163.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 185, 274.

[4] Plummer 2.189; Eddi, *Vita Wilfridi*, chap. 54; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* 3.262.

[5] Cf. Plummer 2.211.

journey" (4.5). Between 650 and 653, when he was plying King Sigbert with arguments in favor of Christianity, and in 655, when he committed his daughter to the care and tutelage of Hild, he still held aloof from the Roman connection,[1] although in 643 or 644 (see p. 69, note 1) he had married a princess who was the first Northumbrian to be baptized by the Roman Paulinus, a rite which her father, King Edwin, did not receive till the following year.

If now we consider that the monastery of Whitby was always pro-Irish during Hild's lifetime, and that, for twenty-five years before her death in 680, she had been bound by a peculiar tie to King Oswy, who gave no sign of submission to Roman sway until 664, it would appear that, at any time before this latter date, such religious discourses of his as might come to the attention of the religious at Whitby would be received by them with deference; nay, since there was nothing in the exhortations to which we have referred that would not have been equally acceptable to the representatives of Rome,[2] there is no reason, since they effected the conversion of a kingdom, why they should not have been welcomed among the faithful, as well within the monastery as without.

Since, then, we may suppose the disciples of Hild to have been familiar with Oswy's arguments, there is every ground for suspecting, in view of their much reading of the Bible,[3] that they would have familiarized themselves with those passages of the Old Testament which the king must have had in mind (see p. 67, notes 4–6).

As we have had occasion to remark (note 2, below), Oswy's discourse may be resumed under two heads — the being and power of God, and the nothingness of idols. If the former of these is heartily accepted, the latter doctrine should follow without much elaboration. At all events, there can be no question that, if either one were to be instilled under the form of verse, it is the former that should be chosen. Moreover, this teaching should in that case be presented, not as a bare and abstract proposition,

[1] Ecgfrith (671–685), who immediately followed his father Oswy, was instrumental in expelling the Romanizing Wilfrith from his see (4.12, 13; 5.19, 24), in which action he was followed (5.19) by his half-brother, Aldfrith (685–705).

[2] In fact, the letter which Pope Boniface V addressed to King Edwin in 625 (2.10) touches upon the two points stressed by Oswy in his admonition to Sigbert — the being and power of God, and the nothingness of idols. But as this letter is here and there magniloquent and involved to the verge of unintelligibility; as it is censured by Plummer (2.58) for its inconsiderate tone; and as, for whatever reason, King Alfred's translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* omits far the largest part of it, we can hardly conceive that its contents were cherished at Whitby a generation after it was written.

[3] "She obliged those who were under her direction to give so much time to reading of the Holy Scriptures . . . that many might readily be found there fit for the ecclesiastical dignity, that is, for the service of the altar" (4.23).

but should be recommended by the consideration that the power of God is bound up with the fortunes of humanity, that the world was created and is administered for the benefit and behoof of the human race, that God is the loving and beneficent Father of mankind.

It ought not to surprise us, then, if a stanza of verse composed in Hild's monastery upon this theme ran, when literally translated,[1] upon these lines:[2]

> Now we must praise the Keeper of the heavenly kingdom,
> The might of God, and his counsel,
> The works of the Father[3] of glory, how he of every wonderful work[4] —
> The eternal Lord — established the beginning.
> He first framed for the children of men

[1] For the original, see Plummer 2.251.

[2] Thus in Bede's Latin:

"Nunc laudare debemus Auctorem regni cælestis, potentiam Creatoris et consilium illius, facta Patris gloriæ — quomodo ille, cum sit æternus Deus, omnium miraculorum Auctor extitit, qui primo filiis hominum cælum pro culmine tecti, dehinc terram Custos humani generis omnipotens creavit."

There is praise of God, or at least of Christ, as Creator, in the *Voyage of Bran*, written in some monastery "early in the eighth, perhaps late in the seventh, century" (Kuno Meyer, *Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry*, 2d ed., p. 111; cf. Dottin, *The Gaelic Literature of Ireland*, tr. Joseph Dunn, 1906, p. 14; *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. 5.628), but, with much of the early Irish literature, previously "handed down by many generations of bards and story-tellers" (Meyer, p. x). In this tale, the lyric put into the mouth of the fairy-maiden from the Otherworld contains these lines (Meyer, p. 6):

> A wonderful child will be born ages after,
> Who will not be in high places,
> The Son of a woman whose mate is unknown,
> He will seize the rule of the many thousands.
> *A ruler without beginning, without end,*
> *He has created the world so that it is perfect:*
> *Earth and sea are his* —
> Woe to him that shall be under his ill-will!
> *'T is he that made the heavens.*

For the "perfect" of line 6, cf. Gen. 1.31.

[3] Cf. Isa. 9.6: ". . . The mighty God, The everlasting Father . . ."; Isa. 63.16: ". . . Thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer; thy name is from everlasting"; add Deut. 32.6; Isa. 64.8. For "Father of glory," see Eph. 1.17; the compound occurs also in *Chr.* 217; *Men.* 147.

[4] For such wonderful works (more literally, wonders), see, for example, Ps. 40.5; 77.11–2, 14; 89.5; 96.3–6; 105.5; 107.21, 23–5, 33–8; 136.4–9; and cf. Ps. 104.24. The Psalter, beyond any other book of the Bible, would assuredly have been familiar to the members of Hild's family, a fact which was no doubt in Brandl's mind when he assumed (*Gesch. der AE. Lit.*, p. 87) that the original of the hymn was Ps. 136.1–6, which here follows: "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever. O give thanks unto the God of gods: *Refrain.* O give thanks to the Lord of lords: *Ref.* To him who alone doeth great

Heaven as a roof,[1] the holy Creator;
Then the earth the Keeper of mankind,
The eternal Lord, afterwards made,
The world for men, the King almighty.

Elsewhere I have said (*Select Translations from Old English Poetry*, rev. ed., 1926, p. 76):

Cædmon's [2] poetical activity falls within the abbacy of Hild of Whitby (658–680); this is all that we can know concerning the date, which may therefore fall not far from 665 or 670. The theme is praise to God as the Maker of heaven and earth for men, at once emphasizing the power, the eternity, and the beneficence of the Creator, together with the fact that all the marvels with which the universe is filled have proceeded from His hand. The substitution of the Hebraic cosmogony, and of this conception of divinity, for the pagan ones then current, of course wrought a profound change in the sentiments of the makers of English literature, and hence in the literature itself. How great was the influence of the new theory of creation may be gathered from the fact that it forms the theme of the minstrel's song in Hrothgar's hall, where the circumstances seem decidedly incongruous with it.

wonders: *Ref.* To him that by wisdom made the heavens: *Ref.* To him that stretched out the earth above the waters: *Ref.*" But if any Psalm is to be designated as a possible original, there is much to be said for a large part of Ps. 104.

[1] Cf. Ps. 115.16; Isa. 40.22, cited on p. 67, note 6.

[2] Cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. 4.935 (Henry Bradley): "The name Cædmon . . . is most probably the British *Cadman*, intermediate between the Old Celtic *Catumanus* and the modern Welsh *Cadfan*. Possibly the poet may have been of British descent, though the inference is not certain, as British names may sometimes have been given to English children. The name Cædwalla or Ceadwalla was borne by a British king mentioned by Bæda, and by a king of the West Saxons. The initial element Cæd — or Cead (probably adopted from British names in which it represents *catu*, war) appears combined with the Old English terminal element in the name *Cædbæd* (cf., however, the Irish name Cathbad)." Cadvan was the name of a Welsh king with whom Edwin of Northumbria took refuge after the usurpation of his kingdom by Æthelric. Cf. Plummer 2.93: "The [twelfth-century] life of Oswald has preserved this residence of Edwin at the court of Cadvan: . . . 'Postea Cadwanus, cis Humbram regnans, Edwinum . . . nutrivit cum Cadwallone filio suo,' S. D. i.345." *Ibid.*, p. 114: "Cædwalla is the Cadwallon of Welsh authorities, . . . the son of Edwin's harborer Cadvan. . . . He was the leader of the Welsh in their final struggle against the Angles." See Haddan and Stubbs 3.75; Bright, pp. 106, 126–8, 132; Oman, pp. 276–8. For the West-Saxon Cædwalla, see Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* 4.12, 15, 16; 5.7.

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A NOTE UPON THE SUNDAY EPISTLE AND THE LETTER OF POPE LEO

My attention was first called to the Sunday Epistle by Dieterich's papers [1] in which he attempted to trace its classical prototypes. This attempt may be said categorically to have failed, for the Sunday Epistle has no classical prototypes in any useful sense. The sealed letter, given by Asklepios at Epidaurus to the poetess Anyte, which was the means of curing the eyesight of Phalysios,[2] was not a magical panacea but a specific remedy limited to a particular occasion and a particular individual. The summoning to witness of Juvenal's "e caelo descendit *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*" [3] may be thought to show greater zeal than sense of humour, and we may be pardoned for supposing that statues which had fallen from Heaven, such as the ancient world undoubtedly possessed, are very different matters from *Himmelsbriefe*, Weinreich's supplement to these papers may similarly be accused of displaying greater piety than pertinence.[4]

Nor do I think that much is to be gained for the study of the Sunday Epistle by casting too wide a net and raking in for comparison all the books of Revelation, the Elchasaite scriptures and the rest down to the Book of Mormon.[5] The idea of the little book sent down from Heaven we know well enough to be familiar to the centuries immediately succeeding the birth of Christ, and that this very general idea has played a part in the generation of the Sunday Epistle in the first instance is obvious. Further elaboration seems a vain weariness of the flesh.

The date when the Sunday Epistle was first promulgated we have no means of knowing. It would be purely fanciful to suggest any connection with the first half-hearted temporising of Constantine with Christianity, the edict of 321 enforcing the observance of the Day of the Sun. Nor can it be traced further back than Licinianus, bishop of Carthage in the sixth century after Christ, who is the first cleric to mention it with reprobation.[6] There are, however, sound reasons for the opinion that it originated in the West, not in the East as some orientalists have maintained, and it may

[1] "Himmelsbriefe" and "Weitere Beobachtungen zu den Himmelsbriefen" republished in A. Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* (1911), pp. 234–251.

[2] Pausanias, x, 38, 13.

[3] Juvenal, *Sat.*, xi, 27.

[4] O. Weinreich, "Antike Himmelsbriefe," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, X (1907), pp. 566–567.

[5] This is evidently the line which is taken in R. Stübe, *Der Himmelsbrief. Ein Beitrag zur allgemeinen Religionsgeschichte*, my acquaintance with which is limited to the notice in *Archiv f. Rel. Wiss.*, XX (1920–21), 475.

[6] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXII, 699.

well have had its birth in Spain or southern Gaul,[1] perhaps in the lifetime of Licinianus. For that it can be much earlier I am inclined to doubt. The Sunday Epistle, it will be remembered, purports to be a copy of a document which was written by the hand of Christ Himself in His own blood or in letters of gold and miraculously descended from Heaven to earth. Its contents consist of a series of injunctions, reinforced by menaces for the disobedient, inculcating the strict observance of the holiness of Sunday. Now I am inclined to think that the original purpose of its invention was that of its ostensible content, *viz.* to provide supernatural sanction for insisting upon the observance of the Fourth Commandment, and that in this sense it does come into the category of apocalyptic books. So far as it goes, I cannot trace any but a doctrinal purpose in the allusion of Licinianus. Had the original intention been to construct a magical charm, such as the Sunday Epistle subsequently became, we should have had, not a homily upon Sabbatarianism, but a document with affinities to the magical papyri or of the nature of its imitation, the Letter of Pope Leo, which we must presently discuss; a collection, that is to say a magical formulae, explicitly relevant to the purpose for which the Letter was magically used. But its secondary character as a magical talisman must have developed very soon after its promulgation, which therefore is not likely to have been far removed from the date of the letter of Licinianus.

For actually its supernatural character as an authentic letter of Christ eclipsed its ostensible purport in popular imagination and by a process familiar enough, as for example in the magical use of *Pater Nosters*, it became a specific for ends wholly irrelevant to its verbal content. It affords, indeed, an appalling instance of the longevity of superstitious nonsense. Every country in Europe has provided examples, which range from the sixth century after Christ to the twentieth, and it is widely distributed throughout Eastern Christianity.[2] Its primary efficacy would appear to consist in conferring invulnerability, but it is also held to facilitate childbirth, and may be used for to protect home and property, for which purpose it is often inserted under the roof of the house.

[1] P. H. Delehaye, "Note sur la légende de la lettre du Christ tombée du Ciel," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, Academie Royale de Belgique* (1899), pp. 207–213, R. Priebsch, "Quelle und Abfassungszeit der Sonntags–Epistel in der Irischen 'Câin Domnaig,'" *Modern Language Review*, II (1907), 138–154.

[2] The best summary of its distribution is in Delehaye, *op. cit.* The mass of material which Professor R. Priebsch is known to have collected still remains unpublished. In addition to the paper of his which has already been cited, reference may be made to his "The Chief Sources of Some Anglo-Saxon Homilies," *Otia Merseiana*, I (1899), 129–147. For the use of the Letter in the Franco-Prussian War, the German-Danish War of 1861, and during the Boxer expedition, see Dieterich's two papers. I have been told verbally of copies being found upon the bodies of German soldiers in the recent European War.

Delehaye is certainly right in insisting upon the essential difference of the Correspondence of Christ with Abgarus of Edessa, a forgery already current in the time of Eusebius, from our document which was written by Christ after His ascension and miraculously sent down from Heaven to earth.[1] But it is interesting to notice that the text of the Letter to Abgarus is printed together with the Sunday Epistle in one of the more recent English broadsides, while its independent use as a magical talisman is not unknown to popular practice.[2] This is merely another example of the tendency to turn the holiness of a supernatural document to magical uses quite irrelevant to its content.

Now the characteristics of the modern German specimens of the Sunday Epistle suggest to me two small points, which may be of interest. The most striking feature of the mediaeval versions is, upon the whole, their fidelity to tradition. A comparison of the prologues of four examples from different countries and ranging in date from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries revealed but minor variations, mainly matters of the spelling of proper names. That all eventually went back to a common original it was impossible to doubt. The prologue usually tells how the Letter descended from Heaven at Jerusalem at the Gate Effrem or at the Sepulchre of St Peter at Rome, or, by a combination well established by the eighth century and followed in all the four versions above mentioned, it descended at Jerusalem and after passing through various hands was magically transported by an angel, usually the archangel Michael, to Rome.[3]

The accurate preservation of the traditional form was not promoted by the invention of printing and by the the wider circulation of the charm among a more numerous and less cultivated clientèle. The modern examples tend to differ more widely than the mediaeval from the original model, and the German specimens suggest to me that it is probable that investigation would show them to fall into a series of groups, each descending from its own immediate parent, a debased version of the original. For the German documents clearly go back to a single and not very ancient

[1] Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 172. It may also be noticed that the Devil's Letters discussed by Dieterich, *op. cit.*, pp. 234–251, have little to do with out magical recipe. The Devil's Letter appears in fact to have been a literary form which became popular with satirists in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 213, W. Garmon Jones, "A Welsh Sunday Epistle," *Miscellany presented to J. M. Mackay* (Liverpool, 1914), pp. 233, 237.

[3] A quite different prologue, though later than the received version, has a wide distribution. Here the Letter was found under a stone inscribed with the words "Blessed shall he be that shall turn me over." The stone, however, resisted all efforts until the bishop, or alternatively a little child, moved it with ease and discovered the Letter. For English and Welsh specimens see Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 241, Belgian, Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 194, Greek, Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

original. They agree in dating the miraculous appearance of the Letter in the eighteenth century (1728, 1729 or 1791) and locate its descent in Holstein. According to one version, it first appeared floating in the air in 1724, but whenever anyone tried to capture it, it flew up and eluded his grasp, until at length in 1791 it yielded itself to an altruist, who wished to possess it only to copy it out for the benefit of others.[1]

The other noticeable feature of the modern German versions is a marked tendency for the original content of the letter, the tract upon Sunday observance, to diminish in importance. This homily, indeed, has no explicit bearing upon the purpose for which the Letter is used. But it is its magical efficacy not its recommendations about the Fourth Commandment which interests its users. Consequently there has been a tendency to incorporate in the document a number of other magical recipes to strengthen its efficacy. Thus three quite extraneous charms are usually included in the modern German examples,[2] while the text upon Sunday observance has dwindled to two or three lines. These modern examples, therefore, have degenerated into a collection of magical recipes explicitly dealing with the magical purpose of the charm, a type of document which, as I have ventured to suggest, we should have had in the first place had the Sunday Epistle been deliberately constructed for the purpose for which it has been used. In fact this feature of its degenerate specimens is to my mind a strong confirmation of the view that its original motive was doctrinal, its magical use secondary.

Further confirmation may perhaps be found in the character of the Letter of Pope Leo. To specimens of this imitation of the Sunday Epistle allusion is made by scholars who have dealt with this topic, but none of them seem to have noticed the essentially different character of its contents. In 1452 a priest at Halle, with some difficulty, induced a good woman to allow him to destroy, as being a damnable superstition, a copy of the Letter of Christ which had fallen from Heaven and had been sent

[1] For the modern German versions see the papers of Dieterich. A 'snowball' clause, it may be remarked, is one of the normal features of the document. Thus to the narration of the dire consequences of scepticism about the authenticity of the document, the Welsh Letter adds "anyone who writes this with his own hand without imparting it to others shall be accursed." Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

[2] 1. A narrative charm for invulnerability and to stop hemorrhage; the story of the Count whose executioner was unable to cut off the head of the condemned steward because he carried a paper inscribed with letters of the alphabet, which are symbolically connected with the wounds of Christ. 2. A 'staying' charm; "as Christ stood still upon the Garden of Olives, so shall all fire-arms stand still," etc. This concludes with the pleasant testimonium "whoever will not believe my words, let him hang this letter on a dog's neck and shoot him, and he will see that I have spoken the truth." 3. A rhymed spell to secure immunity from bullets, whether of gold, silver or lead, in virtue of the Blood of Jesus.

by Pope Leo to Charlemagne. This she had been in the habit of wearing round her neck to obtain immunity from being drowned by water or wounded by the sword.[1] Swiss versions belonging to the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries are noticed by Dieterich [2] and a German letter printed in Oldenbourg in 1849 is clearly of the same type. This last begins: — "This prayer was found on the grave of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the year 785 and was sent by the Pope to Kaiser Karl as he went forth to war and sent to St Michael in France, where it is to be found printed with wondrous beauty in letters of gold." [3] In the seventeenth century Reginald Scot notices the use of Pope Leo's Letter as a charm:[4] "This is as true a copie of the holie writing, that was brought downe from heauen by an angell to S. Leo pope of Rome; & he did bid him take it to king Charles, when he went to the battell at Ronceuall. And the angell said, that what man or woman beareth this writing about them with good deuotion, and saith euerie daie three Pater nosters, three Aues, and one Creede, shall not that daie be ouercome of his enemies, either bodilie or ghostlie; neither shalbe robbed or slaine of theeues, pestilence, thunder or lightening; neither shall be hurt with fier or water, nor combred with spirits, neither shall haue displeasure of lords or ladies: he shall not be condemned with false witnesse, nor taken with fairies, or anie maneer of axes, nor yet with the falling euill. Also, if a woman be in trauell, laie this writing upon her bellie, she shall haue easie deliuerance, and the child right shape and christendome, and the mother purification of holy church, and all through vertue of these holie names of Jesus Christ following." (There follow Latin, Greek, and Hebrew names or attributes of Christ, the names of the Three Magi and the Four Evangelists.) The document continues: "The epistle of S. Sauior, which pope Leo sent to King Charles, saieing, that whosoeuer carrieth the same about him, or in what daie so ever he shall read it, or shall see it, he shall not be killed with anie iron toole, nor be burned with fier, nor be drowned with water, neither anie euill man or other creature maie hurt him." Then follows the charm proper which consists of a series of affirmations of the virtues of the cross separated from each other by crosses. "The crosse of Christ is a wonderfull defence ✠ the crosse of Christ be alwaies with me," and so on.

In all the copies of Pope Leo's Letter which are known to me the charm itself consists of texts or pious ejaculations or the holy names used as magical formulae. Naturally these show a tendency to considerable variation in detail though the constant appearance of the list of the attributes and names of Christ and the names of the Three Kings points to the dis-

[1] Dieterich, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 248.
[3] Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
[4] Reginald Scot, *Discoveries of Witchcraft*, 1584, Booke xii, chap. ix.

crepancies being no more than the inevitable alterations which time and circumstance are bound to produce in a traditional document in vulgar circulation.

But the essential features which mark the Letter of Pope Leo as a distinct secondary imitation or derivative of the main type are that it contains no allusion at all to the Fourth Commandment and its contents are not in fact cast in the form of a letter but consist simply of a magical formula.

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SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE *BUSILIS;* ITALIAN *BUSILLIS*

The odd word *busilis* is of frequent occurrence in the Spanish classics and in modern colloquial speech, with the meanings, "difficulty," "knotty problem." The phrase *Aquí está el busilis* means "Here is the rub." Like definitions are found in Italian and Portuguese dictionaries.

Most lexicographers agree that the word goes back to a story, which A. Hoare relates in his *Italian Dictionary* (*s. v.*):

> The story goes that an ignorant clerical student, reading in the breviary, came to *In die* at the foot of a page, followed by *bus illis* at the top of the next making up the phrase *In diebus illis* 'in the days.' It did not occur to him that *diebus* was one word, and though he saw the meaning of *In die*, viz., India, he could make nothing of *bus illis*, which accordingly became a cant term for difficulty, esp. in the phrase *Qui sta il busillis*, 'here lies the difficulty.' [1]

Early in the seventeenth century Gonzalo Correas had told the story as follows:

> Bien vulgar es el *busilis*, aunque salió, o se fingió salir, de uno que examinaban para órdenes, el cual dudó en declarar *In diebus illis*, y dijo: "*Indiae*, las Indias: *el busillis*, no entiendo." [2]

Manzoni places the word in the mouth of a Spanish character in *I promessi sposi*, and à propos of this the late Alfred Morel-Fatio has the following to say:

[1] Hoare mentions no source. He probably took the tale from O. Pianigiani's *Vocabulario Etimologico della lengua Italiana*, Rome-Milan, 1907. The latter, as well as other lexicographers who use the story, probably took it from the Spanish *Diccionario de autoridades* (Madrid, 1726), of which more below. F. Solano Constancio in his *Novo Diccionario Critico e Etymologico da Lingua Portugueza* (Paris, 1856) gives a similar version of the story, which he doubts, and proposes a wild etymology from the Greek: ἐπὶ plus σάλος.

[2] G. Correas, *Vocabulario de refranes* (Madrid, Tip. de Revisita de Archivos, 1924), pp. 17, 18.

Sur *busilis*, il y a ceci à remarquer. Manzoni donne au mot sa forme espagnole, l'italien disant *busillis* ou *busilli*, L'étymologie en à été indiquée par le *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726) et c'est une plaisanterie. Un lourdaud à qui l'on demandait de traduire la phrase latine *in diebus illis*, répondit: "*in die*, dans le jour (ou d'après une autre version, *Indie*, les Indes), quant à *bus illis*, je ne sais ce que cela signifie." De là *busillis* s'est dit plaisament pour le point délicat ou difficile: en Italie d'abord ou en Espagne? On ne saurait le décider sûrement. Un auteur italien de la fin du xviie siècle, Anton Matia Salvini, citant ces deux vers d'un sonnet de Burchiello:

Pirramo s'invaghi d'un fusseragnuolo
A pie del moro bianco *in diebus illis*,

remarque ce qui suit: "Di qui è nato il dire d'una cosa d'importanza o d'un punto forte: *Questo è il busillis*." Le passage cité de Burchiello ne prouve pas qu'au xvie siècle déjà on eût fait en Italie la plaisanterie en question. D'autre part le *bus illis*, transcrit à l'espagnole *busilis*, se trouve dans le seconde partie du *Don Quichotte* (1615) et Quevedo en parle dans le *Cuento de los cuentos* (1626). Manzoni savait sans doute par Cervantes que le mot était aussi espagnole qu'italien et c'est pourquoi il l'a mis avec à propos dans la bouche de Ferrer.[1]

The story lying back of this word apparently originated in neither Spain nor Italy, but in England. In reading Mr Beeson's *Primer of Medieval Latin*, I note what is probably the primitive version of the tale, in the *Gemma ecclesiastica* of Giraldus of Barri (Cambrensis), who states that he had it from John of Cornwall. The latter flourished *ca.* 1170,[2] and the writings of Giraldus date from the latter years of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth. Giraldus was one of the first to indulge in the sport of collecting and reporting student "howlers," an amusement in which Dean Inge follows him at the present day. Giraldus' version of the story with which we are concerned is as follows:

Item examplum de illo qui quaesivit a magistro Iohanne Cornubiensi quis esset "busillis" putabat enim proprium nomen regis vel alicuius magni veri fuisse. Interroganti autem magistro Iohanni ubinam hoc et in qua scriptura inveniretur, respondit quoniam "in missali"; et currens propter librum suum ostendit ei in fine columnae paginae unius scriptum "in die," in principio vero alterius columnae "bus illis," quod recte distinctum facit "in diebus illis." [3]

This story, bearing the earmarks of truth rather than of invention, must have been frequently copied, and was doubtless told and retold in most of the university centres of Europe. Many missing links remain to be supplied to account for its popularity in Spain and Italy. Romance

[1] Morel-Fatio, *L'espagnol de Manzoni, Études sur l'Espagne* (Paris, 1904), III, 383–4. The various commentators on Cervantes and Quevedo add nothing essential to the above. See also note by Rodríguez Marín, *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (ed. "Clásicos Castellanos," Madrid, 1913), V, 150; also *Edición Critica* (Madrid, 1916), V, 405; and Cortejón ed. (Madrid, 1911), p. 377.

[2] G. Gröber's *Grundriss d. roman. philol.* II, 1, 207.

[3] C. H. Beeson, *A Primer of Medieval Latin* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1925), p. 270.

scholars will be surprised to learn of the tale's antiquity, and Classic scholars will note with interest that the blunder of a twelfth-century English dunce has supplied the lexicography of three of the nations of southern Europe with a word which still lives in popular speech.

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A TWELFTH-CENTURY EXULTET ROLL AT TROJA

In the *Iconographie Comparée des rouleaux de l'Exultet tableaux synoptiques* attached to his *L'art dans l'Italie Méridionale*[1] M. Émile Bertaux lists under the number 13 an Exultet roll which he describes briefly as "*xiie siècle. Provenance inconnue. Original perdu. Calque à la Bibl. Nat. de Naples.*" Following his custom in these comparative tables, Bertaux gives very diminutive line drawings of the miniatures (in this manuscript fifteen in number), while in his text he gives this brief description:

La Bibliothèque Nationale de Naples possède des calques d'un Exultet, dont la trace est perdue et l'origine inconnue (no. 13). Les calques de cet Exultet perdu sont réunis avec des calques fort soignés de quelques miniatures des Exultet de Bari et de Salerne, dans un recueil factice qui porte, au département des Manuscrits, la cote I B 49. Ce recueil contient encore sept calques d'après les miniatures d' un autre Exultet perdu, sur lequel étaient représentés deux princes lombards, comme ceux qui ont regné conjointement au xie siecle à Capoue ou à Benevent. Le volume provient de la Bibliothèque de San Domenico. Les quelques annotations manuscrites qui accompagnent les calques paraissent remonter au commencement du xixe siècle. Ce recueil a pu êtré formé par R. Guarini, le premier editeur de l'Exultet de Mirabella-Eclano. D'après le costume d'un évêque qui porte la mitre à deux cornes, comme Benoît, évêque de Fondi, en 1115, ce manuscrit appartenait au xij^e siecle. Il est remarquable surtout par l'abondance des images liturgiques et par la singularité énigmatique de certain traductions du texte par l'image. La lumière de Dieu, rayonnant sur le monde, est devenue un ange porte-flambeau devant lequel tombe à la renverse une figurine toute nue, qui personnifie les ténèbres. Une procession de petits personnages, groupés deux à deux dans les attitudes peu expressives, est censée rendre mot à mot le passage qui décrit les effets de cette nuit de la Résurrection, nuit de gloire et de paix, qui arrête les discordes et courbe le front des puissants. Toute cette iconographie est aussi désordonnée que l'avait été, au siècle précédent, la composition des images qui défilent sur les parchemins de Gaete comme des cauchemars des sauvages. Il est manifeste que l'enlumineur de l'Exultet connu par les calques de Naples, comme l'enlumineur du rouleau de Sorrente, ignorait complètement les progrès techniques et les iconographiques réalisés, vers la fin du xie siècle, par les miniaturistes du Mont-Cassin.[2]

Although he visited the town of Troja in Apulia and devoted several pages of his book to the Cathedral and the sculptures in stone and bronze

[1] *L'art dans l'Italie Méridionale. Tome I: De la fin de l'Empire Roman à la Conquête de Charles d'Anjou* (Paris, 1904).

[2] Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

to be seen there, M. Bertaux was apparently unaware of the fact that in the Chapter Library at Troja there were three Exultet rolls preserved, and that one of these was the "lost original" of the Naples copy. Professor A. Kingsley Porter in his article, "Wreckage from a Tour in Apulia," in the *Mélanges Schlumberger* [1] mentions the three manuscripts. He suggests that the reluctance of the canons to show their possessions may account for M. Bertaux's failure to see these rolls and include them in his book.

I have never had the opportunity to examine either the Troja manuscripts or the Naples copy and so am working only on the basis of M. Bertaux's drawings, the lithographic publication of one of the rolls by Latil [2] and a number of photographs taken by Mr Porter. Without access to the manuscripts it is, of course, impossible to solve the problem definitely, but this note is published in the hope that it may simplify the task for other students of this school of illumination.

The study of these rolls is seriously complicated by two important facts: there is much repainting, and the rolls are at present patched. Latil's reproductions are not photographs but lithographs and, since they are unaccompanied by any explanatory text or any facsimiles of the script, it is difficult to determine the exact condition of the miniatures which he publishes. Moreover, he has in many cases grouped two or three miniatures on one page, omitting the intervening text, without making note of this license. To add to the sum of the difficulties he has published only one of the Troja rolls, and that incompletely. By means of Mr Porter's seventeen photographs it is possible to verify certain of Latil's lithographs, supply several missing scenes in the roll which is published, and obtain at least a partial idea of the other two rolls.

According to M. Bertaux's line drawings in his comparative iconographical tables there are fifteen miniatures in the Naples copy of the lost twelfth-century Exultet. Now these fifteen miniatures are reproduced exactly from the most elaborate and latest Exultet roll of Troja, and they are of such unusual character that there seems no doubt that we have here the lost original.

The text of the roll is the Vulgate Exultet.[3] The first miniature, occurring at the text "*Et aeterni regis splendore lustrata totius orbis se sentiat amisisse caliginem*," described as "la lumière de Dieu, rayonnant sur le monde, est devenue un ange porte-flambeau devant lequel tombe à la renverse

[1] *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924), pp. 408–415.

[2] Agostino Maria Latil, *Le Miniature nei Rotoli dell'Exultet Documenti per la storia della miniatura in Italia* (Monte Cassino, 1899).

[3] L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship, its Origin and Evolution*, tr. M. L. McClure (5th ed., London: S. P. C. K., 1923), pp. 254–56.

une figurine toute nue, qui personnifie les ténèbres,"[1] is matched in the Troja facsimiles of Latil (Tav. 15). It is of unusual literalness for an Exultet roll and bears no relation to the miniatures of any of the other rolls.

The other fourteen miniatures are obviously copies of the Troja roll and may be most easily described by references to the point of the text at which they occur: for purposes of comparison the plate numbers in Latil's publication are added.

Laetetur et mater Ecclesia: Side view of a basilica: under an arch, left, an ambo and a paschal candle; two clerics standing near. The nave of three bays is crowded with lay folk. A tower of the western façade is at the right. Latil, Troja, Tav. 8.

Quapropter adstantibus vobis: A deacon in an ambo with paschal candle, left; congregation, centre and right. There is no architectural background as in the preceding miniature. Latil, Troja, Tav. 9.

Patrem filiumque eius unigenitum: Christ on the cross, center. To the left, an angel and St Mary, representing the Church, holding a chalice into which flows blood from the spear wound; to the right, an angel drives away a female figure representing the Synagogue. Latil, Troja, Tav. 14.

Haec nox est in qua destructis vinculis mortis Christus ab inferis victor ascendit: Apparently a representation of the Harrowing of Hell, with very curious iconography. In the centre, an angel leads out Adam and Eve, left, from a cave-like hell: to the right stand three saints, two wearing the cross of martyrdom, who typify the souls of the blessed. That this is a representation of the Harrowing of Hell seems established not only by the text which it illustrates, but also by the similarity of hell in this miniature and in the representation of Christ and the broken gates of Hades in the Troja original, a miniature not reproduced in this copy. The artist at Troja with his curious and bizarre taste has substituted the angel for Christ as the deliverer of our first parents. Latil, Troja, Tav. 13.

O beata nox: Two standing figures, left, and five standing figures, right, rejoicing and jubilating. Latil, Troja, Tav. 16.

Same text. Seven figures, left and centre, embracing and rejoicing; right, a dejected crowned figure with bowed head sits on a throne. Latil, Troja, Tav. 16. Bertaux, in describing these remarkably literal interpretations of the text, says,[2] "Une procession de petits personnages, groupés deux à deux dans les attitudes peu expressives, est censée rendre mot à mot le passage qui décrit les effets de cette nuit de la Résurrection, nuit de gloire et de paix, qui arrête les discordes et courbe le front des puissants."

In huius igitur noctis gratia: Left, three clerics around a paschal candle; right, a church with various towers and turrets in the background. Latil, Troja, Tav. 16.

[1] Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 230. [2] *Ibid.*

CRUCIFIXION, FROM NAPLES, BIBL. NAZ. I B 49

(Enlarged from Bertaux)

CRUCIFIXION, FROM TROJA EXULTET

(By permission of Miss Avery)

Same text. Centre, a paschal candle; left, two priests and a deacon lighting the candle; right, three deacons. Latil, Troja, Tav. 17.

Apis caeteris: Left, a tree and flowers; bees circulating about and flying toward a seven story hive, right. Latil, Troja, Tav. 17.

Sicut sancta concepit virgo Maria: Centre, an angel; right, Mary seated in the arched doorway of a house. Latil, Troja, Tav. 18.

Oramus te, Domine ut cereus iste: Centre, a deacon with raised hands; left, a group of five clerics; right, a group of six lay folk. Latil, Troja, Tav. 20.

Same text. Centre, a paschal candle; left, two clerics holding candles in candlesticks, and one holding the end of an Exultet roll which is being used by a deacon in an ambo, right. Latil, Troja, Tav. 19.

Precamur ergo te: Left, a seated bishop wearing a double-horned mitre and holding a pastoral staff; centre, a seated pope, crowned, holding an open book; right, three standing clerics. Latil, Troja, Tav. 21.

M. Bertaux, in describing the Naples copy, adds that it is combined with copies of certain miniatures of the Bari and Salerno rolls as well as with seven copies of the miniatures of another lost Exultet, in which two Lombard princes are represented, like those who reigned conjointly in the eleventh century at Capua or Beneventum. Unfortunately he gives no drawings of these other miniatures, but, from the representation of the two princes, I believe that it is possible to identify the second lost Exultet with another Troja roll, the earliest of the three. This manuscript, which is without decorative borders and contains the Vetus Itala text of the Exultet,[1] is illustrated at the text "*subdiaconibus cunctoque clero uel plebe*" by a representation of Christ with cruciform halo, standing on a pedestal, with each hand placed on the head of a prince, one on the right and one on the left, who incline in a reverential fashion. Thus the derivation of the Naples copy from Troja is confirmed by this additional detail.

In addition to the fifteen miniatures which are reproduced in the Naples copy, there are a number of others in the principal Troja Exultet but, since they have no bearing upon the question of the relationship of the two manuscripts and since it is difficult to determine their exact order from the reproductions available and since it seems very probable that several of them, whose subjects are not from the common iconographic repertory of the Exultet rolls, have been patched into the roll, a description of them would be of little value.

The third Troja Exultet roll contains the Vetus Itala text and is quite closely related to the second roll. The script of the three rolls, in all cases Beneventan, is not of such a striking and distinctive character as to assist

[1] Duchesne, *op. cit.*, pp. 537–539.

in the dating of these manuscripts and the art does not allow a precise date to be given for any one of them. The two shorter rolls with the Vetus Itala text obviously belong in the eleventh century, and the later Vulgate roll, which was copied in the Naples manuscript, is clearly the work of the twelfth century, probably from the first quarter. Beyond this general placing, however, I am unable to discover more definite dates.

Note. Since the writing of this note I have learned that Miss Myrtilla Avery of Wellesley College, who has made an extensive study of Exultets, has reached independently the same conclusion about the relation of the principal Troja roll and the Naples copy and has found that the two smaller rolls, with the Vetus Itala text, have been sewed together. Miss Avery visited Troja recently and obtained a complete set of photographs of the three manuscripts. I am greatly indebted to her for allowing me to reproduce the Crucifixion of the principal roll from her photographs.

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REVIEWS

FRANCOIS-L. GANSHOF, *Etude sur les ministeriales en Flandre et en Lotharingie.* Mémoire couronné par l'Académie royale de Belgique. Bruxelles: Maurice Lamertin, 1926. 456 pages.

IN the first part of this work M. Ganshof has synthesized all previous research into the history and nature of the ministeriales; in the second, in which new ground is broken, he has examined the history of the institution in German Lorraine, Flanders and Brabant. The point of departure of all study of this subject must begin with A. Fürth's *Die Ministerialen* (Cologne, 1836), whose conclusions M. Ganshof largely sustains. He has as little respect for the "heterodox" opinion of Caro, Wittich, Oppermann and Heck as Keutgen has, which is saying much.

The ministeriales were peculiarly an evolution of German feudalism. Only sporadic traces of them can be found in France in the Ile-de-France, Normandy and Anjou (pp. 74–78), and see my article on "German Feudalism" in *American Historical Review*, XXVIII (1922–23), 464–74. M. Ganshof makes the claim — in which he has the support of other scholars — that there is no filiation between the ministeriales of Carolingian times and those officials of the same name in the feudal period (pp. 31–32). Yet I confess to skepticism in this matter. In the dissolution of the Frankish Empire in the ninth century the greater Carolingian institutions (e.g., the missi dominici) perished. But one finds curious traces, in the institutions of the tenth and eleventh centuries, of things which seem to be fragmentary survivals of the Carolingian régime. Apparently the débris of Carolingian government was swept away by the strong current of feudalism to lodge upon the bank and shoal of a later time.

The earliest occurrence of the term *ministerialis* in the feudal age is found in a diploma of the emperor Henry II (1002–24) in the first quarter of the eleventh century, though it is admitted that the institution was then already a well developed one. But how far back may it be traced? The earliest instance cited by M. Ganshof is of 922–25, from Ekkehard of St Gall (p. 39). For, with Dietrich Schaefer, Keutgen, and Hegel he rejects (p. 41, note 8) the celebrated "agrarii milites" of Henry I, mentioned by Widukind, i, 35. Schaefer thought these to have been royal vassals; Keutgen once agreed with him but changed his mind and concluded with Hagel that freemen were meant. In the article alluded to above I have advanced the argument (p. 455) that these "agrarii milites" were servitors of Henry I as duke of Saxony and not as king. The remains of the Carolingian fisc in Saxony were not great in the tenth century.

Despite M. Ganshof's conclusion, that there is no historical connection between the Carolingian ministeriales and those of the feudal period, I cannot help thinking that the gap is not so wide as believed. For in a letter of Alcuin, Ep. 174, ed. Jaffe, VI, 623, we find mention of "gregarios, id est ignobiles milites." These are certainly different from the servile ministeriales mentioned in the *Capitulare de villis* and Hincmar's treatise on the court in the ninth century, *De ordine palatii*. I am convinced of the affinity between these and Widukind's "agrarii milites" as much as of the affinity between the latter and Wipo's "milites gregarii" [*Vita Chuomradi* ii, 4 (A.D. 1024)]. There is striking evidence of the employment of armed servitors in a military capacity in the *Annales Fuldenses*, in 880, where we are told that in a battle with the Norsemen who had invaded the lower Rhinelands, "eighteen satellites regis" fell. The names of the fallen, which are given, clearly indicate their base origin. We have at least these two evidences from Alcuin and the Annals of Fulda to bridge the gap between Charlemagne and the Saxon dynasty — evidence which, it seems to me, bears out the argument that Henry I's "agrarii milites" were also ministeriales.

M. Ganshof's treatment of the field he has chosen for his own independent researches is very complete. He has devoted 150 pages to Brabant, the principality of Liège, Luxembourg and the county of Holland; 22 to Lothringen, and 39 to Flanders. An alphabetical table lists every known instance by name of person and place in Flanders and Lothringen.

By the twelfth century the most ambitious ministeriales had blossomed into the knightly and noble class, and the lowly origin of these parvenus had become obscured or forgotten. Occasionally, however, and usually with tragic consequences, reminiscence of such base origin flashed out. The murder of Charles the Good of Flanders in 1127 was perpetrated by a family of servile origin which claimed nobility, and against whose claims the count had instituted court procedure of investigation. A like notorious case arose in 1188 in Hainaut — the *procès de Robert de Beaurain*, a *cause celèbre* of the epoch, which Gislebert of Monshas graphically related.

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The Cambridge Medieval History, edited by J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton, and Z. N. Brooke: Volume V, *Contest of Empire and Papacy*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

The title, *Contest of Empire and Papacy*, given to the fifth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*, warns us that the period from 1050 to 1200 will be treated from the conventional standpoint and in the traditional manner. This impression is borne out by the division into chapters:

the reform of the church, Gregory VII, Germany under Henry IV and Henry V, the Normans in south Italy and Sicily, the Italian cities, Islam in Syria and Egypt from 750 to 1100, the First Crusade, the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the effects of the crusades, Germany from 1125 to 1152, Italy during the same period, Barbarossa and Germany, Barbarossa and the Lombard League, Henry VI, the Norman Conquest, England from 1087 to 1154, England under Henry II, France under Louis VI and Louis VII. Thus there is rather too much of the old practice of pigeon-holing history by reigns of kings, while one must protest vigorously against the division of Europe into England, France, Germany, and Italy, — the speaking in terms of modern nations, which seems an anachronism for the period under consideration. The concluding chapters are more general in scope, dealing with the communal movement, monastic orders, Roman and Canon law, the schools, and philosophy. But one could wish that the entire volume had been treated more in the spirit of an admirable sentence in the Introduction: "We have to deal, then, with a period, on the one hand, of new movements and new ideas — the appearance of the new monastic orders, a renaissance of thought and learning, the rise of towns and the expansion of commerce; on the other, of consolidation and centralisation — the organisation of the monarchical government of the Church, the development of monarchical institutions in the various countries of Europe, and, to give direction and solidity to the whole, the revived study of Civil and Canon Law."

As in previous volumes, the chronological limits set are none too well observed. Perhaps this is largely inevitable, yet one cannot but feel that this volume is not the place for a discussion of the Breviary of Alaric and early Germanic codes on the one hand, or of Bartolus and the influence of Italian humanism on legal studies on the other hand. The discussion of mediaeval schools is supposed to come down to 1300, but is actually largely devoted to those before 900, giving a misleading impression so far as the period of intellectual revival from 1050 to 1200 is concerned.

The names of German scholars continue to be noticeable by their absence from the list of contributors, and non-British authors of any sort are few. Of the twenty-three chapters by seventeen contributors, two are by Frenchmen and two by an Italian. Three chapters are by women.

The literary style and method of detailed presentation continue about the same as in the previous volumes, — chiefly chronological narrative, — clear and dignified in tone, but somewhat dry and heavy for the ordinary reader. Interesting incidents and racy passages will be found, however, by those who have the patience to look for them. The chapter on the rise of the Italian cities by Previté-Orton contains many illuminating sentences such as, at page 235, "The single-celled state of 1130 became the multiple-

celled community of 1250." Of the great Italian monastery of Farfa in the tenth century we read, at page 5, "But there was little pretence of theology or even piety; only the study of medicine was kept up, and that included the useful knowledge of poisons, as abbot after abbot was to learn."

The "incredible estimates of the numbers of those who joined in the First Crusade still given in modern histories of deserved repute," are vigorously questioned by Professor Stevenson, who assails the "pictorial numbers" of mediaeval chroniclers and would reduce them to a few thousand. Yet at page 373 we find the following quotation from a letter of St Bernard to Eugenius III concerning the Second Crusade, "Cities and castles are emptied, and there is not left one man to seven women." One fears that if the same scepticism which Professor Stevenson applies to the numerical figures in mediaeval chroniclers were extended to the rest of their content, the portly volume before us for review would shrink to a narrow compass. This is one argument for a greater attention to the past of thought and culture, whose source-foundations are more solid.

It is good to have Mr Reade point out that "the belief, still extant in some quarters, that the mediaeval understanding of Aristotle was hopelessly vitiated by faulty translations is unsupported by the facts"; and his strictures upon the reputation of Roger Bacon are well taken. But we do not see how he can say that Adelard of Bath's "general outlook, however, is reminiscent of what John of Salisbury imputes to Bernard of Chartres," if he has read the *Questiones naturales* and not merely the *De eodem et diuerso*. And we wish that he had given reasons or authorities for his interesting intimation that Alexander of Hales is not the author of the *Summa* which bears his name. Why be so mysterious about it?

The value of the volume is enhanced by a chronological table (two-sevenths of it is before 1050 or after 1200), nine maps, some of which are in colors, sixty double-columned pages of Index, and over a hundred pages of Bibliographies. To these last two features, none the less, we must take some exception. I find no mention of the *Dictatus* in the index, although at page 57 the recent establishing of Gregory VII's authorship of it is pointed out. For James of Venice the index refers only to page 808, although he is earlier mentioned at page 331. To Burgundio of Pisa it gives no reference, although he is mentioned on page 808. Puzzling is the complete omission of the word 'Greek' from the index. The bibliographies, too, often seem weak upon the more recent literature of the subject and particularly upon the publications in outlandish countries such as Italy and the United States of America. This same weakness sometimes affects the text of the corresponding chapters.

Thus concerning mediaeval schools there is no mention of such an im-

portant general work as Giuseppe Manacorda's *Storia della scuola in Italia: il medio evo*, 1914, 2 vols., to say nothing of the considerable monographic literature in French, German, and Italian on the mediaeval schools of particular towns or regions. In the bibliography on mediaeval philosophy the researches of Professor Haskins pass unnoted, although some of the themes with which he has dealt are discussed in the text, where, too, however, he is not named. On the other hand, I can find nothing in the bibliography about Mandonnet's edition of the *De quindecim problematibus* of Albertus Magnus, to which the text refers. The bibliography of Germany, 1125–1152, lists the works of A. L. Poole and H. Prutz on Henry the Lion, but not Editha Gronen's *Die Machtpolitik Heinrichs des Löwen und sein Gegensatz gegen das Kaisertum*, 1919; or Ferdinand Güterbock's *Die Gelnhauser Urkunde und der Prozess Heinrichs des Löwen*, 1920; while the bibliography on Henry VI omits M. A. Pasculli's *Studio sulla congiura contro l'imperatore Enrico VI*, 1919. The bibliography on Canon law has neither L. Wahrmund's *Quellen zur Geschichte des Römisch-Kanonischen Prozesses im Mittelalter*, where various sources have been printed; nor J. Petit's *Registre des causes civiles de l'officialité épiscopale de Paris (1384–1387)*, 1919; nor R. Génestal's *Le procès sur l'état de clerc aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, 1909. We look in vain in the bibliography on Italian cities for Monfredi Palumbo's *I comuni meridionali*, vol. I, 1910; F. Bruno di Tournafort's *Le origini e lo svolgimento dell' aggregazione sociale nel comune medievale in Italia*, 1906; A. Solmi's *Il comune nella storia del diritto*, 1922; or S. Alvisi's monograph on the commune of Imola in the twelfth century. The bibliography on the communal movement, especially in France, is perhaps as full as we should ask, but possibly in place of some of the older works might have been noted such recent studies as Oriola's *Les consuls de Perpignan*, 1912; Villepelet's history of Périgueux and its municipal institutions to 1360, published in 1908; Gailliard's *Monographie de la commune de Ressous-le-Long*, 1905; Lenoir's *Histoire de la commune de Gérouville*, 1906; Clément-Simon's *Tulle avant . . . le consulat*, 1908; Roland and Lahaye's *Les communes namuroises*, 1907; and Métin's *Communes du canton d'Ornans*, 1913. The bibliography on Gregory VII includes neither Peitz's *Das Original-register Gregors VII*, 1911, although his researches are alluded to in a foot-note to the text at page 57, nor E. Caspar's *Studien zum Register Gregors VII* in the *Neues Archiv* for 1913. W. Holtzmann's article on the eastern policy of the reforming papacy and the origin of the first crusade in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, Vol. XXII (1924), perhaps appeared too recently for inclusion in the bibliography on the First Crusade.

But such omissions, which might be further multiplied, make one wonder if this volume, impressive as it is in some respects, can be regarded as a full and faithful reflection of the present state of European and American his-

torical scholarship concerning the period in question. Certainly the great renaissance of the twelfth century does not stand out as it should in a volume devoted to the period from 1050 to 1200, while to treat of that time without a single chapter on art is almost as bad as it would be to leave Hamlet out of the play.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

LYNN THORNDIKE, *A Short History of Civilization.* New York; F. S. Crofts & Co., 1926. Pp. xiv+619.

THERE would seem to be a widespread and almost passionate interest in the history of civilization in recent years. The gamut runs from H. G. Wells' unscholarly effusion to the profound work of Oswald Spengler. This latest contribution to the literature of the history of civilization is a readable book, a synthesis of much scattered information and sometimes with refreshing and suggestive ideas expressed, especially when the author draws parallels between the past and the present. (See pp. 301, 304, 313, 353.) The aim has been "to survey the past constructively." This past (and here we have Mr. Thorndike's definition of civilization) consists of "man's constructive achievement, those positive accomplishments in political and social institutions, in art and industry, in science and thought, which we denote by the collective word civilization" (p. 3). Apparently Mr Thorndike approves Metternich's famous dictum that ideas begin in the best heads and flow down gradually to the masses. He believes in the aristocratic origin of civilization. For civilization, he says, "is the product of our higher faculties as exercised first by original and superior individuals and then accepted or followed by a sufficient number of human beings to make it a social fact" (p. 3). Civilization is not a constant, but a variable. There is no gain without some loss. Every civilization represents both an advance and a retrogression, having lost some of the good features of previous civilizations.

The proportion of space allotted to each period-subject seems eccentric in the case of certain epochs. Egypt and the Near East in antiquity is given 55 pages; Classical civilization, 113; Ancient India and China, 47; Byzantine, Persian and Mohammedan civilization only 21; Western Europe in the Middle Ages, 82; Early Modern Times, 93; Recent Civilization, 96. Perhaps it was deliberate self-denial on the author's part, as a professional mediaevalist, to compress a thousand years of mediaeval civilization into much less space than he has given to that of Greece and Rome. But I chiefly demur against the reduction of Byzantine, Persian and Arabic civilization to a mere sketch.

As readers of SPECULUM will naturally turn to the pages upon mediaeval civilization, I shall confine this review to Book VI, which is divided into

six chapters. (1) Western Europe in transition; (2) The European land system and aristocracy; (3) The revival of town life; (4) Learning, education and literature to the invention of printing; (5) Mediaeval art; (6) Crusaders and Mongols.

Mr Thorndike finds "that time in the Middle Ages when western civilization may be said to have made its new start" to be in the tenth century (p. 297). His chief criterion for this judgment is that "in the tenth century come our earliest recorded mediaeval instances of peasants attempting to escape from serfdom," although he cites other evidences like the cessation of the Norse and Magyar invasions. But these latter were more negative than positive evidences of recovery. In my judgment mediaeval Europe hardly began to "find itself" (except in Saxon Germany) before the eleventh century. Certainly this is true of the Church and of feudalism, the two most potent and universal institutions of mediaeval civilization.

The best chapter in the book is chapter xxix, on mediaeval art, of which Mr Thorndike eloquently says: "It can bid defiance to disparagement. It has no seamy side; outside and inside it is equally honest, equally beautiful. Its foundations are as solid as its aspirations are lofty" (p. 352). But every one of these chapters suffers from too much condensation. In the effort to be brief or simple the writer frequently has sacrificed too much. For example, in the pages devoted to learning and education I can discover no allusion to Alcuin. All that is said of St Francis is that he is an object of "hero-worship . . . in some modern books" (p. 352). No reader without a large knowledge of the subject derived from other works can possibly understand the nature of either the feudal régime or the reverse of the coin, manorialism. On page 310 one reads that "in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was a great emancipation movement among the peasantry," but one looks in vain for an explanation of the reasons thereof. Few students of mediaeval economic history will follow Mr Thorndike in the opinion expressed on page 303 that "the Northmen . . . appear to have aroused western Christendom from a state of agricultural lethargy and economic isolation." The economic recovery of western Europe, as M. Pirenne has shown, was due to the overthrow of Mohammedan sea-power in the western basin of the Mediterranean by the fleets of Pisa and Genoa early in the eleventh century, which opened the Levant again to western commerce. Similarly, Mr Thorndike errs in economic interpretation when he ascribes the increase in the amount of the precious metals to mines "in the region which we now call Alsace, Bohemia and Hungary" (p. 303). The Bohemian ores in the Erzgebirge did not begin to become available until the late twelfth century, nor those of Transylvania and the Zips until later still. As for Alsace, it is news to me that mining was a local industry. The great source of the precious metals in the epoch which is

dealt with was Thuringia, where the famous Rammelsberg mines first began to be worked about 960. Mr Thorndike is "dubious if their (Frankish) dominance was of much service to civilization" (p. 302). One wonders what Saxony, Swabia, Bavaria, the Rhinelands, would have been in the tenth century if there had been no Charlemagne. As to the preservation of classical manuscripts, the genealogy of the oldest of such which we now possess shows that most of them go back to Carolingian copies made at Tours or Reichenau or Corbie or St Gall. The Carolingian renascence did more for preservation of the classics than Mr Thorndike's philosophy dreams. On page 314 we read the statement that "the churchmen were generally good landlords, and for a time their serfs seem to have been more prosperous and better treated than others." This is an ancient and widely disseminated belief, which has been badly shattered by modern research.

A close scrutiny of the cartularies of the monasteries shows that serfs on church lands were not better off than those on lay lands. There is even ground to believe that as a whole their lot was worse. The *Miracula of St Benoît* show frightful poverty, although this may have been an extreme case. The fact that the Church exercised an empire over souls proves nothing as to the economic condition of the peasantry on ecclesiastical lands. The mediaeval church was the most conservative member of feudal society in the matter of enfranchisement of slaves and manumission of serfs. Most instances of general emancipation are by lay, not by ecclesiastical lords. Indeed, emancipation of slave or serf, unless compensation were made for the loss entailed thereby, was forbidden by canon law. On the whole the Church was opposed to emancipation and did its best to protract serfdom. Luchaire's opinion, than which hardly any can be higher, was very adverse to the contention that church serfs were better off than serfs on lay lands. This is also the conclusion of Paul Fournier, of Pollock and Maitland, and of Vanderkindere in Belgium.

A selected bibliography concludes each chapter, and there is an index.

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La Chanson de Roland, Oxford Version, Edition, Notes and Glossary by T. Atkinson Jenkins, Professor of the History of the French Language, University of Chicago (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1924), pp. cl, 378.

In the preparation of the present edition the Editor was actuated by the desire "that American students, beginners in Old French, might have the complete poem at hand, edited to meet their needs." This laudable desire has long been shared by no few of those whose function it is to deal in the class-room with the greatest of French epics and who have found them-

selves hampered by lack of text-book equipment. For the help which Professor Jenkins has now brought them, they should certainly vote him hearty thanks, and, let us say it at once, his disclaimer of high philological purpose makes captious criticism of his achievement base ingratitude.However, his disclaimer is not to be taken too literally. He admits, with becoming modesty, that " the work has developed somewhat in the making," and we are glad that it has done so, for we regard it as the product of a true scholar who has envisaged all aspects of a very difficult task and has done his best to cast the proper light upon them. But no deep student of mediaeval lore in general and of Old French and its literature in particular will expect to find solved out of hand by Professor Jenkins the countless problems attaching to the *Chanson de Roland;* he will not be surprised to discover that some of the difficulties remain moot points, and he will feel free to offer his own views respecting them. Of course this is what Professor Jenkins would have him do.

Besides a text of the poem, the Editor has provided notes, an Introduction, a Bibliography, and a Glossary. The notes, we are glad to say, appear in the appropriate place at the foot of each page of the text and not at the end of the volume. The Introduction seems to leave untouched no essential point that has attracted the attention of scholars since the *Chanson de Roland* first became the subject of study by competent critics, and, like the notes, it reveals the Editor's own consideration of many a disputed matter. After indicating that such a title as *Ço est de Charlemaigne et de Rollant* would be more fitting than simply *Chanson de Roland*, Professor Jenkins gives an outline of the poem. Next he studies the author's power of characterization, his conscious poetic art, and the ideas and spirit that animate him, for all of which there is praise as just as it is discriminating. Coming now to treat of the date of the document and the question of its authorship, the Editor realizes that he is on debatable ground; but he faces issues squarely. Even though we fail to accord him full assent, we must perforce approve of the clearness and fullness of his exposition of his arguments. In what remains of his Introduction he is chiefly concerned with the models and materials that the poet may have utilized and with the diffusion of his work as shown by the many early allusions to it, by imitations and adaptations of it, and by the existing manuscripts of one or another form of it. He concludes with a thorough-going account of the language and versification. The Bibliography is made with due discrimination, and lists the leading works and articles that appeared prior to 1924.

As the title makes clear, the Oxford Ms. is the basis of the text presented to us. But, unlike Professor Bédier, Gröber and Lerch, and following the example of Stengel, Gautier, Müller, Clédat, etc., he chooses to make some corrections of his Ms. readings on the basis of evidence given by other

forms of the poem, notably by the Ms. Venice IV, and naturally, also, on the basis of internal evidence. We hope to find suggestions of similar changes in Professor Bédier's critical edition, when it appears.

To the 3998 lines of the Oxford Ms. Professor Jenkins adds the four lines from other sources which practically all editors have accepted, and, besides, nine other lines, so that the poem has for him 4011 lines. He abides, however, by the conventional numbering of the verses, and his last line figures as 4002.

As the present occasion does not allow compass for the discussion of all the questions to which the Introduction, text, notes, and Glossary might profitably give rise, we shall attempt no exhaustive survey of them. The following remarks touch on occasional matters and embody the views or the doubts of one who is highly appreciative of the scholarly labors of Professor Jenkins.

In the brief preface,the Editor justifies his use in the text of *o* for Old French close *o* where the Anglo-Norman scribe of the Oxford Ms. often (but not always) wrote *u*. "The Ms.," he says, "making no difference between *jor* and *jur*, *maior* and *maiur*, *aorer* and *aurer*, I have chosen, for pedagogical purposes, to write *o* uniformly: that there is any real loss in authenticity cannot be seriously maintained, while the gains are such as to be evident to any teacher. Similarly E. Hoepffner, in his recent edition of the *Lays* of Marie de France, abandoned the western spelling of close *o*, as it seemed to him a needless obstacle for those who are not well versed in Old French." We commend the Editor's use of *o* in the case indicated, but we wish that he had gone farther and had abandoned other merely scribal spellings as well, for they, too, are a "needless obstacle for those who are not well versed in Old French." In particular, we dislike the retention of the unphonetic *oe* as indicating the O.Fr. result of the breaking of Latin short *o* in an open, stressed syllable: instead of *poet*, *estoet*, *voelt* and the like, we desire *puet*, *estuet*, *vuelt*, etc. The spelling *oe* never denoted a real pronunciation here; certainly not that of the poet of the non-Baligant part of the document, and probably not of him who wrote the rest of it. Of course we applaud when Professor Jenkins (who follows Luquiens and Müller, and, we may add, Bédier) declares his intention of excluding "from the Oxford Ms. (i.e., from his use of it) whatever may be due to copyists," and, therefore, not only in the assonance, but everywhere, we would eschew spellings such as *soür* (for *seür*), *tenom* (for *tenons*), *foildre* (for *foldre*), *quens* (for *cuens*), and the many other forms which cannot have prevailed in the "region of Paris, Sens, Chartres, Tours, Blois, and Angers" (Introd., p. lxv), in which the Editor believes the non-Baligant portions to have been composed and, apparently, the final redaction of the whole work to have been made. It is to be noted that the Editor objects (Introd., p. 1, Note)

to what he deems Professor Bédier's " exaggerated respect for the readings" of the Oxford Ms.

One wonders whether Professor Jenkins is not making too much of his own interpretation (Introd., p. xxix) of the faulty line 3758. He changes the Ms. *forfist* to *sorfist*, and proceeds to build arguments on this dubious emendation. It seems to us unnecessary to change the *forfist* of the Ms. To be sure, the *me* before it (Ms.: *Rollant me forfist en or e en aveir*) is metrically troublesome. If we felt sure of all possibilities of enclisis and proclisis in the poem, we might propose to read: *Forfist m'en or, Rodlanz, ed en aveir*, and interpret as Professor Bédier does: " Roland m'avait fait tort dans mon or, dans mes biens." But we distrust our own change, as proclisis of the unstressed object pronoun seems to us unlikely, and it is really to raise that point that we have made what we deem an unpractical suggestion; cf. v. 2029.

Since this edition appeared, Professor Bédier has again discussed the questions of the date of the poem and its authorship. To his article in the *Revue de France*, 1926, pp. 645 ff. ("Sur la date et sur l'auteur de la Ch. de R.") nothing need be added here. It makes the due reserves as to Professor Jenkins's arguments in favor of " the Norman Turoldus, who was, almost certainly, Thorold of Envermeu " (Introd., lxv), as the poet of the *Chanson de Roland*. Not yet can we say whether Turoldus was the poet, or a scribe, or a minstrel; and v. 4002 still mystifies us. As Professor Bédier intimates, arguments as to the place of the author that have been based on the mention of Mont Saint-Michel have been carried too far. The high regard which the poet shows everywhere for *Francs* and *Franceis de France* would seem to mark him as being himself a native of the central French region. Like Professor Jenkins, Professor Bédier accepts the idea that the poem, as exhibited in the Oxford Ms., is posterior to the beginning of the Crusades to the Holy Land; an early year in the 12th century seems indicated as the date of the composition. That Bohemond's wedding in 1106 prompted the writing of the epic is, as Professor Jenkins himself admits (Introd., p. lxvii), something for which " concrete evidence, one way or the other, is absolutely lacking." That French participation in the operations against the Saracens in Spain during the 11th century influenced the author of the *Chanson de Roland*, has been made more than likely by the researches of recent years. That for descriptions of battles and other details the poet drew from written accounts of events in the First Crusade seems today at least probable.

The Editor is hardly warranted in speaking of Charlemagne, the " priest-king," who " *absolves* and blesses." He " blesses," of course, but no author of the *Roland*, certainly no clerical author, could ever have conceived of him as giving absolution. Formal absolution is not involved in

the *asols* (*assols*) of v. 340; it probably means "released," "gave leave to go," i.e., it indicates the *congé*. At v. 524 and v. 539, it is said that Charlemagne is more than two hundred years old. But we must observe that the statement is made by a "pagan." Is the poet not calling attention to the naïveté of the "pagans" instead of stating a fact accepted by the Christians? In the discussion of the figure of Roland we find no reference to the legend of his incestuous origin. As to the antiquity of the Roland poem in Spanish, which is mentioned in the Introd., p. xciv, some of us have doubts. The appearance of Renaut de Montauban on the battlefield of Roncesvaux provokes suspicion; and we are not sure, either, whether we are dealing with a fragment of a lost epic or only with a ballad. On p. xcix it is said that *u* "is pronounced as in Mod. Fr. *dur*, *mur*, perhaps even more close." What is more close? P. cii: "in *aït* (v. 3358), *iu* is reduced to *i;*" but is not the form analogical to *aidier*, and dissyllabic because *aiut* is dissyllabic (cf. Italian *aïta*, *aitare*)? P. civ: "*oi* from *uei* (*oei*) in *loinz*, lŏnge + s." How could *uei* ever become *oi?* The natural result would be * *lueinz*, *luinz*, and the latter, under the influence of adverbial *lonc* could become *loinz* (v. 2429). P. cv: it is probable that O. Fr. *marchis* (cf. *marche*) had *ch*=*tš* and not=*k*. In the *rachatent* of v. 1833 we may also have *ch*=*tš*, and * *re-ad-captant* may be the source. Certainly an Arabic *rahat* is unlikely as the etymon. Pp. cv-cvi: here is discussed the question of elision or non-elision of fem. *e* in groups like *comenceț a penser*. In his text the Editor has eliminated all cases of elision except that at v. 1834, and even for that he has an emendation to propose. The Editor has been consistent in his policy and may be right; yet, the early 12th century may have been a period of transition in which the *ț* was pronounced or suppressed at will before a word beginning with a vowel; we know that it was a period of transition for other phenomena represented in the poem, e.g., the pronunciation of the diphthong *ai* and possibly the pronunciation or suppression of *s* before a nasal. P. cvi: one asks himself whether the *s* of *resnes*, *reisnes* in the Oxford Ms. may not be due to *arrester* (v. 1332–1382 and v. 1783). Of course, the *s* may be inorganic and unpronounced here and in *Rosne* from *Rhodanum* (v. 1626); cf. *blasme* with silent *s* in v. 1082, and with pronounced *s* in v. 1346 and v. 1718; and the *s* is pronounced also in *pasment*, v. 1348. On p. cvi the remark is made that "the space of three generations may separate the language of the coypist from that of the poet." This important fact might have been stated earlier along with a full description of the Ms. P. cviii: That *que* is really a nominative form of the relative, masc. and fem., in the *Roland* is not too certain; and it may be unwise to retain the scribal *qui* for the oblique case form *cui*. The latter was probably still accented on the *u* and not confused with *qui* in the language of the poet. P. cix: In *chameilz* from *camēlos* can the *z*=*ts*

be due to palatalization of the *l* by the *y* element of the diphthong? Cf. v. 505, *feḍeilz* from *fidēlis*. The history of other words of the type (*pĭlus*, etc.) is pertinent. P. cx: If infinitives used substantively receive the flexional *s* of the msc. nom. sg., why not *aveirs* in v. 639 and v. 643? P. cxi: Despite the evidence of the Oxford Ms., the nom. voc. pl. can hardly have been other than *seignor* for the poet. The *emperedor* of v. 1444 is certainly the acc.-dat. of possession; it might be well, since the verse needs correction in any event, to change *li* to *lo*. P. cxiv: *Bel sire* from *belle senior* is more than dubious; we cannot argue safely from spellings here, therefore the *cher sire* of the Ms. helps us but little. P. cxvii: Of course it is the medial *vowel* that goes in the fut. and cond. of verbs like *jurer*. P. cxix: What is the pronunciation of *mangons?* Cf. v. 1025, *jugaṭ* and v. 1892, *Digon*. P. cxxiii (a): *esteilles* a misprint for *esteiles?* P. cxxv: When explaining the rise of the partitive construction we must not forget the possibility of a beginning in the negative use, i.e., with intensifying nouns that required a prepositional construction: *il ne pert point* (*mie, pas*) *del sanc*, etc. P. cxxix: Perhaps a beginning of the omission of the reflexive pronoun may have occurred in cases such as *afublez est* and *puis sont jostet; afublez*+*s*(*e*) and *puis*+*s*(*e*) would absorb the *s*(*e*); the loss is phonological here and cases like *est escriḍez* are analogical. P. cxxx: *en som*. A similar case is that of *par mi*, v. 700 and v. 738 (the Ms. has *par mi* as two words in both cases, not *parmi* as the Editor has it in 738). P. cxli: The question of *ço'st* or *c'est* brings up the matter of enclisis and proclisis; perhaps the Editor is right in arguing for the enclisis in *ço'st*. P. cxliii: Instead of reading, in v. 364, *por sire-l tenez*, we might keep the *seignor* of the Oxford Ms. and omit the pronoun, which may be understood from the first part of the line: *E lui aidiez e por seignor tenez*.

Text. v. 6. Objecting to *que* as subject form, we would read: *Fors Sarragoce qui'st en une montaigne*. v. 15, Note. Italian says: *Che peccato!* v. 31. The Glossary gives impossible V. L. *Austŭre* as the etymon for *hostor*. Is it not V. L. *acceptorem* (for *accipiter*), with influence of *avis, avem, au-* and the Germanic for *hawk* (cf. O. H. G. *habuch*)? v. 37, Note. September 29 is still St Michael's Day, not October 16. v. 39. For the scribal *sis* (*mis, tis*) should we not have in the text *ses* (*mes, tes*) as the poet's form of the msc. nom. sg.? The Oxford Ms. has also *ses*, etc. v. 115. We think that *ormier* (Ms. *or mer*) represents *aurum merum* here and elsewhere. Gold rather than sea-shell would be used for spurs (as in v. 1549) and for the knob on a shield (as in v. 2538). v. 149. As *fiz* (Ms. *filz*) was one of the words with which the case distinction first broke down, the Editor may be justified in keeping it for the objective case; we wonder, however, whether it had entirely displaced *fil* in the language of the poet. v. 194. Can the neuter pronoun have had much demonstrative force in its enclitic

employment? v. 201. For *traḍitre, traḍitor* the C. L. etymon given in the Glossary (*tradĭtor, tradĭtōrem*) cannot suffice. One is tempted to think of a V. L. **tradīctor, *tradīctōrem*, under the influence of *dīcere*, V. L.* *dīctum*, and possibly of *traducere, traductum*. v. 212. *Viḍe* (Latin *vita*), for the Ms. *vie*, answers well enough here, and Bédier's translation gives the sense. The word *vide* (*visde*, cf. *veisdie*) seems to have a sinister sense which is out of place here. v. 215. Is not *gernon* scribal for *guernon*, a metathesized form of *grenon*? v. 220. The note seems to read too much into the remark here. Ganelon is not calling himself a scoundrel; the sense, in accord with Bédier's rendering, seems to be: " Woe's you, if you believe a scoundrel, or me, or any one else, unless the matter be to your advantage." v. 222. The suggestion of an emendation (see p. cxii) to *li mes Marsilion* is attractive. But the Ms. *Marsilion* (*Marsiliun*) can stand, if we accept an early breaking down of the case system in proper names and certain frequently used vocatives such as *fiz, suer*, etc. v. 279. *Se lui laissiez* for *Sel lui laissiez*. Did not the customary suppression of the direct obj. prn. before the indirect obj. prn. begin in a case like this? In sentence phonetics *sel lui* would become *se lui*, and the direct obj. prn. sg. mac. and ntr. would disappear audibly and in writing; the omission of *la, les*, under similar circumstances may be due to analogy. v. 286. We prefer *tot* (or *toz*) *fols*. v. 287, Note. As the Editor's interpretation of v. 3758 is open to question, we are loath to accept his views here. After all, the stepfather relation of Ganelon to Roland, a never-dying folk-lore motive, is very important in the motivation here. v. 288. A period or an exclamation mark seems more natural here than a question mark. v. 300. Clearly this is a case of tmesis and *ainz que* means ' before '; see Bédier's translation. v. 306. We do not see any necessary technical employment in *Jo ne vos aim*. v. 308. It seems unlikely that *veiz* represents *vĭdētis*. Possibly the 2nd sg. *veiz* from **vĭdes** was used with interjectional force even in a *vos* form of address. With other editors we might read *veḍeiz mei en present*, and the strong form of the obj. prn. after the imper. commends itself. v. 353. The punctuation and the brittle dialogue introduced by the Editor do not appeal here. We believe that vv. 350–356 are one speech, and that the faulty reading in the Ms. of v. 354 is best corrected to *n'ert*. There is no obvious reason for changing Ms. *que* of v. 356 to *quer*, not found elsewhere in the poem; cf. the Editor's interpretation of the *que* of v. 4002. v. 359. We confess to a preference for the emendation to *bacheler* here and in v. 2861; at all events no solid evidence of *chevaler* is before us. v. 382. As *que* as subject form is dubious and *en* is not needed, we might keep the Ms. *qui* (*ki*) and read: *qui oncore avraṭ honte*. v. 395. For *quieṭ* read *cuieṭ*. We see no evidence in the poem of a *cuier* (see Glossary); *cuiḍeṭ* is needed here, and the Editor, in spite of his Glossary entry, reads *quiḍeṭ*, i.e., *cuiḍeṭ*, in v. 1631.

The *t* should not be dotted in v. 1633. v. 401. Msc. *li* must yield to *lui* in the strong fourth syllable of the verse, if the reference is to the Emperor. v. 423. The Editor's *s'i* is a useful interpretation of Ms. *si*, as it helps to eliminate *si*, 'if.' v. 451. With Bédier and other editors, we would change Ms. *Tuit* to *Tant*. v. 464. If we are right in arguing for enclisis as against proclisis of the unstressed obj. prn., we might read here: *A terre-l gieteț*. v. 485: *escolez de lire;* a highly desirable change from the Ms. reading. v. 492. The infinitive is *aquitier* rather than *aquiter*, as its source, *adquietare, develops an epenthetic palatal. v. 516. As in v. 115, we fail to share the Editor's aversion to gold; surely gold embroidery was not unknown. v. 572 and v. 543: *recreḍanz;* the Glossary should give the sense of "weary." v. 536. In view of *barneț* and its meaning, we had better adhere to the Ms. here and read *vuelt* instead of *vueill* (*voeill*). v. 558. Why change Ms. *orient* to *oriant?* Cf. v. 401, *orient* in an *ã* and *ẽ* assonance; the *i* and the *e* of *orient* are syllabically distinct. v. 567: *Ne vos*. A note on the negative and affirmative expressions (*naie*, *oie*, etc.) might not be amiss here. v. 591. In the light of v. 1959 we might well insert the negative and read: *n'iert la martiries*. v. 596. Why keep scribal *chi* and not write *qui*? so in v. 629 *onques* is preferable to *onches*. v. 632, Note. The sugges'ion of *respondiet li* does not strike us as good; *li* is a weak prn. and can hardly stand in the tenth syllable. v. 673. In all cases of voiceless intervocalic *s* we should prefer to see the sign doubled. v. 675: *veisdie*. The etymon of this troublesome word and its variants can hardly be found in Latin vĕgĕtus, which is unsatisfactory phonetically and semasiologically. The verb *boisier*, *voisier* (*?*), and the adj. *voisos* may be of the same family, and they lead one to apprehend at least some connection with vĭtĭum; cf. v. 977, *enveiseț*, which is probably *invĭtĭat. v. 678. Despite Tobler, *faz amener* is no more a case of meaningless use of the auxiliary than is *faites guarder* in v. 679. There is some tinge of causation present. v. 711. The emendation is as good as any other thus far proposed. v. 797. Read *vielz*, not *vieilz*. v. 801. As *faillir* is impossible in the assonance, we suggest, on the basis of v. 2141, *laier;* other editors have adopted *laissier*. v. 805. We prefer *destreiz* to *deserz*. v. 821. Why not read *oissors* for scribal *oixors?*

In the rest of this review we shall note but a few of the points that might call for discussion. v. 830. For *contenance* cf. *Erec*, v. 5537; "behavior" seems to be the meaning. v. 893. O. Fr. had *mater* as well *matir* (v. 3206), and *mat* of this verse comes from the former. v. 899: *barneț*. The Glossary does not give a suitable meaning for this. v. 961. A comma is needed after *presse*. v. 979. Instead of *esteient* the Ms. has *esteit* and a singular form is desirable. For the assonance one might read *esteieț* (cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Grammaire de l'Ancien Français*, 1923, No. 341, Remark); but this product of V. L.*-ēat does not appear elsewhere. vv. 975 ff. The

appearance of nasal *ẽi-e* in an oral *ei-e* assonance marks this verse as suspect; note also the *ceo* of v. 984. v. 897, Note. The Editor's first interpretation is the valid one. v. 991. The sense " about " is more than doubtful for *itels;* it means " fully." v. 996. Is not *sarragozeis* scribal for *sarragoceis?* Cf. the *c* of *Sarragoce* used regularly in the poem; the *z* here may be a faulty writing due to v. 994, *Sarrazineis.* v. 1021. The Ms. *bruur,* changed by Müller and other editors to *brunor* as here, appears to be a hapax. May it be from a V. L. ***brutorem** based on *brutus* (whence *brudor,* "racket, din"?). Of course, one must not forget that *vei* stands here. v. 1091. In the poet's mouth *vaigneț* (Ms. *venget*) is unlikely. Gaston Paris and others changed to *m'ataigneț;* cf. Gautier's *qu'a huntage remaigne.* v. 1096. With other editors read *eschiveront.* v. 1099. *Veḍez* is imperative: " just consider the case a bit." v. 1133. By Turpin *assoldre* is used in its full ecclesiastical sense; cf. ante, v. 340, for a different use. v. 1152. The meaning " old favorite" for *Veillantif* does not appeal. We might think of a V. L. ***Vigilantivum,** "vigilant one." In his *Morgante,* the Italian poet Pulci has *Vegliantino,* a diminutive of *Vegliante.* v. 1163. Gaston Paris's emendation is alluring; it is the Latin **humili et dulci mente;** cf. Spanish *humilde y dulcemente.* v. 1167, Note. Why *eskec* instead of *eschec?* v. 1216. The identification in the Glossary of *encrisme* with a V.L. ***intremidus** is unnecessary. The word is probably based on Latin **chrisma;** cf. the profane use of *sacré.* There may be contamination with **crimen.** v. 1217. Despite the *Vermischte Beiträge,* there is no need of taking *entre dous* as a compound preposition here. vv.1340–42. The punctuation is not commendable; it is better to put (as in other editions) a period after *damage,* a comma after *altre,* and an exclamation mark after *place.* The note is not convincing; Bédier, Gröber and Lerch seem to find only *gesir* in the Ms., in v. 1342, and the change to *eissiț* is not helpful. v. 1376. After all, the likely sense is: " I accept you as my brother." Other editions have no comma after *jo* and put a period after *frere* (*freḍre*). The note reads too much into the passage. Stengel, following Venice IV, changed to *te cognois mon frere.* v. 1430. The construction *dont del mur,* etc., is unparalleled in the poem. While we should like to find here an early example of the partitive, it may be that those editors are right who change to *li murs.* How can *terremote* be the subject of *cravent?* v. 1433. In view of v. 1642, as it stands in the Oxford Ms., is not *espaënt* the form? v. 1473. Put a comma after *Deu.* v. 1474. The Ms. has *ki est*; read *qui'st.* v. 1484. The Glossary's metathesized **erĕcĭtu** for **haerĕtĭcu** seems unnecessary. The partly learned development is: **ereticu** > *erietie* > *erieite* > *erite.* v. 1502–03. Note. For *dona* read *donaț* (*dunat*). A proleptic use, in v. 1502, of *li* denoting *Galafres* seems strained. Müller, Gautier, and Clédat invert the order of the verses; Stengel and Bédier, like Jenkins, keep the Ms. order. v. 1515. Here the Editor has

changed the *Seignors barons* of the Ms. to the correct form. Why not do so in all the other cases? v. 1557, Note. The Editor has missed the true sense. Cf. Bédier's translation: "Ceux-là désormais ne vaudront plus guère en bataille." v. 1588. Bédier and Lerch are perhaps justified in reading *le dos* rather than *el dos*. The *e* of *el* is added in a later hand; there is a barely visible *e* after *l*. Following v. 1649, we may read *lo dos* here. v. 1604. A change from the Ms.: *Dient Franceis: "Barun, tant mare fus!"* is desirable, since *Baron*, as voc. sg. is unlikely; but the caesura between noun and adjective, as Jenkins has it, is questionable. Venice VII and the Paris Ms. have *Vassals*, which would permit us to read: *Dient Franceis: "Vassals, tant mare fus!"* v. 1616. For *volet* read *voleṭ*. v. 1634. Jenkins's emendation is as good as any made; cf. Stengel's alteration, according to Venice IV: *qui del curre n'alentet*. v. 1698. The part of the note dealing with *faire* and *lo* is needless. v. 1701. Several editions have replaced Ms. *nus* after *honte* by *en;* this may be a good change. Or, in spite of Jenkins's hesitancy, we may read: *que hontem* (*honte me*) *seit retraite*. v. 1723. The Editor's change of text and his note seem beside the mark. The Ms. reading is entirely clear: *Et il* (or *cil*) *respont: "Cumpainz* (i.e. *compaign*) *vos lo feistes*. Of course we do not share Jenkins's idea regarding *faire* and *lo* in the *Roland*. v. 1729. Jenkins does not indicate that he has changed the Ms. reading: *Ceste bataille oüsom faite u prise*. Bédier has an interesting note: "*faite u prise* n'offre pas de sens. Si l'on remarque que le vers suivant commence par *U pris u mort*, on peut conjecturer que le scribe écrivait ici sous la dictée." v. 1733. Jenkins's own attractive emendation *desiqu'al* he does not seem to note in his Glossary. We approve but would write *deci qu'al* or *dessi qu'al*. v. 1750. Why not keep the obj. prn. *nos* of the Ms. and write the syncopated future *enfoḍront?* v. 1777. The Editor has given no valid reason for changing the clear reading of the Ms.: *Sis combatirent al bon vassal Rodlant*. v. 1790, Note. Bédier, Gröber and Lerch do not seem to find the end of this line illegible. It is bothersome to have *baron* in the nom. sg. v. 1838. In the Glossary the Editor gives a V. L. **communus** instead of C. L. **communis** as the basis of the adjective and would seem to take the adverb from **communa mente* instead of the usual *communali mente*. We may apprehend a V. L. ***communus** under the influence of **unus**, but is it necessary? v. 1921. As the line stands, it has the forbidden lyrical caesura. With Müller, Gautier, etc., we may read: *Puis si escriḍent*, etc. v. 1944. The *esporons aḍ or* of this verse shows the real meaning of *esporons d'or mier* in v. 1549. v. 2022. The etymon for *doloser* in the Glossary is hardly good. The adjective *dolos* is formed on the stem of *doleir* from **dolēre**, and the verb is from the French adjective; cf. *jalouser*. v. 2063. Why change the clear reading of the Ms.? v. 2106. Why change the Ms. *vait* to *vat*? Cannot *vait* stand in an *a* assonance?

v. 2158. Here we are surely dealing with *desmaillét*. v. 2283. The very easy change of Ms. *tireres* to *tirer* is better. v. 2404. For *compaign* the Glossary registers *compaing*. v. 2449. Avoiding the proclisis of *se*, we might read (instead of the usual correction adopted by Jenkins): *A terres* (*terre se*) *colchet;* so again in v. 2484. The Ms. had *Culchet sei a tere*, which is metrically bad. v. 2465. With his emendation the Editor makes needless difficulties. The simple change of *el* to *elle* and of *dedevant* to *devant*, as made by a number of editors, meets the issue. v. 2495. For the poet's *eschalguaite* the present text keeps the scribal *escalguaite;* the Glossary uses the good form. v. 2506. In *pont* we may perceive the influence of **pons, pontem**; the **punnus** of the Glossary is unconvincing. Possibly **pugnus, pomum,** and **pontem** have all had effect. v. 2631. For *a fort* the suggestion of a relation to A. S. *á forð* is ingenious, but hardly plausible. On the testimony of v. 1197 and v. 1582 (*corre ad esforz*) we might read: *Ad esforz siglent*. v. 2653. Note. As the *gietent* of v. 2652 indicates, *mis* means "put" and not "trimmed." v. 2721. Jenkins's change to *baillide* does not appeal. With other editors read either: *Trestote Espaigne at Charles en baillie*, or *Charles avrat tote Espaigne en baillie;* cf. v. 94, etc. v. 2753. As *li* is properly the weak msc. dat. sg. prn., the strong form, *lui*, had better be used under the ictus of the fourth syllable. v. 2789. If the semantics permit, we propose **dissĭpare,** instead of **de-aestuare,** as the etymon of *desver*. v. 2815. Is *adun* justifiable as a noun? Cf. the correction by other editors, on the basis of Venice IV: "*Totes mes oz conduis.*" v. 2832. As Bédier's note states, the Ms. is bad at this passage, and the readings are problematical. v. 2834. Note. A misprint; *et ute* should be *e tute*. v. 2849. In view of vv. 2496 ff., Stengel's change to *se drece*(*t*) seems attractive; *descendre* is hardly likely for 'to get out of bed' on a battlefield. v. 2861. Note. A misprint; for 309 read 359. v. 2868. Why put *em* here? The Ms. has *en*. Read *om*. v. 2876. This *nevolt* (Ms. *nevult*) is only scribal for *nevot*. Why keep it here and in v. 2894, if the change is made in v. 3182, where the Ms. has *nevold?* v. 2936. A comma after *ai* might make the construction clearer. v. 2972. No comma is needed after *charettes*. v. 3179. Why the question mark? A period is needed. v. 3181. Note. We prefer Bédier's interpretation: "Maintes annales disent de lui de grandes louanges." The abstract *honor* may be used in the pl. without taking the sense of 'feudal possessions,' etc. Is the reference to v. 3032, note, correct? v. 3197. Should not the Glossary note that *enfant* was practically a title of nobility, like *bacheler?* Cf. the Old Spanish use of *infante, infançon*. vv. 3210–12. Jenkins has not cleared up this passage, and his note is beside the mark. The difficulty is created by *A itel ore*. If we omit the comma after *Florit*, as Bédier and Lerch do, there is an overflow of the construction, an enjambement, which seems unlikely in the poem. Perhaps this overflow can be tolerated, if we

regard v. 3211 as parenthetical, and connect *A itel ore* with *recoilliṭ*. In such a case, a semi-colon will be needed after *ore*. But the break thus created at the caesura seems unnatural also. v. 3262. Like the *charre* of v. 33, etc., *Geste* may be pl. in this verse; but the evidence afforded by the occurrences of the word in the poem is against the presumption. v. 3302. The sense "encourages" for *esclaireṭ* is not compelling; it is even less attractive than that of "dominates" (Gautier) or of "sounds more clearly" (Bédier), as given by other editors. v. 3338. Is *leis* supposed to represent **lex**, the nom.? Stengel, Gautier, and Clédat change to *lei* from **legem.** v. 3340. The sense of this line is not clear. The Editor's comma after *mei* makes an unusual overflow at the caesura. Most editors put the comma after *vuelt* (*voelt*). v. 3361. Read *qui'st* for *qu'est;* cf. *qui'n* (*ki'n*) in v. 3364. v. 3372. The Editor gives us a dubious hapax in *treschevant;* it has the merit, however, of being much closer to the actual reading of the Ms., than the *trestornant* of the other editors. v. 3390. Read *qui'n* for *qu'en*. v. 3445. Note. There seems no possibility of the translation: "urges him (dares him?) to strike back." The meaning is: "And the pagan presses upon him closely with striking (with blows)." v. 3446. For *lo baillastes* we suggest: "you gave it" (i.e., the *cols* of 3438). v. 3456. The Ms. has *ki en* and we dislike *k'en*. Perhaps we have the adjective *destreit* here: *Morz est li gloz qui destreit vos teneit*, or, with an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction: *Morz est li gloz vos en destreit teneit* (or: *en destreit vos teneit.*). v. 3512. Note. A misprint: *Auerum* should be *Avrum*. v. 3578. *Seinz* is not simply **sĭne,** but **sĭne** plus adverbial **s,** whence *sens*, and this, under the influence of *ainz*, becomes *seinz*. v. 3624. The verse remains obscure. Ms. *icels* has been changed to *icel*. v. 3663. Why not enter *coignieḍes* in the Glossary as 'axe'? vv. 3669–70. Misprints: put a comma after *contredieṭ* and a period after *ocidre*. v. 3710. Note. What has the "happy pair" to do with *per* here? v. 3732. As before, when dealing with *honor*, the Editor has gone too far afield; it means simply "honor." v. 3959. As *traist* is probably dissyllabic, the correction of the other editions seems desirable: *Qui tradist home*, etc. The Editor lists it wrongly under *traire*. In v. 3974 we may omit *Hom* and read: *Qui traḍist altre*, etc.

Glossary. Suggestions of possible changes in the Glossary have already been made. In general we should like to see the Editor giving the Classical Latin beside the Vulgar Latin etyma, and starring the forms not actually found. There are some omissions of etymologies that might be given. p. 285. Add *aḍitant;* cf. *itant*. p. 287. *ajoster* needs a V. L. ***ad-jŭstare;*** the Romance languages seem to show no trace of a palatal; cf. p. 336, *joste* and *joster*. p. 288, under *aloser* is the **laus** intended to be the Latin nominative sg.? That could hardly enter into the combination mentioned. Cf. *losange* from a Germanic source, and also *los*, v. 1054, etc. p. 291,

artimalie. It is likely that *arithmetica* had something to do with this word. p. 300, *Chernuble*. Instead of *Muneire* entered here, the text has *Moneiqre* at v. 975. p. 303, *colchier*. A V. L. ***culticare** is very unlikely; it is certainly not so good as **collocare,** whatever difficulties may be involved in that etymon. p. 305, *contor*. The influence of the ending of *emperedor* is not to be overlooked. Under *coroços* it might be said that *coroz* is an abstract from the verb *corocier, corecier*. p. 306. *crembre*. It is not unlikely that a contamination of **tremere** and **credere** will explain this verb; cf. the future *crendrez*. p. 311. Under *Denisie*. read *borc* instead of *burc*. p. 319, *engraignier*, and cf. note to v. 1088. The connection with **grandis** can hardly be disputed. An **ingramiare** would give *engrangier*. Under *ensement* it might be said that the first part of the word has some relation with *ainsi*. p. 320. No etymon is given for *environ;* see the Dictionnaire Général. p. 321. For *escheviț* cf. O. H. G. **skafjan**; English *shave* may be in point. p. 322. *eslegier*. The Germanic **ledig** is of interest. p. 323. *estoerdre*. In V. L. the verb was ***estorcere.** For *estoveir*, **stupēre** is certainly no better than ***estopēre.** p. 331. Under *guagier* give etymon for *guage*. p. 332. Under *guerreier*, the verb, indicate the suffix **-ĭdĭare,** and for the noun the suffix **-arĭum.** p. 334, s.v. *hoese*. The etymon looks more like *hofe* than *hose*. p. 337. *laz* is not from **laqueum** but from V. L. ***laceum.** p. 347, s.v. *neielét*. Is not the etymon **nigellatu** rather than **nigillatu?** p. 348, s.v. *niënt*. **Nec-ente** is not the only etymon that has been proposed. p. 358, s.v. *puis*. V. L. **posteis** is not particularly useful as an etymon. p. 360. For *en quitedet* of v. 907 the sense " in quittance, free from foreign domination," is likely. p. 361. *Recreidre* is as much a term of militant chivalry as of religion and means "to retract an accusation, to disown a cause," when used by a knight defeated in battle. *Refreidier*. The etymon given is V. L.; C. L. **frīgĭdus** became V. L. ***frĭgĭdus,** probably under the influence of **rĭgĭdus.** p. 366. There is no etymological explanation of *se, sed*, the conjunction. p. 370. As the text has *sosduiant*, the word should be entered here after *Sorz*. p. 378. *Wigre* is probably the same word as the *guivre* of v. 2543, and represents Latin **vīpĕra.** The sense development would be (1) ' serpent,' and (2) ' serpent-like missile, dart, etc.' A Germanic **wīgar** may be in point also.

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Luigi Schiaparelli, *Avviamento allo Studio delle Abbreviature Latine nel Mediaevo.* Firenze: Olschki, 1926.

Luigi Schiaparelli, one of the most versatile and thorough of living palaeographers, has performed a most useful service in presenting, within less than one hundred pages, a λόγος προτρεπτικός to the study of Latin abbreviations. Though much has yet to be learned about this intricate subject, the time is ripe for just the general sort of survey that Schiaparelli here makes. With a modesty equalled only by his caution and a caution equalled only by his acquaintance with every part of the field, he has traced the whole history of Latin abbreviations from earliest times into the fifteenth century. Further investigation will fill in the gaps, but the main stages of the development have been fixed, it would appear, definitively.

While the whole book is full of interest, the reader will find especially illuminating the chapters on the ancient abbreviations in vogue before the mediaeval scribes began their work. According to the author, who has much evidence at his command, an elaborate system of abbreviations furnished in antiquity, deriving largely from tachygraphical signs and comprising both suspensions and contractions. These symbols were widely used, though not in the more sumptuous books, the *editions de luxe.* With the advent of Christian literature, the sacred names were represented, in both Greek and Latin texts by signs that were meant to honor divinity rather than to save time and space. Schiaparelli accepts this much of Traube's epoch-making investigations, which made a living and continuous history of what had once been an incoherent miscellany of barren details. But the theory that the *nomina sacra* formed the seed from which the mediaeval systems grew must now, after Lindsay's researches and the present work, be considerably modified. The story is one of the revival of an ancient usage rather than of a fruitful invention, though invention in details was constantly made. The Irish were apparently the first to readopt the old symbols — unless, indeed, they had never ceased to use them. In the Carolingian Renaissance at the end of the eighth century, the tendency was to restrict the use of abbreviations to a minimum, whatever the amount and variety of the symbols at the disposal of the scribes. They learned from the Irish and they drew directly from ancient sources. Lindsay has done much to enlighten us on this point, and the reader may also consult my study, "A Nest of Ancient Notae," shortly to appear in Speculum.

In one detail of terminology, Schiaparelli prefers not to follow Lindsay. He uses the ancient and established term *notae iuris* instead of *notae antiquae,* which Lindsay had conveniently coined to include the symbols found in works other than those of the law. I am inclined to side with

Lindsay in this matter, especially in view of the considerations presented in my study mentioned above. Further discoveries, particularly from papyri, may enlarge our information at any moment. It seems more natural to suppose that a general system was adopted for special use in the law-books rather than that a special system devised for them was developed from them for general use. The situation is apparently the same as in the case of *nomina sacra*. On all the essential points, so far as I can see, Schiaparelli's views coincide with Lindsay's. The ground is thus laid for further investigation in a fascinating problem not without its significance, as I shall endeavor to show, in the history of early mediaeval culture in Ireland.

E. K. Rand.

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AN ABORTIVE PASSAGE OF ARMS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

By CHARLES JOHNSON

THERE is an entry in Rymer's *Foedera* [1] under the date August 22, 1384, of a license to John, lord Wells, to cross from England to France in order to clear himself (*pro declaratione honoris et nominis*) from a charge of breach of faith brought against him by a French knight, and to take such further steps as may be necessary for the purpose. A note at the end of the document, which is printed from the enrolment on the *French Roll* of the English chancery, indicates that it was issued on the warrant of a direct order from the king; and the fact that the substance of Lord Wells' petition is included in the letters makes it almost certain that the form in which the royal authority was conveyed to the chancellor was that of an endorsement on the original petition, which was doubtless duly filed in case any question should arise as to the issue of the letters.

But accident has preserved to us another document [2] of the same date, which shows that the royal warrant was not the only formality necessary for the issue of this odd passport. Lord Wells sent a formal cartel to his adversary which was made out in duplicate on a large piece of parchment. This was afterwards cut in two along a zigzag line, and of the resulting indentures, one was sent to its address and the other put on the file of the chancery, so that there should be no doubt that the conditions of the licence were duly observed.

[1] Original edition, 1704–1735, VII, 437.

[2] Public Record Office, Miscellanea (Chancery). The text is given in full below as a final note.

A copy of the cartel is appended to this article, and from it we can gather, in spite of the damaged state of the original, a pretty full account of the transaction which led up to it. During the peace negotiations which took place near Calais in November, 1383, in the course of which it was proposed on behalf of Richard II to put an end to war by a single combat between the two young kings, some of the knights in attendance thought of relieving the boredom of the diplomatic business by planning a kind of friendly tournament. Eustace de Renti, called '*le gallois*,' *seigneur* of Embry near Montreuil, a notable warrior who ended his career on the field of Agincourt, sent a challenge by the hand of the French king-of-arms, '*le roi de Corbie*,' to John, lord Wells, inviting him to a combat of twenty a side to be fought in full armour '*à outrance*' for the stake of a gold ring each to be given by the losers to the winners. The umpire was to be either Duke Albert of Bavaria, regent of Holland, Wenceslas, duke of Luxemburg, son of the blind John, king of Bohemia, by his second marriage, and husband of Joan, duchess of Brabant, or Louis de Male, count of Flanders. He gave his word to Northampton, the English herald, to do his best to obtain leave for this combat from the king of France. Corbie and Northampton, taking with them Lyon, the Scottish king-of-arms, presented the challenge to Lord Wells, who gave his word to Corbie to try to get similar leave from Richard II. A reply, fixing the names of the English knights and confirming the arrangement was to be sent by the same heralds before November 30, 1383. All this happened at Thérouane near St Omer.

On St Andrew's Day, accordingly, de Renti went to Ardres, where he was to meet the heralds, but found no one. So he returned home, and the next day found Chandos herald, the author of the well-known poem about the Black Prince,[1] with a letter from Lord Wells, who informed him that he had been unable to get his team together because he had no formal letter from de Renti to show them. He asked for a formal challenge with the list of the French combatants, and a statement whether the fight was to be on horseback or on foot.

[1] *Le Prince Noir: Poème du Héraut d'Armes Chandos*, ed. Francisque-Michel, London and Paris, 1883.

He would then be in a position to apply for the necessary permission. De Renti had in the meanwhile made his application, which the French king had refused on the ground that he would have no fighting while peace negotiations were in progress. He deferred his reply to the Englishman's letter in hopes that these would soon be over. They lasted however till January 28, 1384, when a further truce was concluded at Leulinghem near Marquise, and de Renti wrote on the same day to Wells, acquainting him with the French king's decision, and adding that although it was considered that the unpunctuality of Chandos technically justified him in dropping the matter, he would be glad to meet Wells as arranged at the earliest opportunity. This letter was written at Boulogne in the form of an indenture like that which has already been described.

The document with which we are dealing is Wells' reply to this letter, dated from his manor of Belleau in Lincolnshire, August 13, 1384. He takes the line that de Renti's letter implies an imputation of breach of faith which ought to have been made a definite charge. If de Renti is prepared to make such a charge, he is ready to defend his honour in the usual way.

The story hardly needs any commentary, indeed it reads more like the dealings of a pair of twentieth-century boxing champions who are not over anxious to meet, than an episode of the age of chivalry. An encounter of this sort in full armour was probably not as a rule very dangerous, in spite of the fatal results of the rather similar encounter of the thirty Englishmen and thirty Bretons in 1351,[1] when armour was less fully developed. Nor was there anything unusual in the international settlement of points of private honour. A document of September, 1383, printed by Rymer,[2] alludes to a contemporary case of the kind.

Nor was this the only occasion in which Lord Wells engaged in this variety of international sport. He is said to have used his opportunities as ambassador to Scotland to arrange a single combat with David Lindsay, first earl of Crawford, which took place on London Bridge, in the presence of the king and queen, on May 6, 1390. The

[1] Combat de trente Bretons contre trente Anglais, en 1350. Paris, 1827. (Buchon, Coll. XIV).

[2] *Foedera*, VII, 407.

story is related by Wyntoun,[1] and Wells does not come out of it with credit, as he was not only unhorsed but is said to have accused his adversary of being fastened into his saddle, and thus obtaining an unfair advantage. The Scottish knight is said to have leaped from his horse to disprove the assertion and to have sprung back into the saddle in spite of the weight of his full armour. Lord Wells did not, like his French adversary, live to fight at Agincourt, but died in 1407.

The cartel referred to on page 107, note 2, here follows:

MISCELLANEA (CHANCERY), BUNDLE 30, FILE 8, NO. 25

Johan segniour de Welle a Sire Dembry Wystace de Renti chevalier dit le Galois, salutz. Honure Sires, voilliez savoir que jay receu une lettre endente la quiele vous a moy envoiastes sicome jay entendu, de quiele lettre la substance de la matiere issi ensuit sicome moy semble.

Wystace de Renti dit le Galois sire Dembry au segniour de Welle salut. Honure sire voilliez savoir que jay receu voz lettres plains et endentez lendemain de la Seynt Andreu en la ville de Monsterveul par Chaundos le heraud darmes contenanz coment jeo vous avai requis de certain emprise darmes pur combattre moy xx. des gentilshomes contre xx. des vostres a combatre jesques a outreance, armez des toutz herneys par havantage, cestassavoir launces, espees, haces, et dagues, et qi serra desconfiz il serra quitez du paier un anel dore devant le Duc Aubert, le Duc de Brabant, ou le Comte de Flaundres, le quiel que vous voillez eslire des trois. Et que les heraudes darmes vous ount dit, cest assavoir le Roy de Corby et Norhampton le heraud en la presence de Liouns Roy darmes Descoces, que jeo voille estre attournez de mon soveraigne seignur, et que jeo promiis en la main de Norhampton de faire ma diligence davoir congie de mon dit soveraigne seigniour de paracomplier vers vous ma request. Et esperez que jeo lai ensi fait. Et aussy ditez que vous promistes en la mayn de Roi de Corby que vous me enterimeriez et acomplierrez ma request. De cessi me escripfiez que ce que desus est dit avez fait a vostre poair. Et pur ceo que vous navez rienz porte par escript seale de mon seal faisant mention des dites demaundes, plusiors de vos seigniours a qi vous avez parle sicome vous dites cuydent que ceo ne sount que wides paroles. Et ensi que si jai volunte dacomplier ma request que jeo voille envier mes lettres seales de mon seal contenant les nouns de mes compagnons lour armes et coment nous voilloms combatre a cheval ou a pee, et que

[1] *Original Chronicle*, IX, 9 (ed. S.T.S., VI, 359 ff).

toutes les chosses desus ditz vous puissez avoir pour monstrer a vostre soveraigne seigniour. Et que altrement ne poez avoir pleins respons sur vostre congie dacomplier ma request, et que ceo ensi fait en vous ne serra trove ascun defaut que ma request ne seit acompli a vostre poair. Et honurable sires voilliez savoir que veu les paroles dount je vous requise a Terouonne qui furrount tiels, que a ma request vous voillesez combatre ver moy vous xx. de gentils hommes de noun et darmes et que sils que serront desconfiz, a combatre en la manere que desus est dit devant quiel que vous voulriez eslire des trois juges desus nomez serront quites pur un anel dore, sur lequiel batail vous me feistes respons par les susditz heraudes que dedeins le Seint Andre dernier passes vous men feriez respouns finable en la ville Dardre une fois pur toutes. Et ce me promesistes vous par vostre foy en la main du Roy de Corby. Et aussi je promis en la main de Norhontenne de estre au dit jur. Au quiel jur je fus la ou vous ne venistes nenvoiastes, mais lendemeyn quand je fus revenus a Monsterveul jeo trouvay Chando le heraut qui mapporta vos dites lettres. Et voillez savoir que par moi et par messeigniours et amys ay mis toute la meilleur diligence que jai pu de avoir cungie de mon souverain seigniour pur moy et pur mes compaignons de enterimer et acomplir la request que jeo vous fis a Terouenne de combatre contre vous xx. pur la maniere et condicion desus desclarez, mais il ma este respondu que durant le fait de traicte du Roy nostre seigniour et de son adversaire Dengleterre le Roy nostre dit seigniour ne donrra congie ne licence a moy ne a ascuns auters francoys de faire tiele fait darmes enconter les Anglois, ne ne souffrira estre fait. Et aussint fu dit que considere que vous avez fait defaillance denvoier a Ardre au dit jour que promis aviez, au quiel je fus en ma person, je ne debvoye plus avant poursuivre ma dite requeste. Toutefois non obstant ceo je metteray avant tant par moy come par mes diz amis aussitost que le dict traicte ara prins conclusion toute la paine que jeo porraie devers mon dit soverain seigniour davoir sa licence de parvenir et acomplir envers vous ma dite request. Et en cas que je en porrai faire, de la quiele chosse je ay tresgrand desir, incontinent le vous ferrai savoir et au plaisir nostre seigniour seray tous jours prest de enterimer et acomplir a mon poair ma dicte emprise. Sire me tenez pour excuse de ce que jay tant attendu a vous lescripver, qar ce a este parceo que jay attendu de jour en jour que le parlement deust prendre conclusion et il nen a encore point prins come vous pourriez savoir. Escript a Bolongne souz mon seal le xxvi. jour du mois de Janvier lan de grace mil trois cent quatre vins et trois.

Et Sire pour ce que moi semble qen la dicte lettre sont touche matiers plus especiales que nest en tiele request de volunte come desus est escrit pour quoy je moy asseure a tant en vostre cor et corage que si jay fait a vous crismousement par foy enfreinte ou autrement me voilliez monstrer

a point pleinement vostre entente come chevaler doit a autre en cause de crisme par la prove de vostre corps moult leiment, en quiel cas ove laide de dieu je mettray peine de defendre mon honur par mon corps come chevalier. Et Sire ne merveillez mie que je touche en yceste ma dicte lettre crisme come desus est dict, qar jay ouy dire qe sount diverses maneres de crismes. Une est fausete pour quoy home doyt souffrir mort. Et uncore autre est fausete pour quoy home doit estre hors mis as tous jours de office quappent a lealte, come est nier tesmoigne, qar ne . . . tieles. . . . Pour quoy Sire si dieu plest il ne serra prove sur moi que jay promis ma foy e ne mie tenu devers vous ne autre en vostre noun, sicome moy semble une lettre come jai entendu vous me envoiastes fait mencion. Et pour ce moi voilliez certifier vostre conclusion sur ceste dicte matiere dessouz le seal des voz armes par le porteur dicestes. Et onurable Sire ne pensez mie si dieu pleit quil serra trove que jai faict defaute pour quoy vous devez estre excusez de woider vostre dicte request. Escript a mon manoir de Hellowe le Samedi devant lassumpcion de nostre dame lan de grace mil trois cens quatre vins quart.

Memorandum quod ista indentura liberata fuit domino Cancellario in hospicio suo per dominum de Well' xxii. die Augusti anno supradicto et quod idem dominus de Well' quandam partem alterius indenture materiam superius in omnibus contentam de verbo ad verbum continentem sigillo suo sigillatam ibidem in presencia dicti domini Cancellarii ad eam versus partes Calesie deferendam Rogero Wygmore armigero liberavit.

Public Record Office, London.

A NEW REDACTION (J^{3a}) OF THE *HISTORIA DE PRELIIS* AND THE DATE OF REDACTION J^3

By GEORGE LIVINGSTONE HAMILTON

A CRITICAL study of the sources of late Latin versions and vernacular translations of the legendary history of Alexander the Great has been made possible only since Ausfeld [1] established the existence of no less than three redactions of the Latin translation of the Greek romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes, known as the *Historia de preliis*,[2] made by the Archpriest Leo, at Naples in the neighborhood of 951–968.[3] These he denominated J^1, J^2, and J^3, and of these the last mentioned is the most important as the source of other versions, of which the earliest is the Latin epic of Quilichinus of Spoleto, written in 1236, which furnishes the *terminem ante quem* J^3 was written.[4]

I. THE *WARS OF ALEXANDER* AND THE *PROSE LIFE OF ALEXANDER*

Up to the present, the only English version noted as based on J^3 is the Northern Middle-English [5] *Wars of Alexander* (*W.A.* hereafter), made in the first half of the fifteenth century.[6] Its source

[1] Cf. A. Ausfeld, *Der griech. Alexanderroman*, 1907, 22; F. Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo untersucht und herausgegeben* (Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte, 6), 14–19; A. Hilka, *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman nach der Berliner Bilderhandschrift nebst dem lateinischen Original der Historia de preliis (Rezension J^2)*, xxi–xxii.

[2] If the Strassburg incunabula of the work are responsible for this title (Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, 22, n. 4), such an authority has as much claim to acceptance as the Venice edition of 1555 of the *Divina Commedia*, to which we owe the distinguishing adjective by which that great poem is now universally known.

[3] Pfister, *op. cit.*, 5–8, 15.

[4] Pfister, "Die *Historia de preliis* und der Alexanderroman des Quilichinus," *Münchener Museum*, I (1912), 287; P. Lehmann, "Quilichinus von Spoleto," *Philol. Wochenschr.* (1918), 812–15.

[5] On the dialect, cf. Skeat, *ed. cit.* (E. E. T. S., Extra Ser., XLVII), 1886, xiv–xv; J. B. Henneman, *Untersuchungen über das mittelengl. Gedicht "Wars of Alexander"* (Berlin dissertation) 1889, 30–36; M. Steffens, *Versbau und Sprache des mittelengl. stabreimenden Gedichtes "The Wars of Alexander"* (Bonner Beitr. zu Anglistik, IX), 1901, 6–7; R. J. Menner, *Purity: A Middle English Poem* (Yale Studies in English, LXV) 1920, xxii–xxiii; "*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and the West Midland," *Mod. Phil.*, XVIII (1922), 526, n. 45.

[6] For date, cf. *ed. cit.*, xiii, xiv, xxiii; Henneman, 36; Steffens, 5; Menner, *op. cit.*, xxvi.

was first pointed out by W. W. Skeat [1] in the introduction and notes to his edition of the English poem, where, by a happy chance, he cited parallel passages from the Strassburg edition of 1489 of the *Historia*, which presents one form of the text of J^3.[2] Additions or changes in details in the narrative and in the forms of certain names in the English poem, Skeat ascribed to the use by the English author of the earlier translation of the romance, the *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* of Julius Valerius.[3] But B. J. Henneman, in his doctoral dissertation on the sources of the poem,[4] maintained that it had a single source, an interpolated redaction of the *Historia*, the "*buke*," cited as its authority, and that this thesis is correct is shown by the use of the same redactions, as will be set forth below, by the translator of the Northern English [5] *Prose Life of Alexander from the Thornton MS.*[6] (*Pr. Al.* hereafter), written also in the first half of the fifteenth century.[7] But in accepting the existence of such a redaction, which may be designated J^{3a}, it is to be noted that it was not indebted to the work of Julius Valerius to any such extent as Skeat believed the author of the *Wars of Alexander* was indebted to it, both for the forms of the proper names and for supplementary details in certain episodes. Skeat's opinion was justifiable, based as it was on the text of the edition of the *Historia* of which he made use, which, as the other incunabula of J^3, was printed from a carelessly written and abridged manuscript of that redaction.[8] A better written manuscript [9] gives

[1] *Ed. cit.*, xxi–xxii, 294–313, especially 301 and 314. Pfister, who failed to mention it as one of the derivatives of J^3, *art. cit.*, 284, stated in another article, "Zur Entstehlung und Geschichte des Fuerre de Gadres," *Zeitschr. f. fr. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLI (1913), 108, that the "*Wars of Alexander* . . . ganz auf der Fassung J^3 beruht," which he toned down to the statement that it "beruht . . . hauptsächlich au J^3," *ed. cit.*, 29.

[2] Cf. below and note 9.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, xxi–xxii; 294–313, *passim*.

[4] *Op. cit., supra*, 53–8.

[5] In the dialect of Yorkshire, according to C. Horstmann, *Altengl. Legenden*, N. F., 1881, p. 456.

[6] *Ed.* J. S. Westlake (E. E. T. Soc., CXLIII), 1913. Sir Frederick Madden, who has alone discussed its source, *Syr Gawayne* (Bannatyne Club), 1839, vii, believed that it was the *Historia*, as found in the Strassburg edition of 1494, which offers the text of J^3, Pfister, *art. cit.*, 253.

[7] It is the first item in the MS. (Madden, *l.c.*) which was written after 1422, probably between 1430 and 1440; Horstmann, *l.c.*

[8] Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, 22, n. 4; Pfister, *art. cit.*, 271–290; Hilka, *ed. cit.*, xx.

[9] Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow Library, MS. *84* (*T. 4, 1*), *saec.* xv, J. Young

the forms of the names, which, on the one hand, agree with the forms in the English translations, and on the other hand, with those in J^1, a redaction of Leo's translation made as early as the eleventh century,[1] which in turn was rewritten by the redactor of J^3, who modified and generally developed it, by the introduction of whole episodes and slight interpolations, and by the omission of minor details.[2] In this manuscript [3] appear the forms '*Clitomachus*' [4] and '*Satrassageras*,' [5] the source evidently of '*Cletomachus*' and '*Stasageras*,' [6] and of '*Clitomarus*' and '*Scrassageras*,' [7] in the verse and prose translations respectively, for which the incunabulum has the distorted form, '*Dithomatus*' and '*Straxagonas*.' Again, '*Sexes*' and '*ȝerses*,' [7] and '*Oriathire*' and '*Coriather*,' [8] are based on the comparatively correct forms '*Serxes*' and '*Oriater*,' and not on the irrecognizable forms of the incunabula, '*Sennes*' and '*Macher*.' And one finds a close kindred between the names of the monster '*Addontrucay*,' in the varying English forms '*Anddontrucion*' and '*Adanttrocay*,' [9] where the printed text, through some confusion, has substituted the name of another monster, the 'Onicenthaurus,' while the '*kynge of þe Bebrikes*,' and '*kyng of Bebrike*,' [10] renders '*rex*

& P. H. Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum of the University of Glasgow*, 1902, 89–91. It is one more MS. of J^3, to be added to Pfister's long list, *art. cit.*, 252–4, 301. Yet G. Neilson in his '*Huchown of the Awle Ryale*' *the Alliterative Poet: A Historical Criticism of Fourteenth Century Poems ascribed to Sir Hew of Eglinton*, Glasgow, 1902, p. 19, referred to it as "the rare, if not absolutely unique manuscript version of the *De Preliis Alexandri*," and believed that the manuscript containing it and other mediaeval works was "the identical MS. used by the poet," conjured up by his imagination, who was responsible for most of the Northern English alliterative poetry of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century.

[1] Pfister, *op. cit.*, 16.

[2] Cf. Pfister, *art. cit.*, 254–284; *op. cit.*, 15. [3] Neilson, *op. cit.*, 20.

[4] If the edition of J^1, published by O. Zingerle, *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems. Im Anhange: Die Historia de preliis* (Germanist. Abh., IV), 1885, 164, 7 and 20; 165, 2 and 5, has the form '*Clitomagus*'; Hilka, *op. cit.*, 83, 37; 84, 14, 21, 23, prints '*Clitomachus*' as the correct reading of J^2 as copied from J^1.

[5] Ed. Zingerle, 165, 12, 18, 20, 21; 166, 4; 167, 24; 169, 25, '*Strasagoras*.'

[6] *W.A.*, 2252, 2273; of which the Dublin MS. gives the variant: '*Clytomachus*,' 2298, 2381, '*Strasagirs*,' 2429.

[7] *Pr. Al.*, 30, 38; 31, 12; 15, 19; 32, 31, 33–4; 32, 2–18; 34, 1, 4, 31; J^1, *ed. cit.*, 165, 12, 18, 20, 21; 166, 4; 167, 24; 169, 25, '*Strasagoras*.'

[8] *W.A.*, 2361, 2512; *Pr. Al.*, 33, 21; 36, 38: J^1, *ed. cit.*, 167, 12, '*de Xerse*'; 173, 7, '*Oxiather*.'

[9] *W.A.*, 3926; *Pr. Al.*, 71, 8; J^1, *ed. cit.*, '*Odontotirannus*.'

[10] *W.A.*, 5171; cf. 5212, '*þe Bebrik kyng*'; *Pr. Al.*, 27, 30–1; 32, 14; cf. 31, 25, '*þe kynge of Bebrikes*.'

Bebricorum' of the correct text of the *Historia*, and not '*rex Ebraicorum*' (!) of the printed text. It is quite unnecessary to suggest that the names in the English translation had their source in the more correct forms found in Julius Valerius: '*Clitomachus*,'[1] '*Stasagoras*,'[2] '*Xerxes*,'[3] '*Oxyathrus*,'[4] '*odontotyrannus*'[5] and '*rex Bebrycis*,' '*rex Bebrycum*,' '*Bebryciorum tyranno*.'[6]

Skeat believed that the account of Candace's gifts to Alexander arose from a combination of phrases in the accounts of the *Historia* and of Julius Valerius.[7] But it is in fact a translation of the same descriptive passage in J^{3a}, of which the source at this point was J^2 (J^1 with minor additions),[8] made at least before the beginning of the twelfth century,[9] as a comparison of the English verse-translation and the ultimate J^2 source shows:

I drysse ȝow here a diademe ȝoure druits to were,[10]
þe gaiest gift vndire god of gold & of stanes,
And to ȝow selfe of þe same o serelepy hewis,
A hundreth in a hale heere hiȝtild with crestis,
And twa hundret & ten be tale at þe leste,
Of rekanthes of rede gold railed of gemmes,
With pellicans & pape-ioyes polischt & grauen,
With cambs & with coronacles all of clene perle,
Thretti goblettis of gold þe grattest in þe worde,
Fyue hundreth all of euyn elde of Ethyops childire,
Rynoseros, a roghe best with ragged tyndis.
An aȝte to ȝour empire I fra myn erd wayue,
Berrers of ane Ebyn-tree & brilles a thousand,
Foure hundreth Olifants in fere þis fardill to bere,
And thretti hundreth of my thede þat threuen ere & tame.
I presand ȝow, of panters full of proud mascles,
Foure hundreth fellis ȝit to fee at fynely ere tewid,
Of lepards & of lionesses þis lady him sendis.[11]

[1] Ed. B. Kübler, 64, 23; 65, 4. [2] *Ib.*, 66–7; 70, 28; 71, 4; 75, 7, 9, 12–13; 80, 6, 8.
[3] *Ib.*, 74, 7, 12. [4] *Ib.*, 83, 1, 22. [5] *Ib.*, 129, 13, 20.
[6] *Ib.*, 139, 5, 16; 138, 11. The last phrase is the only one cited by Skeat.
[7] *Ed. cit.*, 314. [8] Pfister, *art. cit.*, 251–2; *op. cit.*, 15–16; Hilka, *op. cit.*, xxi–xxii.
[9] G. L. Hamilton, "Quelques notes sur l'histoire de la légende d'Alexandre le Grand en Angleterre au moyen âge," *Mélanges Antoine Thomas*, 1927, pp. 195–202.
[10] The translator has read "ammoni deo tuo" as "amantibus tuis"!
[11] *Ed. cit.*, 5123–5140. In the last line the translator has been guilty of unconsciously and wrongly passing into his own narration the last phrase of the queen's speech.

Scias quia dirigo Ammoni deo tuo unam coronam auream, ornatam ex lapidibus pretiosis, videlicet smaragdis et margaritis, et decem catenas insertas de lapidibus pretiosis. Vobis autem dirigimus aureos bipedes centum et aves psithacos ducentos, inclusos intra decem cluvias aureas, necnon et cantras aureas triginta, vectes ebenos mille quingentos, sed et Ethiopes infantulos centum et simias ducentas, elephantes quadringentos quinquaginta, rinocerotes octoginta, pantheras tria milia, pelles pardoleonis quadringentas.[1]

If the poetical version has enlarged upon its original,[2] the prose version has abridged it:

we send till Amon ȝoure godd a Coron of golde and precyouse stanes, And ten chynes of golde sett full of precious stanes. And vn-to ȝow we sende a hundrethe Besauntez of golde; And twa hundreth papeiayes closed in cagez of golde; c childer of Ethipes, cc apes, cccc Olyphantis, xxxiiii vnycornes, iij panters skynnez, of pardez & lyounes cccc." [3]

If in the passage of the *Wars of Alexander* for which there is no equivalent in J[3], there is one line: *were wakens be-twene werbild in trompis*,[4] which may have been suggested by a comment on the situation in Valerius: *non enim difficile esse id aedificium armis excidere, quod per lyrae cantus et musicam tumultuario convenisset*, [5] the rest of the passage, found in both the poem and the prose translation:

Now ere his seggis all sett & þe saute neȝis . . .
Oure pepill with payns pressis to without,
Halis vp hemp cordis hurled out arowis;
Othire athils of armes Albastis bendis,
Quirys out quarrels quappid thurȝe mayles.
Sum with gunnes of þe grekis girdis vp stanes,
To tene þe Tebis folke þat on þe touris feȝtis;
Sum braide ouir þe barrers in blasand wede,
And faire fest on a fire all þe foure ȝatis;
All þe burȝe at a braide was on a bale kyndild.[6]

[1] *Ed. cit.*, 208, 34–209, 15.

[2] But in a similar description, where the Latin text gives in detail an account of Alexander's army in its march through the deserts to India, it is the poem which abridges, vv. 3820–4, as was noted by Skeat, in citing the passage from J[3]; it is the prose version which translates in full, 68, 25–31.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, 96, 36–97, 6

[4] V. 2222.

[5] *Ed. cit.*, 62, 11–13.

[6] Vv. 2221–2231.

And belyfe fra þay hadd gyffen assawte to þe citee, þe ȝates ware brynt, & mekill folke was slayne witin þe citee, Sum wit arowes, sum wit stanes of Engynes; þe Fire also by-gan for to sett in houseȝ wit-in þe citee, & rayse a grete lowe,[1]

reveals its source in a much expanded version of a phrase in J^2: "*civitas et parte eius ardebant et populus per murum se preceps mittebat.*" [2]

It was J^2 which supplied J^{3a} with an extra phrase in the prayer of the messengers of Darius to Alexander to spare their lives:

at illi dixerunt: "Proinde scripsit noster imperator hoc, quia nescit vos neque magnitudinem vestram; *sed ex quo nos venimus et vidimus inenarrabilem gloriam et magnitudinem vestram, si dimittis* nos tornare gressum, per nos erit diffamatum nomen tuum.[3]

expanding the statement in J^3:

"proinde scripsit imperator noster hec quia magnitudo vestra sic sibi penitus est ignota. Dimitte nos, quia erit sibi (!) tua gloria per nos reuelata." [4]

If the prose rendering followed its text more closely:

"A, A lorde," quoþ þay, "oure emperour sent thus to ȝou: for ȝour powere & ȝour myghte was unknawwen vntill hym. Bot we beseke ȝow lateȝ vs gaa, and we schall mak aknawen untill hym ȝour grete glory, ȝour ryaltee and ȝour noblaye," [5]

[1] *Ed. cit.*, 30, 20–24.

[2] *Ed. cit.*, 83, 17–18. J^3 has only: "Inchoato itaque prelio civitatis ex una parte diris ignibus utebatur [*i.e.* Alexander]. Populus autem per murum precipitans, etc.," *Historia Alexandri Magni*, s.l., 26 novembri 1490, fol. c iii, verso, col. 2. This edition (Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum*, 781; Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunables des Bibliothèques publiques de France*, 448; R. Proctor, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, 7389) was one of four books printed by an unknown printer in the south-east of France, or in Savoy, R. Proctor, "Incunabula at Grenoble," *Library*, N. S., I (1901), 218, and is to be added to those editions which contain J^3, noted by Pfister, *art. cit.*, 253. But Hilka, *ed. cit.*, xx, is wrong when he states that the Utrecht prints present the text of J^3; as a collation of the readings from the edition of 1473, given by K. Kinzel in his edition of *Lamprechts Alexander*, 1884, shows beyond a doubt that that edition gives the text of J^2. The copy of the 1490 edition which I have used is in the Zarncke Collection of the Cornell University Library.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, 73, 20–25.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, fol. b v, verso, col. 1.

[5] *Ed. cit.*, 23, 1–5.

the poem keeps the conditional clause found in J^2:

"ȝa," quod þai, "comly kyng" & on knes fallis,
"þase ditis endited to ȝowe sir Darius him-seluyn,
For he knew noȝt of ȝour kniȝthede ne of your kid strenth;
Ne wist noȝt of your worthenes & wrate all þe baldire.
Bot wald ȝe grant vs to gaa & gefe vs [ȝ]our [1] lefe,
þen suld we bremely our bill to þe berne shewe." [2]

Again in the reply of Alexander to a flatterer, there is found a curious combination in the English translations: [3]

"me ware leuer," quoþ he, "be a wyse manes disciple þan for to hafe þe lonynge3 of Achille3."

"Nay, I wald more worth," quod þe [wee], "a wyse man disc[i]ple,
þan þe honour þat Acheles aȝt all his time,"

of the phrase in J^3: [4] "*Magister, cupio sapientis esse discipulus magis quam vilis laudes habere,*" and in J^2: "*antea optaveram esse discipulus Homeri quam habere laudem quam habuit.*" [5]

It may be that J^{3a} adopted from J^2 the account of Alexander sending a part of his army to Ascalon while he was founding Alexandria, as well as the mention of his conquest of Sidon:

precepit ut pars exercitus sui iret ad Scalonam et expectaret eum ibi . . . Deinde subiugata Sidone,[6]

[1] The reading of the Dublin MS., v. 1826:

Bot ȝe wald graunt vs to go & gyfe vs owr lyfez,

vouches for the correct reading.

[2] Vv. 1822–7. It may be worth while citing the translation of the same passage in the translation made fifty years later (1450) by Stephen Scrope of the *Dits moraulx* of Guillaumede Tignonville: "Oure kyng Dary knowyth the not wele, but we wote and know thy grete worshyppis and bounteis that be in the, so we byseche the that yt please unto the to save oure lyfe. And we shalle telle plainely to kyng Dary and bere wytnes of that the whiche we have sene in the"; H. Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial* (Bibl. d. Stuttgart, Litt. Ver., CXLI, 1879), 433, 435. It is even further removed from the Greek original than are the two earlier versions, since the French work was a translation of a Latin rendering of a Spanish original translated from an extended version of the Arabic *Life of Alexander* of Mubaššir (d. 1053–4), which was based on an Arabic rendering, with theological, of probably a Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes. It is omitted in the Earl of River's translation of Tignonville's work, *The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers: A Facsimile Reprint of the first Book printed in England by William Caxton in 1477*, ed. W. Blades, 1877, foll. 46 v.–48 v.

[3] *Pr. Al.*, 28, 25–6; *W. A.*, 2124–5.

[4] Cf. Skeat's note to v. 2124.

[5] *Ed. cit.*, 82, 12–13.

[6] *Ed. cit.*, 61, 2–4; 63, 5–6.

the source of the passages in the English translation:[1]

and sent þe maste substance of his Oste to þe Cite of Askalon, and bad þam habide hym thare . . . and fra thethyn he went to Sydon & wan it;

þe mast parti of his princes & of his proud ost
Hastis þam in-to Ascoiloym & þar þai him bydis. . .
And sone he sesyd all þat syde & Sydoyne he takis.

But since these passages were found in J¹:[2] *precepit ut partes exercitus sui irent ad Scalonam et expectarent eum ibi . . . Deinde subiugata*, the source of J³, they are probably to be found in manuscripts which present the complete text of that redaction, even if they are omitted in the abridged incunabula mentioned above. Such certainly was the case with the list of the countries, conquered by Alexander,[3] which is omitted in the incunabula,[4] but translated in the *Wars of Alexander*.[5]

Two interpolations, only found in the English poem, may well have been found in J³ᵃ. The first of these, in the account of the adamant of which one of the steps of Darius's throne was made:

And growis out of þe grete see in graynes and in cragis.
If any Naue to it neȝe þat naylid is with iryn,
þen cleuys it ay to þe clife carryg & othyre,[6]

would seem to have had its source[7] in the tenth-century Latin

[1] *Pr. Al.*, 15, 16–17; 35–6; *W. A.*, 1115–16; 1142.

[2] *Ed. cit.*, 148, 20–2. If, in this edition of J¹, the phrase "*baculo, quem tenebat in manu*" is omitted in the account of the slaying of Lisias by Alexander, 143, 19, and so is considered an addition in J² by Hilka, *ed. cit.*, 42, 25, this is an error, because one finds "*quem tenebat*" in J³, *ed. cit.*, fol. a vii verso, col. 1, of which the complete text was the source of the English translations: "a wardrere þat he hade in his hande"; "a wardrere he walt in his handis"; *Pr. Al.*, 10, 37; *W. A.*, 1838.

[3] It is printed on the authority of a number of manuscripts by Pfister, *art. cit.*, 269–70, and from the Glasgow MS. by Neilson, *op. cit.*, 21.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, k iiii, verso, col. 1.

[5] Vv. 5656–5677. It is omitted, no doubt, for brevity's sake, in *Pr. Al.*, 109, after 5–7.

[6] Vv. 3375–7.

[7] Because a similar statement is found in *The Buke of John Maundeuille*, ed. G. F. Warner, Roxburghe Club, 1889, 82, as noted by Skeat, Neilson characteristically brings this fact forward as a proof that the author of the *W. A.* took this item from the Latin version of the '*buke*,' found in the Glasgow manuscript containing the *Historia*, *op. cit.*, 22, whereas, in fact, the source of the passage in Maundeville, is the passage of the *Commonitorium Palladii*, as I shall have occasion to show in an article, "The Alexander Legend in Maundeville."

translation of the *Commonitorium Palladii*,[1] a Greek tractate describing India, written in the first half of the fifth century, A.D.,[2] which, in one manuscript, appears as part of the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes, and is used elsewhere in another manuscript.[3] Here is found the statement:

> sunt autem mille aliae insulae in rubro mari, quae sunt subditae ad istam praedictam insulam [*i.e.* Taprobana], in quibus sunt illi lapides, quos megnetes nominamus, qui trahunt ad se ferrum. Etiam si qualiscumque navis advenerit, quae habuerit de ferro clavum, statim apprehendent eam et non admittunt.[4]

In the other passage the authority of the '*buke*' and of Isidore are cited as authorities in the account of the palace of Porus:

> Of Euor & of Olifants was ordand þe ȝatis,
> With barrers of ane Ebyn-tree bonden with cheynes.
> þe Ebyn, as þe buke sais brin will neuir,
> And growis in þe Iles of ynde as Isodry tellis,

for which one finds the unglossed description in the prose version:

> and þe ȝates of þe Palace ware of Euour wonder whitt & þe bandeȝ of þam, & þe legges of Ebene.[5]

But the clause '*of Euour whitt*' in the later translation shows that J^{3a} substituted the expression '*de ebore albo*' for the adjective '*eburnee*' in the sentence in J^3: *Parietes in portis et porte ipsius palatii erant eburnee laquearia ebena.*[6] This expression was taken not from J^2, but from the *Epistula Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, a trans-

[1] That it was one of several tractates relating to Alexander, translated, or revised at Naples, when Leo made his translation, has been pointed out by F. Pfister, "Bemerkungen zur Sprache des Archpresbyters Leo und der vulgärlateinischen Alexandertraktate," *Wochenschrift f. class. Philol.*, 1915, 327–336; "Die Brahmanen in der Alexandersage," *Philol. Wochenschr.* 1921, 569–71, 832–8.

[2] On its probably correct attribution to Palladius (*ca.* 363–*ca.* 430), the author of the *Historia Lausiaca*, P. R. Coleman Norton," "The Authorship of the *Epistola de Indicis gentibus et de Bragmanibus*," *Class. Philol.*, XXI (1926), 154–60, who has failed to note that the same attribution is accepted by Pfister, *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman* (Sammlung vulgärlateinischer Texte, Nr. 4), 1910, viii; *art. cit., Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1921, 571–2.

[3] Ed. C. Müller, 1877, xiv, 102; Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, 9, 89, n. 17: Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, viii; *art. cit., Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1921, 572–4. It appears as a whole as Ps. Call., iii, 7–11, in MS. A, and is used elsewhere in MS. C.

[4] *Kleine Texte*, 2, 15–20. Notwithstanding the variants in the different redactions published of the Latin version, they all go back to one translation; Pfister, *art. cit., Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1921, 571–2.

[5] *W. A.*, 3680–3; *Pr. Al.*, 64, 29–30.

[6] *Ed. cit.*, fol. f v, recto, col. 2.

lation of a lost Greek original, made in the tenth century,[1] where one finds a fuller account:

regias vero habebant de ebore albo, habebant et lacunaria, id est subficta, de ligno quod nominatur ebenum, et est lignum fuscum, quod nascitur in India et Ethiopia.[2]

The two renderings of the resulting phrase in J^{3a}, show once more the procedure of the author of the latter in combining two texts. In the first clause he retained the syntax of J^3 and the vocabulary of the *Epistula*: '*regiae*[3] *vero erant de ebore albo*'[2]; but by preserving the syntax of the *Epistula*, and preferring '*laquearia*' of J^3 to its synonym '*lacunaria*[4] 'ceilings,' he led the translators to consider the '*laquearia*' as a part of the gates, and to translate the word accordingly, if with a meaning entirely different from that given in the Latin text. The prose translation, '*a bande of þam & þe legges of Ebene*,' is confirmed by the translation of a related word in a contemporaneous Latin-English glossary: '*hoc laquear*, post-band.'[5] The translator has made two words of the compound word, which meant 'hinge.'[6] Has this meaning of the word been combined with another well-authorised meaning in the verse translation?

With barrers of ane Ebyn-tree bonden with cheynes

[1] That there were not two translations as was believed by Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, ix: "Die parataktischen Darstellungen in der volkstümlichen Erzählung," *Wochenschr. f. class. Philol.*, 1911, 812–3, but a single translation and a *renouvellement* of it, at Naples, as was the case with the *Commonitorium*, was pointed out by the same scholar in his articles: "Was heisst 'cliba, clibula'?" *ibid.*, 1913, 1134; "Bemerkungen zur Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem," *ibid.*, 1913, 1155–9; *art. cit., ibid.*, 1915, 329, and by F. Müller, "*De Epistula Alexandri ad Aristotelem* observatiunculae," *Mnemosyne*, LIII (1925), 268–72.

[2] *Kleine Texte*, 23, 2–6. The first clause: "r. v. habebat d. e. a." is found in the *Epistula*, forming part of the *Historia*, in the version of the MS. *Bamberg E. III. 14*, ed. Zingerle, 205, n. 18.

[3] For the meaning of *regia*, as both "door" and "gate" of a sacred edifice, D. C., *s. v.*; cf. *The Corpus Glossary*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 1921, 152, 76, regiae, postes majores (punctuation corrected).

[4] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, xv, 86; xix, 12, 1: "Laquearia sunt quae cameram subtegunt, quae et lacunaria dicuntur." Was "subficta" in the citation in the *Epistula*, suggested by "subtegunt"?

[5] T. Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old-English Vocabularies*, ed. R. P. Wülker, 1884, 667, 19 and 24; cf. 731, 27; 778, 8; 591, 41.

[6] *Catholicon Anglicum*, ed. S. J. Herrtage (E. E. T. S., LXXV, 1881), xxvii, 19 and n. 4, where the passage in *Pr. A.* is cited from the MS. But the lemma is "*vertebra*," while the lemmas for '*a Bande of a howse*' are *lacunar, lacunarium, laquear, laquearium*," that is to say, 'ceiling.'"

Certainly '*laquearibus*' in Vergil's phrase: '*dependent lychni laquearibus aureis*,'[1] meant 'chains'; for Lucan in his imitation writes:

Agressi tendunt auratis vincula lychnis,[2]

and this interpretation was continued in Latin glosses: '*laquearea, catenae aurea*,' from one of which the English translator may have derived his information.[3]

It is evident that either the redactor of J^{3a} recognised, himself, the sources of one of the clauses in Isidore's account of the same tree: '*ebenus in India et Aethiopia nascitur*,'[4] or, more probably, found it already indicated in a scribal addition in the manuscript of the *Epistula* of which he made use. But Isidore makes no mention of the indestructibility of ebony by fire, and such a reference in J^{3a} would anticipate by half a century the earliest allusion to such a characteristic in the older version of *Floire et Blanceflor*[5] and in the *Percival* of Chrétien de Troies.[6] In the first of these, where an imaginary tree is described, we are told:

Cius arbres a a nom benus
Ja un seul point n'en ardra fus;[7]

in the latter, that in the house of the Fisher-King a table was brought in, and then two servants came,

Qui aporterent deus eschaces
Dont li fuz a deus bones graces,
Don les eschaces fetes furent;
Que les pieces toz jorz an durent
Dont furent eles d'ebenus
De celui fust ne dot ja nus
Que il porrisse ne qu'il arde;
De ces deus choses n'a il garde.[8]

[1] *Aen.* i, 726. [2] *Phars.*, i, 521.

[3] Loewe-Goetz, *Corpus gloss. lat.*, IV, 21; V, 305, 21, 505, 35.

[4] E. g. *Etymol., ed. cit.*, xvii, 7, 36.

[5] It must have been written before 1170, the approximate date of the Middle-High German *Floyrusdichtung;* F. Vogt, *Geschichte d. mittelhochdeutschen Literatur*, I (1922), 113, the earliest of the translations of that version; P. Leendertz, *Floris ende Blancefloer van Diederic van Asenede* (Bibl. v. middelnederlandsche Letterkunde 15), xxvii–iii.

[6] W. Förster, *Kristian von Troyes: Wörterbuch zu seinen sämtlichen Werken* (Romanische Bibl., XXI) 1914, 39*, 152*, dates it 1174–1190. [7] Ed. E. du Méril, 1856, vv. 603–4.

[8] *Crestien's von Troyes Contes del Graal (Percevaus li galois): Abdruck der Handschrift Paris français 794*, ed. G. Baist, 1909, vv. 3239–35, with correction suggested by Förster,

But the mention of two, instead of one of the characteristics of ebony, in *Percival*, points to the probable source of the mention of one of these in J^{3a}, as vouched for by the *Wars of Alexander*. In the account of Alexander's visit in disguise to Queen Candace in the Greek text of Pseudo-Callisthenes, he is led into a room by his hostess: *ἐν αὐτοις δὲ τρίκλιοις ἐξ ἀμιάντων ξύλων, ἅπερ ἐστιν ἄσηπτα καὶ ἀκαυστα ὑπὸ πυρὸς*.[1] This passage was abridged and incorrectly translated in the original Latin translation of Leo: *uidi et ibi triclinium ex lignis asiptis, qui non incenduntur ab igne*.[2]

Not knowing the meaning of the adjective, '*ἄσηπτα*' '*incorruptible*,' the translator transliterated it as a noun, giving it the meaning of a kind of wood, and the passage, rewritten in the third person to conform to the syntactical construction of J^1, was one of the additions to this original,[3] made by the redactor of J^2: *deinde ingressa est cum eo in aliud cubiculum constructum ex lignis asiptis que nullomodo accenduntur ab igne*.[4] From the original text of Leo,[5] the author of the Strassburg version of Lamprecht's *Alexander*, written *ca.* 1170,[6] took the name '*aspindei*' of the wood, and its peculiar characteristic,[7] while J^2 [8] furnished the name '*aspido*' and the character-

op. cit., 124*, of '*eschaces*,' for '*eschames*'; cf. ed. Potvin, 444–52. It is to be noted that *eschaces* < *skat-ia* 'stilts,' has a doublet, '*escace* < Persian *shah*, 'chessman,' of which Marco Polo relates in his account of Champa: "*Il ont maint boschès dou leigne que est appellés bonus, qe est mout noir, dou quel se font les escaces et les calamans*," ed. G. Pauthier, 1865, p. 189. The passage of *Percival* was used by the early thirteenth-century romance, *Floriant et Florete*, ed. F. Michel (Roxburghe Club, 1873), vv. 798–801.

[1] iii, 22; ed. C. Müller, 1865, 132. The probably correct reading, *λίθων*, is found in MS. B; cf. Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, 99, note 28, 8, as the *ἀμιάντος* was a species of asbestos; A. Nies, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie d. class. Altertumsw.*, I (1894), 1830: and add Dioscorides, *Physicus*, ed. Sprengel, 5, 156.

[2] Ed. Pfister, 116, 8–9, and cf. p. 23.

[3] The sentence was omitted in J^1, *ed. cit.*, 246, 1, and therefore in J^3, *ed. cit.*, fol. i v, col. 2, and its Italian translation, A. Hilka, "Die Berliner Bruchstücke der ältesten italienischen *Historia de preliis*," *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XLI (1922) 250, 90. For its source, *ibid.*, 235. It is in a manuscript written in the first part of the fourteenth century, *ibid.*, 234. The account of the episode in the *Seelentrost*, based on J^1, Pfister, *op. cit.*, 31, is too abridged to admit detailed descriptions.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, 215, 20–24.

[5] That is to say, from a manuscript based on the same archetype as MS. *Bamberg E. III. 14*, Pfister, *op. cit.*, 29.

[6] Pfister, *op. cit.*, 29, so dates it, but Vogt, *op. cit.*, I, 77, dates it earlier; "mehrere Jahrzehnte," after Lamprecht's original work, written *ca.* 1130; *ib.*, 74.

[7] Ed. K. Kinzel, 1884, vv. 6089–99. For its source, Pfister, *art. cit.*, 384, n. 1; *op. cit.*, 38.

[8] A. Gaspary, *Gesch. d. italienisch. Literatur*, I (1885), 381–2; T. Casini, *Gesch. d. italienisch. Litteratur*, in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, iii (1901), 84; D. Carraroli, *La leggenda di Alessan-*

istic, to the fourteenth-century Italian *I nobili fatti di Alessandro Magno*,[1] and the name, '*asiptis*,' to the Swedish *Konung Alexander*[2] (1375–86),[3] while the thirteenth-century [4] French prose translation, omitted the name of the material, but gave its characteristic.[5]

Wolfram von Eschenbach, in the early years of the thirteenth century basing his *Parzival* upon the *Percival* of Chrétien, identified the '*aspindei*' of the Strassburg *Alexander* with the '*ebenus*' of the French poem, and described his hero's shield:

> des schilt was holz, hiez aspindê:
> das fûlet noch enbrinnet.[6]

But he had already used the same source in his strange account of the wound of King Anfortas[7] — Chrétien's Fisher-King — in telling how the strength of the poison in the king's wound was such:

> aspindê des holz enbrinne niht:
> sô dises glases drûf iht spranc,
> fiuwers lohen dâ nâch swanc.
> aspindê dâ von verbran.
> was wunders diz gelüppe kan.[8]

dro Magno, 1892, 260. Grion in his edition, 1872, clxxi, wrongly dates it in the last thirty years of the thirteenth century, a date which Pfister, unfortunately, accepts, *op. cit.*, 38.

[1] *Ed. cit.*, 384.

[2] Ed. G. E. Klemming (Stockholm, 1862), v. 8224.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 361. For J^2 as its source, Pfister, *op. cit.*, 38.

[4] E. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature du moyen âge*, II (1886), 307; Hilka, *ed. cit.*, 28–30.

[5] *Ed. cit.*, 215, 13–16, "Dont entrerent il en une autre cambre qui estoit faite d'une maniere de fust qui ne puet estre espris de fu."

[6] Ed. E. Lachmann, 741, 2–3. The Austrian poet, Albrecht, in his continuation of Wolfram's work, *Der jüngere Titurel*, written before 1272 (F. Vogt und M. Koch, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, 2d ed., I, 1907, 133) supplies his heroes with a shield and bow of '*aspindaye*'; '*aspinde*,' ed. K. A. Hahn, 1842, 2966: 3379–80, 3491, whose two wonderful characteristics he notes, and adds that Noah made his still existing ark of it, 285, 2; 1842, 2–3. It is to be noted that Albrecht made use of redaction J^3 of the *Historia*, as it is apparent from his allusion to the story of the basilisk, *ed. cit.*, 3933, which C. Borchling, *Der jüngere Titurel und sein Verhältnis zu Wolfram von Eschenbach* (Göttingen dissertation), 1897, 77–9, in his discussion of the indebtedness to the *Historia*, believed was an independent addition, judging from Zingerle's edition of J^1, whereas it is found in the cited edition, fol. i i, verso–i ii, recto, and printed in a critical text by Pfister, *art. cit.*, 264–5.

[7] Cf. Vogt, *op. cit.*, I, 270–1.

[8] *Ed. cit.*, 490, 26–30.

Now, a correct translation of the Greek passage is found in the eighth-century [1] Syriac translation, from a seventh-century [2] Persian version,[3] of what would seem to be an enlarged text of the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes:

the beams of the roof were of the wood which they call *ôbmiôn;* no wood-worm attacks it, neither does it burn in fire,[4]

while in the Ethiopic version, found in *one* manuscript, written in the nineteenth but made between the fourteenth and sixteenth century,[6] translated from an Arabic version,[7] of which this part was based on an Arabic translation of a redaction of the Syriac version [8] made before 840,[9] the phrase is rendered:

the floor of the chamber was of red wood, which fire can not burn, nor rain make to rot, nor the wood-worm bore it.[10]

[1] Nöldeke, "Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Alexanderroman," *Denkschr. d. Kais. Ak. d. de Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., XXVIII (1890), No. 5, p. 17.

[2] *Ib.*, 13, 17; S. Fraenkel, *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, XLV (1891), 318–20.

[3] Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 11–17; Fraenkel, *art. cit.*, 312–21. For the use of a Persian version of the romance in a pseudo-historical Arabic work, E. G. Browne, "Some Account of the Arabic Work entitled *Niháyatu'l-irab-fí akhbári' l'Furs wa'l-'Arab*," *Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, 212–215.

[4] E. A. W. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great, being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*, 1889, 123; cf. V. Ryssel, "Die syrische Übersetzung des Pseudo-Callisthenes," Herrig's *Archiv*, XC (1893), 383: "und das Holzgetäfel der Decke war von dem Holze, welches *obmion* heisst, und in dieses Holz kommt der Holzwurm nicht hinein, auch brennt es nicht im Feuer."

[5] B. M. MS., *Aeth. CCCLXXXIX*, Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, Being a Series of Translations of the Ethiopic Histories of Alexander by the Pseudo-Callisthenes and other writers*, 1896, ii. The manuscript, in the National Bibliothek of Vienna, MS. *Aeth. XIX*, Müller, "Die äthiopischen Handschriften der k. k. Hof-Bibliothek in Wien, "*Zeitschr. d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XIX (1862), 554, which B. Meissner," Mubašširs Akbâr el-Iskender," *ibid.*, XLIX (1895), 583, n. 2, thought was another manuscript, contains the work which Budge published under the title of "A Christian Romance," in *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, 259–353, as was pointed out by K. F. Weymann, *Die aethiopische und arabische Übersetzung des Pseudocallisthenes* (Heidelberg diss.), 1901, vi.

[6] Budge, *The Life, etc.*, xxiv; Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 17.

[6] Budge, *op. cit.*, lxxxix; K. F. Weymann, *Die aethiopische und arabische Übersetzung des Pseudocallisthenes* (Heidelberg diss.), 1901, 63.

[7] Guidi, *Wien. Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenland.*, XI (1901), 279 ff. (a review of Budge's edition of the Ethiopic version); Weymann, *op. cit.*, 44.

[8] Weymann, *op. cit.*, 19–50, especially 45–6, and for this episode, 42.

[9] *Ibid.*, 81.

[10] *Ed. cit.*, 200. For another instance of the Ethiopic text representing closely the Greek text in the same episode, W. Wilmanns, "Alexander und Candace," *Zs. f. deutsch. Altertum*, XLIX (1901), 234, and cf. 237.

It is evident that a similar correct translation of the whole phrase existed in Latin, rather in the form of a correction in some manuscript of one of the redactions of Leo's work, than in a separate translation of the complete work.[1] The translator, or some later scribe, identified '*asiptis*' with '*ebenus*,' as Wolfram von Eschenbach was to do in his turn,[2] and used the latter word as a gloss, or as a substitute for the former. A scribe of J^1, or of J^2, used the part of the phrase in regard to the fire-proof quality of ebony, as a gloss, on the mention of that wood in the description of Porus's palace. The redactor of J^{3a}, having made use of this gloss in that passage, omitted a similar gloss he found in the description of Candace's palace in J^2 and copied the briefer account which he found in J^3:

deinde ingressa est cum eo in aliud cubiculum constructum ex lignis ebenis bussinis et cypressinis. et illud triclinium erat positum per artem magicam.[3]

To judge from the two English translations, he even omitted '*ebenis*' thinking that he had already done his duty by that kind of wood:

And þan scho laches him be-lyfe & ledis him forthire,
In-to a clochere with a kay þe clennest of þe werde,
Was sammed all of sipris & seder-tables.
Þis selere was be sorsry selcuthely foundid,
Made for a mervall to meeue with engine;

And oute of þis chambir scho ledd hym in-till a wit-drawyng chambir made of cypresse. Þis chambir was sett apon foure wheles by crafte of clergy.[4]

[1] However, K. Kinzel, in discussing the varying Occidental forms of the story of Alexander's descent into the sea, — "Zur Alexandersage," *Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Philol.*, XV (1883), 229; for additional versions, Hilka, *op. cit.*, xxxix–xli; and cf. Budge, *Life and Exploits*, 282; M. Gaster, "An old Hebrew Romance of Alexander," *Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1887, 495, 533, — came to the conclusion: "Wir müssen annehmen, dass es im 11. Jahrhundert noch eine andere auf Kallisthenes zurückgehende Darstellung der Alexandersage gab."

[2] Cf. p. 125, above.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, fol. l v, verso, col. 1. It is to be noted that in J^2 the room made of '*asiptis*' is a different room from the one made of three woods.

[4] *W. A.*, 5288–92; *Pr. Al.*, 100, 6–8. It might be suggested that Jacques de Vitry, who in his *Historia orientalis*, completed after 1220, made use of the other part of the phrase in mentioning the cause of the age of certain trees: "*Unde cedrum et ebenum imputribiles aestimant*," *ed. cit.*, 174. T. F. Crane, *The Exempla . . . of Jacques de Vitry* (Publ. of the Folk-Lore Soc., XXVI), 1890, xxxvi; Ph. Funk, *Jacob von Vitry, Leben und Werke* (Beitr. z. Kultur-

The *Wars of Alexander* is the sole authority for three passages, which without question was in its Latin original J^{3a}. The first of these, omitted for brevity's sake in the prose version, is in the account of the hero's march with his army from Cilicia to Phrygia, in the course of which he ascends Mount Taurus and comes to the city of Persepolis:

> þare saȝe he selcuthis sere as þe buke sais,
> þe muses of musike & þe merke how it was made first.[1]

The source for the greater part of this was doubtless found in J^3, if it omitted in the printed editions, in the phrase taken from J^1: "*in qua sunt novem musae.*" [2] It may be that the last clause, "*& merke how it was made first,*" many have been an independent invention of the poet to fill in the verse, or it may have been suggested by the account in Julius Valerius of the "*civitatem. . . . ibidem Musae etiam Pierides consecratae videbatur unaque omnigenum figementa viventium Orphei musiciam demirantia.*" [3]

The two other passages are found at the beginning of the poem, for which there is no equivalent in the prose version, owing to the loss of a number of pages in the manuscript. The first is in the account of the natural disturbances, which took place at Alexander's birth. The verses:

> þen rekils it vnruydly & raynes doune stanys,
> Fell fra þe fyrmament as a hand lyftyng,
> And some as hoge as þi hede fra þe heuyn fallis,[4]

was evidently based on a source in which the phrase in J^3, *tunc in Italia petre de nubibus ceciderunt,*[5] was amplified by the equivalent phrase of J^2, *Tunc etiam saxa de nubibus cum grandine mixta ceciderunt et terram veris lapidibus verberaverunt.*[6]

gesch. d. Mittelalters, hrsg. von W. Goetz, 3), 130, 156–7, made use of J^1; cf. ed. Douai, 1597, 175, 177–8, 198–212; ed. Zingerle, 239–41, 204, 217, 206–7, 214–15, 220–31, 234–5; Pfister, *op. cit.*, 38. But the ultimate source was, no doubt, Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 212: *Cariem uetustatemque non sentiunt cupressus, cedrus, hebenus.*"

[1] *W.A.*, 2112–3.

[2] Since it was found in its source, J^1, *ed. cit.*, 160, 8, instead of the faulty reading of J^3: "*in qua sunt nouem milia, a qua accepta militia,*" *ed. cit.*, fol. c ii, verso, col. 1. The clause was omitted in redaction J^2, *ed. cit.*, 81, 24 ff.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, 57, 2–4.

[4] *W.A.*, 566–8.

[5] *Ed. cit.*, fol. a v, recto, col. 1, where reading is '*partes*' for '*petre.*'

[6] *Ed. cit.*, 29, 4–7.

The third is the description of Alexander's appearance:

Bot of þe lyfe þat he liȝt off he like was to nane,
Nouþer of fetour ne of face to fadire ne to modyre;
Þe fax on his faire hede was ferly to schawe,
Large lyons lockis þat lange ere and scharpe;
With grete glesenand eȝen grymly he lokis,
Þat ware as blyckenend briȝt as blesand sternes,
3it ware þai vn-samen of serelypy hewys;
Þe tane to brene at a blische as blak as a cole,
As any ȝare ȝeten gold ȝalow was þe tothire.[1]
And he wald-eȝed was as þe writt schewys,
3it it tellis me þis tale þe tethe in his hede
Was as bitand breme as any bare tuskis.
His steuyn stiffe was [&] steryn þat stonayd many.
And as a lyon he lete quen he loude romys.
His fell fygoure & his fourme fully be-takend
Þe prowis & þe grete pryse þat he a-preyud eftire,
His hardynes, his hyndelaike & his hetter myȝtis,
Þe wirschip þat he wan quen he wex eldire.[2]

If these verses are largely based upon a text of which the main elements were taken from the description in J^3:

figura autem pueri nec patris nec matris effigiam habuit. Coma capitis sicut leonis asper[s]a videbatur. Oculi eius sicut stelle micantes sed colore dispari radiabant, vnus niger, alter vero glaucus apparens. Dentes siquidem eius erant acuti, impetus illius fervidus vt leonis. Forma quippe illius vigorem et prudentiam, quem in posterum habuit, ostendebat,[3]

there are details which indicate other sources for the original of the English poem. Thus the first lines point to a phrase in the same description in Julius Valerius, which perhaps was not understood by either the redactor of J^{3a}, who made use of it, or by the English translator:

Bot of þe lyfe þat he liȝt off he like was to nane,
Nouþer of fetour ne of face to fadire ne to modyre:

[1] The Italian translation, *ed. cit.*, 13 (*'gialla'*), the thirteenth-century Basel redaction of Lamprecht's poem, ed. Kinzel, p. 20, v. 425 (*'gel'*), and the fifteenth-century *Alexanderchronik des Meister Babiloth*, ed. S. Herzog, I (1897), 41 (*'geel,' 'gelb'*), agree in translating *'glaucus'* in J^1, as *'yellow,'* while the Swedish translation, *ed. cit.*, v. 439, agrees with the English poem in the rendering *'glwt'* [for *'gwlt'*].

[2] *W.A.*, 599–616.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, fol. a v, recto, col. 2.

vultus formaque omni alienus a Philippo, ne matri quidem ad similitudinem congruus, *ei* [*i.e.* Nectanebus] *quoque, cuius e semine credebatur, facie diversus.*[1]

Then, again, the phrase in the *Historia*, descriptive of Alexander's passionate temperament: "*impetus illius fervidus vt leonis,*" could not have been the source of the description of his eyes in the English poem:

> His steuyn stiffe was [&] steryn þat stonayd many,
> And as a lyon he lete quen he loude romys.

The redactor of J^{3a} in borrowing the equivalent phrase from Julius Valerius: *profususque omni spiritu et impetu, quo leones,*[2] having in mind the classical idiom: *profundere vocem*, must have rewritten it: *profusaque vox* (or *profusque vocem*) *omni spiritu et impetu, quo leones*, unless, indeed, it was the translator who misunderstood the correctly borrowed phrase, which has added another specific detail to those given in the preceding phrases of Alexander's appearance. Certainly, the English phrase, '*his fell fygoure & his fourme,*' could have had its source only in a text which read, or which was misread, as '*aspectus illius severus*' instead of '*inpetus illius fervidus.*' That the reading '*aspectus*' was found, or so misread, is shown by the translation of the phrase: *sa regardeure estoit comme de lyon*, in the French prose translation of J^2.[3]

It is easy to see why the redactor of J^3, in rewriting with his own additions the description of Alexander's eyes:

oculi eius sicut stelle micantes sed colore dispari radiabant, unus niger, alter vero glaucus apparens,[4]

should have omitted for syntactical reasons, the adjective '*magnis*' of his original J^1:

oculi eius magni, micantes et non assimulabatur unus ad alterum, sed unus erat niger et alter glaucus.[5]

[1] *Ed. cit.*, 12, 13–15. [2] *Ed. cit.*, 12, 19–20.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, 29, 33–30, 1. The editor has noted (xiii) this mistranslation without attempting to explain it. In the *renouvellement* of this translation in MS. *Paris, B. N., f. fr. 1418* (*anc. 7517*) (in Hilka, *ed. cit.*, iii) the phrase reads: "sa regardence estoit comme d'un lyon"; J. Berger de Xivrey, "Notice de la plupart des manuscrits grecs, latins et en vieux français contenant l'histoire fabuleuse d'Alexandre connue sous le nom de Pseudo-Callisthène, suivis de plusieurs extraits de ces manuscrits," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XIII, ii (1848), 298.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, fol. a v, recto, col. 2. [5] *Ed. cit.*, 138, 2–3.

The word was one of the additions and changes made in the latter redaction, written as early as the eleventh century,[1] of the phrase in the original translation:

oculi eius non similabantur ad alterum, sed unus est niger atque albus est alter.[2]

J^2 kept the word as he found it in J^1:

oculi eius magni, micantes et non assimilabatur unus ad alterum, sed unus erat niger et alter glaucus,[3]

whence it passed, as so many other phrases, into J^{3a}, the source of the description in the English poem:

With grete glesenand eȝen grymly he lokis.

II. THE *GESTA HEREWARDI*

If it is evident that the source of the poetical and prose translation was a redaction of J^3, for which J^2 furnished many, and Julius Valerius furnished a few of the additions, the next point of interest is the date of its composition. Fortunately, evidence is on hand to date it within a quarter of a century. Without question it was utilised by the author of the *Gesta Herewardi*, a Latin romance, based upon the exploits of an English hero, who distinguished himself as a protagonist of his people during the Norman invasion of the second part of the eleventh century.[4] The portrait of the hero:

[1] Pfister, *art. cit.*, 250–1; *op. cit.*, 15–16. [2] Ed. Pfister, 54, 6–7.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, 29, 31–2. For other readings of the phrase in the same redaction, cf. F. Stabile, "De codice Cavensi inedito 'Vitae Alexandri Magni' Leonis Archipresbyteri," *Rivista di filol. class.*, XLI (1913) 284; "De codice Cavensi 'Vitae Alexandri Magi' quaestio altera accedunt excerpta ex codice Neapolitano," *ib.*, XLIII (1915), 99–100.

The variant *albus* for *glaucus* shows that the manuscript of the Greek romance used by Leo, belonged to the same family of manuscripts as those used by the author of the Byzantine *βίος* Ἀλεξάνδρου and by the translator of the Pehlavi version, the source of the Syriac version; cf. H. Christensen, "Die Vorlagen des byzantinischen Alexandergedichtes," *Sitzungsb. d. philos.-philol. und d. hist. Kl. d. k. k. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1897, I, 66. I shall have occasion to discuss this bizarre description of Alexander's eyes, its variants, its source, and influence in a forthcoming article: "The Color of Alexander's Eyes in History and Legend."

[4] Cf. E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest of England*, IV (1871), 455–487: H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, 1066–1272, 1905, 25–6; for the historical elements in the romance, cf. J. H. Round, *Peerage and Pedigree*, 1900, I, 268–70, 284–6; G. Gore Chambers, *Victoria History of the County of Bedford*, III (1908), 22–3.

puer erat spectabilis forma et vultu decorus, valde decoratus et flavente caesarie et prolixa facie, oculisque magnis, dextro ab alio variante modium glaucus, unde severus aspectu fuit,[1]

presents the same combinations of details from the descriptions of Alexander in the work of Julius Valerius, and the *Historia*, which are found in the description of the hero in the *Wars of Alexander*. But the indirect indebtedness of the *Gesta* to these two sources, written as it was in the same language as they were, is even more apparent than in the case of the English verse translation. That the description of Alexander in Julius Valerius:

vultu formaque omni alienus a Philippo, ne matri quidem ad similitudinem congruus, ei quoque, cuius e semine credebatur, facie diversus, sed suo modo et filo pulcherrimus, subscrispa paululum et flavente caesarie, ut comae sunt leoninae, oculis egregii decoris, altero admodum nigra quasi pupilla est, laevo vero glauca atque coeli similis,[2]

as utilised by the redactor of J^{3a}, was the literal source, or gave the suggestion for the phrases of the *Gesta:* "*spectabilis forma et vultu decorus, valde decoratus et flavente caesarie: dextro ab alio variante modicum glaucus,*" needs no argument. On the other hand, the phrase in J^3, through the medium of J^{3a}, which serves as an introduction to the portrait: *Figura autem pueri nec patris nec matris effigiam habuit*, furnished to the author of the *Gesta* the word '*puer.*' The source for another trait in the description of Hereward is to be found in the following phrase found in J^1,[3] and J^2,[4] and almost certainly in J^{3a} where it had been taken in from J^2: *sed propriam figuram suam habebat.* The author of the *Gesta* either found in his manuscript of J^{3a} the reading '*prolixam,*' or misread '*propriam.*' For him the phrase formed part of the portrait; and so he attributed a long face to his hero. Again, the descriptive adjective applied to Hereward's eyes: '*oculisque magnis,*' finds its equivalent in the '*grete . . . ezen*' of the English poem, the original of which, as has been already shown, was one of the many details taken from J^2 by the redactor of J^{3a} to amplify J^3. Finally the severe expression of the English

[1] In *Estorie des Engles, solum la translacion maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, ed. T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin (Rolls Series), I (1888), 341.

[2] *Ed. cit.*, 12, 13–22.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, 138, 1.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, 29, 28–9.

hero: '*unde seuerus aspectu erat,*' confirms the suggestion that the source of the English phrase: "*his fell fygoure & his fourme,*" must have been a translation of the phrase in J^{3a}: "*aspectus illius severus.*" [1]

At the first reading it would seem that the phrase in the description of Hereward:

> et ex nimia densitate membrorum admodum rotundus, sed nimis pro statura mediocri agilis, et in omnibus membris tota comperta efficia,

had been suggested in part by two phrases in another less detailed description of Alexander, added after the account of Alexander's death and funeral, by the redactor of J^1, following, perhaps, the plan of some of the lives of Suetonius [2] and of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*,[3] in which the personal characteristics of the emperors concerned were only given after the accounts of their deaths.[4] This description:

> fuit enim Alexander statura mediocre, cervice longa, letis oculis, illustribus, malis ad gratiam rubescentibus, reliquis membris corporis non sine maiestate quadam decoris, victor omnium, sed vino et ira victus,[5]

was, with the exception of the first phrase, copied from the description given by Solinus (*ca.* 250) [6] in his account of Alexander, in his *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, one of the most widely known of

[1] Cf. p. 130, above.

[2] For evidence of the acquaintance with Suetonius in the Middle Ages, M. Manitius, "Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen," *Rhein. Museum*, XLVII (1892), *Ergänzungsheft*, 70–1; *Gesch. d. lat. Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (1911), 55–7, 63–4, 77, 116, 137, 248, 251, 487–490, 499, 501, 584, 639, 642, 643; II (1923), 29, 42, 333, 652, 721, 794, 807.

[3] For use in Middle Ages, Manitius, "Philologisches, etc.," 80; also *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, I, 320–1.

[4] E. Klebs, "Die Sammlung der *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*," *Rhein. Mus.*, XLV (1890), 441; F. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer litterarischen Form*, 1901, 7, 273.

[5] Ed. Zingerle, 264, 23–265, 2. This description is further enlarged in a collection of excerpts from the *Historia*, found in *Cod. Monac. 12260, ib.*, 68, of which one phrase: "crudelis et sanguinis siciens," was suggested by two statements in Orosius, iii, 18, 8 & 10, ed. C. Zangemeister (CSEL., V), 1882, 178, 13–14; 179, 10–12: "Sed nec minor eius in suos crudelitas quam in hostem rabies fuit . . . Sed Alexander humani sanguis inexsaturabilis siue hostium siue etiam sociorum, recentem tamen semper sitiebat cruorem."

[6] Ed. Th. Mommsen, 2d ed., 1895, vi–vii; W. Teuffel, *Gesch. d. römisch. Lit.*, 6th ed., edited by W. Kroll & F. Skutsch, III (1913), 178; M. Schanz, *Gesch. d. römisch. Lit.*, 2d ed., III (1923), 225–6.

the classics in the Middle Ages [1] and the source of other additions in J[1].[2] It is as follows:

> forma supra hominem augustiore, cervice celsa, laetis oculis illustribus, malis ad gratiam rubescentibus, reliquis corporis non sine maiestate qua dam decoris. victor omnium vino et ira victus.[3]

Mommsen in his careful investigation of the sources of Solinus, failed to discover the source of this passage,[4] which with three others concerning Greek literary figures, he suggested had been taken from some historical work.[5] But the suggestion for the greater part of it is to be found in a passage in physiognomical treatises. There is no indication that Solinus made use of any Greek sources, and the Latin compilation, based principally on the physiognomical work of Polemon († *ca.* 155),[6] with additions from those of Loxus (*ca.* 250) [7] and of the Pseudo-Aristotelian (before 300),[8] is posterior to his work by a century (350–400).[9] But the latter work seems to have preserved as complete a text of the Greek original of Polemon, as the Greek redaction of the Alexandrian Jew Adamantius, made in the fifth century,[10] for the passage in question. Further, it is preferable to use as a basis of comparison with Solinus' passage, based, as it

[1] For manuscripts of the original work, and of excerpts from it, written from the tenth to the fifteenth century, *ed. cit.*, xxix-lv; for the use made of it from the fifth to the thirteenth century, *ib.*, xxv–xxix; M. Manitius, "Philologisches, etc.," 78–9; "Beiträge zur Geschichte römischen Prosaiker im Mittelalter," *Philologus*, XLVII (1888), 562–6; "Nachträge zu Solin," *ib.*, LI (1892), 191–2; P. Toynbee, "Brunetto Latino's (*sic*) Obligations to Solinus," *Romania*, XXIII (1894), 62–77; Ch. V. Langlois, *La Connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen âge d'après quelques écrits français à l'usage des laïcs.*, 1911, 335, n. 2, 136, n. 2; A. Marigo, "Cultura letteraria e premanistica nelle maggiori enciclopedie del Dugento. Lo "Speculum" ed il "Tresors," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LXVIII (1916), 298, 313; Manitius, *op. cit.*, I–II, Register, *s. v;* F. Pfister, *Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1912, 1129–33.

[2] Ed. Zingerle, 22, n. 4; 24, n. 1; 27, n. 2; Pfister, *op. cit.*, 15, 54, n. 9.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, 66, 15–17.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, xii, 66.

[5] *Ib.*, xii.

[6] R. Förster, *Scriptores physiognomonici Graeci et Latini*, 1893, I, lxxv–lxxx; Christ-Stählin-Schmid, *Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur*, 5th ed., II, ii (1913), 533.

[7] Förster, *op. cit.*, I, lxxi–lxxiv.

[8] *Ib.*, xxi; Christ-Stählin-Schmid, *op. cit.*, I (1905), 605.

[9] Förster, *op. cit.*, I, cxxxvi-cxlv, where he also shows that its language is such that its attribution to Apuleius must be negatived; cf. Schanz, *op. cit.*, III (1922), 132; Teuffel, *op. cit.*, 100.

[10] Förster, *op. cit.*, I, c-ciii; M. Wellmann, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclop. d. class. Altertumsw.*, I (1896), 343.

was, on a Latin intermediary. In the discussion in regard to eyes, which is given such prominence in the physiognomical treatises, we are informed concerning one class of *trementes micantesque oculi et salientes, quos Graeci παλλομένους dicunt*, that:

at ubi moderatae magnitudinis et humidi (*Gr. ὑγροὶ*) sunt atque *perlucidi*, magnificum hominem, magnarum rerum, cogitatorem atque perfectorem indicant; *sane iracundum et vino deditum* [1] et iactantem sui et cupidum gloriae *ultra condicionem humanum* ostendunt. cui huiusmodi oculorum signa contigerint. Scias quia his oculis aestimatur, etiam Alexander Magnus fuisse.

(οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι, ὀφθαλμοὶ νοήματα ἀδρά, ὑψηλά, δραστήρια ἔργων μεγάλων παρέχονται, τόλμης καὶ μεγαλοινοίας εἰς ἄκρον ἥκοντες, ὀργῆς δὲ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ μέθης, μεγάλαυχοι, κουφόνους, οὔ πόρρω ἐπιληψίας, κλέος δὲ ἔχειν ὀρέχονται μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ὥσπερ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλεξάνδρος.) [2]

But if the passage in the physiognomical treatise suggested the phrases in Solinus's description: '*forma supra hominem augustiore*,' and '*victor omnium uino et ira victus*,' was it anything more than a gloss upon a description, similar to the source of Plutarch's account of Alexander's personal appearance? For in it, and in the same order, mention is made of his neck, his liquid eyes, and of his complexion, with its tendency to heighten in color:

τήν τε ἀνάτασιν τοῦ αὐχένος εἰς εὐώνυμον ἠσυχῇ κεκλιμένου καὶ τὴν ὑγρότητα τῶν ὀμμάτων. . . . ἦν δὲ λευκός, ὥς φασιν. ἡ δὲ λευκότης ἐπεφοίνισσεν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ στῆθος μάλιστα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον.[3]

The phrases '*ceruice celsa*' and '*malis ad gratiam rubescentibus*' are assuredly a free interpretation of the items in regard to the poise of the neck, inclining to the left,[4] and the flushing of the white color of his chest, and particularly of his face. In any case neither the poise of the neck, inclining towards the left, in Plutarch, nor

[1] Velleius Paterculus (*ca.* 30 A.D.), in a comparison he makes between Alexander and Caesar (II, 41, 1), states of the latter: "*sed sobrio neque iracundo.*"

[2] Förster, *op. cit.*, II, 50, 3–4, 6–13; cf. for the Greek text of Adamantius, I, 328, 1, 4–10, and II, 57, 13–15.

[3] *Alexander*, c. 4.

[4] In the *Epitome*, written *ca.* 400, attributed to Aurelius Victor, M. Schanz, *Gesch. d. lat. Litt.*, 2d ed., IV (1914), 75, the emperor Caracalla, who modelled his personal appearance on that of Alexander, is described: "*Ad laevum humerum conversa cervice, quod in ore Alexandri notaverat*" (c. 21); cf. J. J. Bernouilli, *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grosses*, 1905, 18–19.

the long neck, in Solinus, would have been suggested by a reconstruction[1] of Alexander's appearance from a physiognomical treatise, as both of those features are consistently noted in such treatises as bad characteristics.[2]

If such was the ultimate source of the second description of Alexander in J^1, the author of that redaction substituted for the rather vague statement of Solinus, '*forma supra hominem augustiore*,' the more specific statement in regard to his height, '*fuit enim Alexander statura mediocre*,' for which he could have found authority in no less than three episodes of the work[3] he was editing, in which emphasis is laid on his short stature. Darius seeing the picture of Alexander brought him by the Syrian refugees, '*despexit eam propter parvitatem forme eius*'; when Alexander presents himself at the court of Darius, as his own envoy, the Persian courtiers: '*despexerunt staturam Alexandri eo, quod esset parva*,' and the Indian king Porus was ready to settle the fortunes of the war by a duel with Alexander: '*despiciendo illum propter parvitatem forme eius eo, quod esset statura parvus.*' With this addition, the second description passed from J^1 to J^2,[4] J^3,[5] and J^{3a}; but in some of the manuscripts of J^2 it is evident that at least the detail in regard to Alexander's height was utilised to round out the first description, as is shown by the addition to the description in the French translation of the final phrase: '*et tout fust s'estature petite*,' for which there is no authority in the published Latin text.[6] If the author of the *Wars of Alexander* omitted, for some reason, all mention of his hero's height, he has translated the phrase in the second description: '*reliquis membris corporis non*

[1] For such reconstructions, see my forthcoming article: "The Occidental Versions of the Biography of Alexander the Great by Muššabir ibn Fâtik."

[2] *Ed. cit.*, I, 64, 4–5; 218, 16–17; 222, 5–6; 366, 10–11, 19–20; 370, 8–9, 18; II, 72, 10–11; 77, 6–7; 211, 3–11.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, 153, 7–9; 186, 5–6; 213, 26–8.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, 259, 32–260, 2.

[5] *Ed. cit.*, fol. k vii, verso.

[6] Ed. Hilka, 30, 1–2. In the second description in the work noted on p. 133, n. 5, on the other hand, the first description is repeated, Zingerle, *op. cit.* 68. In the description of Alexander in one redaction of the Spanish version of Muššabir's life (cf. p. 125, n. 5, the phrase: '*pequenno de cuerpo*,' has been added, Knust, *op. cit.*, 307, n. 5), evidently on the authority of one of the redactions of the *Historia*, since it is not found in the Arabic original, B. Meissner, 'Muššabirs Akbâr el-Iskender," *Zs. d. deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellsch.*, XLIX (1895), 620.

sine maiestate quadam decoris,' as it was rewritten and interpolated in the first description by the redactor of J^{3a};

> Þis barne, quen he borne was as me þe boke tellis,
> Miȝt wele a-prefe for his a-port to any prince oute.[1]

The use of the phrase in the first description was no reason for its omission in the second description in J^{3a}, any more for such an omission being made in the Latin original of the French translation of J^2, [2] as is seen in its prose version, since the end of the English poem is unfortunately lost:

> Alexander was a man bot of a comon stature . . . and all þe remenant of his lymmes ware faire & semely & lyke vn-till a lorde.[3]

It might be postulated that the author of the *Gesta* found the suggestion for the item in regard to his hero's height in the phrase in regard to Alexander's height, which would have been interpolated in the first description in J^{3a}; but such a supposition is not necessary since he made use of another passage of the *Historia*, which directly follows the second description.[4]

But the redactor of J^1 was not satisfied with making use of Solinus' description in his own second description. In order to amplify the description in Leo's translation he had recourse to the same chapter in the Latin physiognomical compilation, which had been utilized by Solinus. From the general statement in regard to the general type of eyes under which those of Alexander were classified: "*trementes micantesque oculi et salientes*," [5] he drew his attributive adjective "*magni*." If the compilation specifies Alex-

[1] *W.A.*, 597–8. The beginning of the prose translation, containing this phrase is missing.

[2] *Ed. cit.*, 260.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, 114, 29–30. The end of the *Wars of Alexander*, containing this description, is lost.

[4] For the sake of completeness it may be well to note how Charles Kingsley developed the description of the *Gesta* in his novel *Hereward the Wake*, which follows the Latin romance for the general outline of the story:

"His face was of extraordinary beauty, save that the lower jaw was too long and heavy, and that his eyes wore a strange and almost sinister expression, from the fact that one of them was gray, and the other blue. He was short, but of immense breadth of chest and strength of limb; while his delicate hands and feet and long locks of golden hair marked him of most noble, and even, as he really was, of ancient royal blood," ed. 1889, 19.

[5] Förster, *op. cit.*, II, 50, 3–4.

ander's eyes as being of only "*moderatae magnitudinis*," in contrast with those which were very large (which were indicative of bad characteristics): "*si magni, stultitia ac furiis attinentur*," [1] large eyes are, nevertheless, a distinguishing feature of the hero, however much the size may have been differentiated in the treatise.

It is not surprising that the redactor should have found this work in the monastic library in which he found the others which he used to supplement Leo's translation. That it was not a rare book in mediaeval libraries is shown by the use of it made of it in the first half of the eleventh century in the encyclopaedic work, *De floribus rerum naturalium*, by Arnold of Saxony,[2] by Gilles de Corbeil (1140–1224?), the physician of Philip Augustus, in his physiognomical treatise in Latin verse,[3] by Albertus Magnus (1193–1280) in his *De animalibus*,[4] and by Pietro d'Abano in his physiognomical treatise, written in 1295.[5] Further, of the manuscripts on which Förster based his edition, one was copied for the celebrated Marbod, bishop of Rennes (1096–1123?),[6] and another is dated 1132.[7] Considering the evidence in regard to the general acquaintance with it in the Middle Ages, it is remarkable that outside of the mention of it, *Phisionomia Loxi* (MS. *Lopi*) *Medici*, in the will of Eberhard, count of Tarvis (Friule), made in 873,[8] it can only be identified by name in a few library catalogues of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In that of the Sorbonne (1338) it appears as *phisonomia Leschis*,[9] in that of the collection of John Erghome (*ca.* 1390) in the Austin Friars' Library, York, as *Phisonomia trium auctorum*,[10] in that of Amplonius von Ratinck (*ca.* 1412) as *Optimus liber de phisionomia*,[11] and in that of Peterhouse College, Cambridge (1418) as: *Phisomia*

[1] Föerster, *op. cit.*, II, 50 4–5. [2] *Ib.*, I, clxiii–clxv.
[3] *Ib.*, I, clxii–clxiii. [4] *Ib.*, I, clxv–clxx. [5] *Ib.*, I, clxx–clxxi.
[6] *Ib.*, I, cxlvi. [7] *Ib.*, I, cxlvii.
[8] G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum antiquarum*, 1885, 13, 38; p. 30; cf. Förster, *op. cit.*, I, cxxxvii.
[9] L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II (1881), 67 (20); for date p. 8.
[10] M. R. James, "The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York," in *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus*, 1909, 56; for date 10–11.
[11] W. Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der amplonianischen Handschrift-Sammlung zu Erfurt*, 1887, 812 (art. 32). For its identity with the work in question, cf. description of the surviving manuscript F. 378, *ib.*, 264; Förster, *op. cit.*, I, cxlvii.

ex dictis Arist. Loxi medici et Phalemonis de cantar' compilata.[1] The French translation, found in a paper manuscript of the fifteenth century,[2] could not have been made before the fourteenth century, to judge from the fragment published of it.[3]

According to the *Gesta* itself, its written source was an English work of which the author was Leofric, the chaplain of Hereward;[4] but one may feel assured that that work did not contain a portrait of the hero. In fact, the English work may not have existed any more than the "liber Anglico sermone conscriptus," [5] which William,[6] a monk of the abbey of St Albans pretended he was translating in his *Vita sanctorum Albani, Amphibali et sociorum*,[7] a work of propa-

[1] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse*, 1899, 14 (No. 201). If the last phrase means that it was copied from a Canterbury manuscript, this is further evidence to substantiate Dr James's suggestion that the scriptorium of Christ Church made copies for other monastic libraries, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 1903, xxx, lxxxvii–lxxxix, although no mention is made of this work in the catalogue of either Christ Church or St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, *Ib.*, 1–401. The infrequency of its mention in catalogues may be due to the fact that it was confused with the much widely spread Pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomy*, translated by Bartholomew of Messina, as was the case with the title in both the manuscript and the catalogue in the Amplonian collection, Qu. 295; cf. Schum, *op. cit.*, 812 (art. 29); Förster, *op. cit.*, I, cxlviii–cxlix, and in MSS Harleian 3969, Sloane 2422; and Ashmolean 1471; Förster, *l. c.*

[2] Paris. B. N., f. fr. 2017; *Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des manuscrits*, I, *ancien fonds*, 1868, 347.

[3] L. Jordan, "Physiognomische Abhandlungen," *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIX (1910–11), 681, 688–690, where only the preface of the translator has been printed.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, 339, "editum Anglico stilo a Lefrico Diacono, ejusdem ad Brun presbyter." According to the *Estorie des Engleis* of Geffrei Gaimar, written *ca.* 1150 (J. Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, 1923, 49), his chaplain, who was with him at the time of his death, was named Ailward (var. Alward, Aelward), *ed. cit.*, vv. 5620–1. Cf. Liebermann, "Ueber Ostenglische Geschichtsquellen des 12. 13. 14. Jahrhunderts, besonders den falschen Ingulf," *Neues Archiv d. Ges. f. altdeutsche Geschichtskunde*, XVIII (1893), 242, "Denn jede sonstige Spur von Leofric oder seinem Werke fehlt, auch bei den Erzählern von Herewards Thaten." The same scholar, *art. cit.*, 242, in expressing his suspicions as to the sources of inspiration of the *Gesta* as "ein Kniff mancher Chanson de Geste und Kloster-Fundatio," has anticipated by several years the thesis of Becker and Bédier in regard to the origins of the *chansons de geste*.

[5] *AA.SS.*, Junii V, 129. Since the original is dated by the forger in 590, it would have been written in Welsh. On a similar attempt to attribute a British or English source to the *Life of St Ninian* by Ailred of Rievaulx († 1167), cf. K. Strecker, "Zu den Quellen für das Leben hl. Ninian," *Neues Archiv*, XLIII (1920), 4–6, 15 ff.; F. M. Powicke, "Ailred of Rievaulx and his Biographer, Walter Daniel," *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, VI (1922), 475, n. 3.

[6] Was this William Martel, the sacristan of the abbey, who later put himself forward as a candidate to succeed Thomas as prior? *Gesta abbatum Monasterii Albani*, ed. A. T. Riley (Rolls Series), I (1867), 185.

[7] *AA.SS.*, Junii V, 129–138.

ganda, written between 1166 and 1188.[1] But it is possible that the author of the *Gesta* found a suggestion for one of the items of the description of his hero in an adventure common to English heroes in history and romance, particularly to the hero of *King Horn*, to some version which he would seem to be indebted for other details in his Latin romance.[2] In having his hero adopt the traditional disguise of a minstrel, found in these works,[3] he doubtless found in one of them an account of how the hero disguised his blond hair, as his hero does. To aid in the escape of a princess, the sweetheart of his feudal lord, he disguises himself as a minstrel: "*per unguenta seipso transfigurato, mutataque fulvente caesarie in nigredinem.*" [4] Another time he presents himself under the name of his nephew to his own mistress, who, nevertheless, recognizes him:

> et diligenter intuita per oculorum acies et ex venusta facie et flavente caesarie corporisque efficacia, eum tandem agnovit.[5]

In the first of these passages, and in another passage of the same episode where the princess recognizes him under his disguise: '*nam ipsum statim illa per oculorum acies agnovit, nam in membrorum effigie ipsum esse Herewardum intellexit,*' [6] mention is made of the eyes of the hero. It may be that the expression '*acies oculorum*' is only a locution for the eyes themselves; but is it not more probable

[1] That is to say during the priorship of Simon, who was the "inventor Beati Amphibali," *Gesta* I, 183–194. On the source of the name of the saint, J. Loth, "Saint Amphibalus," *Rev. Celt.*, XI (1890–1), 148–9.

[2] Cf. F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, V (1894–7), 287b; M. Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, I (1906), 55–7; L. A. Hibbard, *Medieval Romances in English*, 1924, 90–3.

[3] A. Brandl, "Spielmannsverhältnisse in frühmittelenglischer Zeit," *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1910, 881–5, who has collected and discussed instances of the episode, has failed to include the episode in the *Gesta;* cf. K. Beug, "Die Sage von König Athelstan," Herrig's *Archiv*, CXLVIII (1925), 187.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, 349. Compare the means of which "Der Goldener" in popular tales, makes use to hide his golden hair, F. Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, 1901, 260ff.; J. Bolte u. G. Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, III (1918), 109–111.

[5] *Ed. cit.*, 357.

[6] *Ib.*, 351. As soon as she saw him: "notam formam rimatur, sed valde colorem miratur." In a similar episode in *King Horn*, ed. J. Hall, 1891, pp. 62 ff., the mistress of the hero recognizes him only after he had cleaned his face which he had stained. In the *Prise d'Orange*, ed. Jonckbloet, 376–381, 745–789, Guillaume au Court Nez, who disguised himself in the same way, was recognized at once by a pagan who had escaped from Nîmes, which had been captured by Guillaume.

that it refers to the sparkling glance of the eyes, a characteristic of heroes of divine origin in Old-Norse literature? [1] At any rate in these passages of the *Gesta*, no mention is made of the color of the eyes.

But there are other indications that the author of the *Gesta* used the redaction of the *Historia*, which was later to be the source of the *Wars of Alexander*. The passage in regard to the early youth of Hereward:

> inerat etiam illi a pueritia multa et fortitudo corporis: et perfectum virum hujus ex facultate statim in adolescenti forma virtutis ejus eum demonstrabat, et erat gratia fortitudinis e virtute animi in cunctis excellenter praeditus,[2]

had as its source a text of which the elements are found in a phrase of Julius Valerius:

> crescebat ergo, ut corporis gratia ita studiorum quoque et prudentiae maiestate, et cum his una regiae disciplinae,[3]

and in two phrases of redaction J^3 of the *Historia:*

> forma quippe illius vigorem et prudentiam quem in posterum habuit, ostendebat. . . . In scolis itaque vbi sedebat, pugnabat cum eis tam in litterin loquelis et velocitate obtinens principatum.[4]

A combination of these phrases gave the resulting text of J^{3a}, as translated in the English poem: [5]

> His felle figoure & his fourme fully be-takend
> þe prowis & þe grete pryse þat he a-preuyd eftire,
> His hardynes, his hyndelaike & his hetter myȝtis,[6]
> þe wirschip þat he wan quen he wex eldire . . .
> þus with his feris he faȝt as I fynd wreten,
> As wele in letter & in lere as any laike ellis . . .
> He had na pere in na place — þat proued so his tyme,
> For þe principalte of all þe pake he of a-prese wynnis.

[1] Cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, III, 111; P. Hermann, *Die Heldensagen des Saxo Grammaticus* (*Erläuterungen zu den ersten neun Büchern der dänischen Geschichte des Saxo Grammaticus*, Theil II), 1922, 134, n. 2. But, then, again, the author of the *Gesta* could have had in mind the description of Alexander's eyes in J^{3a}, where they were connoted as '*micantes.*'

[2] *Ed. cit.*, 341–2. [3] *Ed. cit.*, 12, 21–3. [4] *Ed. cit.*, *l. c.*

[5] *Ed. cit.*, vv. 613–16; 643–4; 647–8.

[6] Compare the phrase of the *Gesta*, in the passage cited p. 144, below: '*crudelis in opere, in ludo severus.*'

Further, one finds in the English poem an interpolation, a development of the phrase: '*in scolis itaque ubi sedebat pugnabat cum eis*,' of which the following verses form part:

> In absens of Arystotill if any of his feris
> Raged with him vnridly or rofe him with harme,
> Him wald he kenely on þe croune knok with his tablis,
> þat al to-brest wald þe bordis & þe blode folowe,
> If any scolere in þe scole his skorne at him makis,
> He skapis him full skathely bot if he skyp better.[1]

It would seem that the Latin original of this passage was the source of the account of the quarrelsome life of the youthful Hereward in the *Gesta:*

> crudelis in opere, et in ludo severus, libenter inter coetanos commovens bella, et inter majores aetate in urbibus et in villis saepe suscitans certamina, nullum sibi in ausibus et fortitudinum executionibus parem nec majores etiam aetate relinquens. Hic ergo dum in talibus adhuc juvenculus et multis majoribus animositatem progressibus de die in diem proficeret, et juvenis supra modum in viriles actus transcenderet, interdum nemini parcebat quem vel in fortitudine aliquantum rebellem suae virtutis cognoscebat seu in certamine.[2]

Further, it is evident that the author of the *Gesta*, in his account of the English hero going disguised as a potter to the court of the invading Norman conqueror, made use of the account in the *Historia* of Alexander's visit to the court of Darius, when he represented himself as his own ambassador. In that work Alexander is led into the banquet hall, where, to cite the text of J^2, instead of that of the printed edition of J^3,[3] which has omitted the equivalent of the most important word in the passage:

> Perses qui sedebant in convivio despexerunt staturam Alexandri eo quod parva esset, ignorantes qualis sapientia et qualis virtus et audacia erat in tali corpusculo.[4]

[1] *Ed. cit.*, 637–42. Henneman, *op. cit.*, 59–60, considered that this passage was an addition of the English poet, descriptive of the manners of the English schools of his time.

[2] *Ed. cit.* 342.

[3] *Ed. cit.*, fol. e i, recto, col. 1: "Perses vero videntes formam Alexandri, sapientiam, audaciam et fortitudinem, que in tali corpusculo latebat (*sic*) penitus ignorantes."

[4] *Ed. cit.*, 98, 20–26. The passage is missing in *Pr. Al.*, 47; in *W.A.* it is translated, 2930–3:

While at the banquet one of the Persian princes recognized him, and confirmed his suspicions:

quidam autem princeps Darii, cui nomen erat Anapolus, sedens in convivio intuebatur faciem Alexandri — viderat enim eum quando iussu Darii iuerat Macedoniam vt iussu ipsius tolleret censum a Phillippo. Hic intelligens vocem eius et figuram eius contemplans intra se cogitare et dicere cepit: "Nonne hic est Alexander?" [1]

In the *Gesta*, Hereward, when hawking his wares, is called into the kitchen to make a sale, where, notwithstanding his disguise: "*tonso crine et barba, lubricaque veste indutus*," [2] he is recognized by one of the officers of the palace:

ac quidam de praepositis villae forte superveniens, viso illo statim intulit, nunquam se vidisse virum sic facie Herwardo consimilem nec instar staturae illius, sicut egenus assimilari potest ingenuo et rusticus militi.[3]

So he had him brought into the main hall of the palace so that the assembled company might see him:

et diligenter intuitus, alii dicebant hominem tam mediocri staturae non esse tantae virtutis nec fortitudinis sicut fama de eo vulgatur.[4]

Alexander, as soon as the prince had voiced his suspicions to Darius:

statimque se erigens de loco suo extra triclinium exiliuit. Et accipiens flameam de manu cuiusdam Perse, ascendit equuñ suum quem inuenit ante palacium Darii alligatus et cursu velocissimo fugiebat. Perse vero videntes hec, omnes armati cum strepitu maximo ascenderunt et secuti sunt velociter Alexandrum. Sed cum nox esset obscura, ceperunt errare: alii ledebant facies suas per ramos arborum, alii foueas incidebant.[5]

> Þe popill of Persy opon þis prince waitis,
> Þe litillaike of his like lathely þat þai spyse;
> Bot þe wisedome & þe worthenes & of þe wale thewis
> Þat in þat cors was enclosed kend þai full litill.

[1] I cite from J^3, *ed. cit.*, e i, verso, coll. 1–2, of which the text is closely followed in *W.A.*, 2954–61, except in the last line: "'*Is þis noȝt Philip son þe first*'" which corresponds to the reading in J^1 and J^2: *N. iste est filius Philippi* (J^2: *Ph. f.*).

[2] *Ed. cit.*, 385. [3] *Ed. cit.*, 386. [4] *Ed. cit.*, *l. c.*

[5] In J^2, *ed. cit.*, 100, 4–7, Alexander "*inuenit quendam ex Persis tenentem in manu faculum. Percussit in capite et tollens ei faculum*," but since the phrase is not in *W.A.*, 2670–1, it was probably not in J^{3a}.

Hereward, when freed from suspicion on account of the smallness of his person, was dismissed to the kitchen, where, insulted and abused by the scullions, he kills with his fist one who had hit him and, when attacked by his fellows with kitchen utensils:

arrepto de foco hastile, contra omnes sese protexit uno eorum interfecto, plurimisque vulneratis.[1]

Arrested and about to be put in chains, he snatches a sword from the scabbard of one of his guards, kills him, and escapes from the rest. Free:

per sepes et foveas extra clam ad inferiorem curiam domus descendit, ubi jumentum suum repperit.[2]

He slays another of the royal servants who came in his way:

quo facto, multi secuti sunt eum, sed omnibus una erat persecutio tardior,

and, as Alexander did, escaped under the cover of night:

et sic vespertino tempore et in nocte lucescente luna.

If Alexander's horse drops dead in the river which he has to cross:

sed antequam exiret, dissolutus est fluvius, et equus eius absorbuit, et ipse cum difficultate maxima exiliuit,

in the *Gesta*, it is not Hereward, but one of Hereward's pursuers, who gets into difficulties in the forest:

ubi repente equus suus fessus succubuit, et ipse vix pedibus subsistere valuit.

Certainly, if the author of the *Gesta* based his work on an English original, he did not scruple to amplify the story he found there with episodes and phrases from a version of the well-known *Historia de preliis*.

Finally, the author of the *Gesta* found in the passage of his Latin original, which was the source of part of his description of his hero, a suggestion for the phrase in which he tells at what age the youthful Hereward was exiled from his native land:

in decimo octavo aetatis anno a patre et patria expulsus.[3]

[1] *Ed. cit.*, 386. [2] *Ib.*, 387. [3] *Ed. cit.*, 343.

According to a phrase added by the redactor of J^{1} [1] to Leo's enumeration of the years of Alexander's life and of the years he spent in war and peace,[2] which passed in turn without change into J^{2},[3] J^{3}, and doubtless into J^{3a}, it was at just that age that Alexander began his career as a conqueror:

ab octavo decimo nativitatis sue incepit committere bellum.[4]

III. THE DATES OF REDACTION J^{3} AND J^{3a}

The date of the *Gesta Herewardi* can be fixed pretty accurately. Its author was Richard, monk of the Benedictine monastery of Ely: "*Libro de Gestis Herewardi dudum a Doctissimo Fratre Nostro Beatae Memoriae Ricardo edito*," [5] according to the statement of Thomas, a monk of the same monastery, at the end of his summary of the Latin romance, in the second book of his *Historia Eliensis*.[6] Thomas completed his work, after another Richard,[7] author of a history of the monastery, the source of the third book of Thomas's history, had become prior, that is after 1177.[8] If Richard, the author of the *Gesta*, had been dead for several years at that date, his work could be dated 1150.[9] Consequently if he used J^{3a}, the interpolated redaction J^{3} of the *Historia de preliis*, it would be necessary to attribute to the J^{3} redaction a date anterior by an hundred years to 1236, when it served as the source of the Latin poem on Alexander

[1] *Ed. cit.*, 130, 15–18. [2] *Ed. cit.*, 265, 3–4. [3] *Ed. cit.*, 260, 4–9.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, fol. k vii, verso, col. 2. The only variant is "*cepit*" for "*incepit*" in J^{1} and J^{2}. The end of the *Wars of Alexander*, which contained the phrase, is missing, but in the prose version it is rendered: "*Fra þe twentid ȝere of his birthe he gaffe hym to warre*," *ed. cit.*, 114, 34. In the Latin compilation which serves as an introduction to the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Châtillon, is found the variant of the phrase: "*autem Allexander anno. 18. etatis incepit mundum subiugare*," which indicates the use of redaction J^{1}; A. Hilka, "Der Zauberer Neptanabus nach einem bisher unbekannten Erfurter Text," *Mitteil. d. schlesisch. Ges. f. Volkskunde*, XIII–XIV (1911–12), 198. For variants of the number in other versions, cf. J. Zacher, *Pseudocallisthenes*, 1867, 176; A. Ausfeld, *Der griech. Alexanderroman*, 1907, 121.

[5] Ed. D. J. Stewart (Anglia Christiana Society), 1848, 239 (Lib. II, cap. 108).

[6] *Ed. cit.*, 224–239: cf. Freeman, *op. cit.*, IV, 459, n. 2; Liebermann, *art. cit.*, *Neues Archiv*, XVIII, 242.

[7] Stewart, *op. cit.*, v–vi, and Liebermann, "Zur Geschichte Byrhtnots, des Helden von Maldon," Herrig's *Archiv*, CI (1898), 27, have made the two Richards the same person, an error corrected by M. Bateson, *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, XLII (1896), 198: LVI (1898), 173.

[8] Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Cayley, Ellis & Bandinel, I (1846), 467; Bateson, *l. c.*

[9] Cf. Liebermann, *art. cit.*, *Neues Archiv*, XVIII, 241–2.

by Quilichinus of Spoleto.[1] If J^{3a} was used as a source of the *Gesta ca.* 1250, it is necessary to assume that J^3 must have been well enough known several years before that date to serve as the basis of redaction J^{3a} of the *Historia*, and accordingly may be dated as early at least as the first quarter of the twelfth century. To establish the date of J^3 within the limits of a quarter of a century reduces to a minimum the very liberal date hitherto assigned to it, from the end of the eleventh century to 1236, that is, from the date of the composition of J^1 to that of the poem of Quilichinus.[2] That there were so many Continental vernacular versions of J^3 [3] can scarcely leave any doubt but that J^3 was of Continental origin. But since none of these vernacular versions I have had the opportunity to study show any indications of using the postulated redaction J^{3a}, — a source of the *Gesta Herewardi* and the original of two fifteenth-century English translations, *W. A.* and *Pr. Al.* —, the J^{3a} redaction may be safely accounted as the work of some English cleric. This is not surprising, considering the interest shown in England in the Alexander legend, including such compilations as that of the *Parua recapitulatio de eodem Alexandro et de suis*,[4] and the *Compilation of St Albans*, made at least as early as the twelfth century, the date of the earlier of the two manuscripts containing it.[5]

[1] Pfister, *art. cit.*, 287: P. Lehmann, "Quilichinus von Spoleto," *Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1918, 812–15.

[2] Cf. Pfister, *op. cit.*, 16, and Hilka's statement in his review of that work, *Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1916, 80: "J^3 fällt in die Zeit Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts bis 1236."

[3] Pfister, *art. cit.*, 284–5; *op. cit.*, 39.

[4] Hamilton, *art. cit.*, *Mélanges Antoine Thomas*, p. 199.

[5] F. P. Magoun, Jr, "The *Compilation of St Albans* and the Old-French Prose Alexander Romance," *Speculum*, I (1926), 225.

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THE SURVIVAL OF MEDIAEVAL INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS INTO EARLY MODERN TIMES

By LYNN THORNDIKE

THOSE external conditions of life which we call mediaeval largely persisted into early modern times or even until the French Revolution or the nineteenth century. In most parts of Europe the life of the peasant and the land system were little altered. In most towns the picturesque walls and towers, streets and houses, remained essentially unchanged, except that with the falling-off in population whole quarters might be deserted, or with the decline in taste charming Gothic arches, windows, columns, and ornamentation might be walled up, plastered over, cut through, or otherwise concealed and disfigured. To a large extent, save in royal capitals and new commercial centres, the old buildings were made to suffice. Thus, if a new school were opened, instead of occupying a new building, it would move into some half-ruined monastery or abandoned hospital. The feudal castles were battered down and dismantled only in the seventeenth century. If knighthood was not still in flower in the sixteenth century, nevertheless a captain of that time could say that a good cavalier on a good horse was as superior a being as there could be in this world.[1] The gild system was essentially the same in the seventeenth century as in the thirteenth,[2] and did not disappear on the continent of Europe until the French Revolution and the middle of the nineteenth century. Quaint old custom and procedure, popular festivals and liberties, had been reduced; artisans worked longer and were paid less; [3] in the gilds there was less charity [4]

[1] G. d'Avenel, *Les revenus d'un intellectuel de 1200 à 1913* (Paris: Flammarion, 1922), p. 274.

[2] Indeed, Espinas would put the period of its height in the fourteenth and fifteenth rather than the thirteenth century.

[3] E. Martin-Saint-Léon, *Histoire des corporations de métiers des origines jusqu'à 1791* 3rd. ed. (Paris: Alcan, 1922), pp. 501–502. It was especially from 1300 to 1550 that the condition and pay of artisans grew worse. In the seventeenth century they had a longer working day than in the thirteenth century, and their pay had not yet risen to correspond.

[4] On the general decline of charity in the sixteenth century see Lucien Romier, *Le royaume de Catherine de Médicis* (Paris: Perrin, 1922), II, 75. Various local histories might be adduced to the same effect.

and unity. Nor had the lot of the teacher and writer improved. But all this was in the nature of subtraction rather than alteration and innovation.

The point I wish to make is this: if the external conditions were still so largely mediaeval, why should thought change? If man is largely dependent for his ideas upon his environment, such new thought as there was in the early modern period will be found to be based upon, or connected with, new or newly discovered things: manuscripts of Greek tragedies and comedies, and of the essays of Plutarch and Lucian, new continents across the Atlantic, new scientific instruments like the telescope and microscope which opened up vast realms of nature to discovery. Otherwise the old thought and methods of thought might be expected to go on as before.

Much has been written, it is true, concerning the new spirit of the Renaissance and of the Reformation. But gradually it is becoming recognized that both the humanists and the reformers were singularly lacking in originality. As the seventeenth century opened, Hugo Grotius was the precocious pet of the humanistic circles in which moved Scaliger, Casaubon, and Heinsius. The first text he edited was that most early-mediaeval of all early-mediaeval works, the *De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii* of Martianus Capella; his first original poem was on a theme which had been repeatedly treated in the mediaeval religious drama.[1] Nevertheless it may be admitted that in the early modern centuries there was a certain turning away from mediaeval tradition. The humanist, philologer, or antiquarian became enamoured instead of the classical tradition; the reformer turned away in disdain from the traditions of the mediaeval church. Perhaps with most zest of all, absolute monarchs like Francis I cast aside the ancient laws of the realm and the solemn promises of their predecessors, riding roughshod over past privileges, franchises, and institutions, whether Estates, Parlement, or University. This break with the immediate past was undoubtedly important. But, except that it also seriously affected the fine arts, it was in the main limited to such fields as have already been mentioned.

[1] Wm. S. M. Knight, *The Life and Works of Hugo Grotius*, London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1925.

In other fields the course of development already initiated in the mediaeval centuries went on uninterrupted. There was no sufficient occasion, for instance, for a physician or a lawyer or a mathematician or a chemist or an optician or a clock-maker or a cartographer or a munition-manufacturer to reject the mediaeval foundations that had been laid for him. "It was a continuation of a mediaeval tradition," says Rashdall, "that made Montpellier and Padua the centres of European medicine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." [1] And "there were surgical writers at Bologna as early as the second half of the thirteenth century whose works continued in sufficient circulation to be included among the earliest productions of the Venetian press and to be often reprinted up to the middle of the seventeenth century." [2] "In political theory," Dr. Figgis states, "many of the mediaeval arguments and methods subsisted until the eighteenth century." [3]

The divisions of the field of knowledge, the classification of the different subjects studied, the main interests of the human mind, remained almost the same in early modern times as they had been in the thirteenth century. The humanism of the intervening centuries had added classical philology and antiquities, a more direct and ampler acquaintance with Greek; the new temper of the times and warring sects had added controversies — that was about all. The courses offered in universities, the titles of academic chairs, the subject headings employed in catalogues of libraries — all these remained but little altered. Lives of the saints and commentaries on the Sentences, liturgical works and ascetic treatises were generally abandoned by Protestants, but were still read and written by Catholics. With the secularization of the Reformation period more space in the academic curriculum was given to history and politics, but we must remember that mediaeval historiography had been abundant and that Aristotle's Politics and Economics had even been translated into French in the fourteenth century.

[1] Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895), I, 266.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 245.

[3] John Neville Figgis, *From Gerson to Grotius, 1414–1625* (Cambridge: University Press, 1916), p. 26.

Our main thesis may be excellently illustrated by the case of Descartes, the philosopher who is commonly represented as having made such a sharp break with mediaeval scholasticism. Yet even his celebrated "*Cogito, ergo sum,*" merely repeats one of the four states of certitude of Duns Scotus, the schoolman of the early fourteenth century. Descartes was opposed to over-much study and scorned the teachings of the schools. He would begin with a preliminary attitude of sweeping doubt as to all previous traditions and accepted knowledge, and then, by "the easy path" of the natural reason possessed by almost every man, "find in himself, and without borrowing from any, the whole knowledge which is essential to him in the direction of his life, and then by his study succeed in acquiring the most curious forms of knowledge that the human reason is capable of possessing." [1]

Yet we find Descartes concerned with many of the problems, topics, and notions which had occupied the attention of the science and philosophy of previous centuries. He employs such familiar captions of mediaeval physics as Meteorology and Dioptrics. He asks such an old type of question as, Why children and old people weep more easily than others. He repeats the old notion of the formation of animal spirits in the cavities of the brain. Indeed, it was not overthrown until the time of Gall in the nineteenth century. Descartes' doctrine of the pineal gland in the brain as the connecting link between soul and body reminds one of the explanation of thought as the opening and closing of "a particle of the substance of the brain similar to a worm," which we find in the ninth century Arabic treatise of Costa ben Luca, *On the Difference between Soul and Spirit.*[2] Costa ben Luca represented this particle as forming a sort of valve between the anterior and posterior ventricles, and held that when a man was in the act of recalling something to mind, this valve opened and the subtle spirits passed from the anterior to the pos-

[1] *The Philosophical Works of Descartes*, rendered into English by Elizabeth S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross (Cambridge: University Press, 1911), I, 305, from *The Search after Truth by the Light of Nature.*

[2] *Liber de differentia spiritus et animae:* for editions, manuscripts, and some further account of the treatise see my *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), I, 657–659.

terior cavity. Now hear Descartes' explanation: "Thus when the soul desires to recollect something, this desire causes the gland, by inclining successively to different sides, to thrust the spirits towards different parts of the brain until they come across that part where the traces left there by the object which we wish to recollect are found. . . ." [1]

The magnet and the rainbow played about as large a part in Descartes' philosophy as in mediaeval science. To the time-honored problem, Why is the sea not increased by the rivers flowing into it? he gives, not the modern answer, evaporation, but the answer which Ristoro d'Arezzo in the thirteenth century and others [2] since had given, Because the surplus water returns by underground passages to the tops of the mountains. Descartes still had faith in Aristotelian first causes, criticizing Galileo for merely investigating particular phenomena and forces and so building without a foundation. So we might go on to show how Descartes denied the existence of a vacuum, discussed such oft-discussed matters as quicksilver, sulphur, and bitumen, nitre and salts, how stones and minerals are produced by vapors ascending from the interior of the earth, how vermilion or *minium* is made — a stock paragraph in mediaeval chemical treatises and collections of recipes for painters, why the flame of the candle is pointed.

Descartes of course often offered a new explanation, but the fact remains that he was trying to answer the same old set of questions and observing the traditional classification of the arts and sciences. He was still as interested as the thirteenth century had been in the marvelous secrets of nature. Although in one place he states that it will be impossible for him to treat in detail of such matters as the phoenix,[3] he soon expresses a curiosity concerning even "apparitions, illusions, and in a word all the wonderful effects attributed to magic," and promises to gratify it. "Then I shall place before your eyes the works of man upon corporeal objects, and after having struck wonder into you by the sight of machines the most powerful,

[1] *The Philosophical Works of Descartes*, 1911, I, 350, from *The Passions of the Soul.*

[2] See pp. 198–199 of my paper, "The *De Constitutione Mundi* of John Michael Albert of Carrara," *The Romanic Review*, XVII (1926), pp. 193 ff.

[3] *Philosophical Works*, 1911, I, 309, from *The Search after Truth, cit. supra.*

and automata the most rare, visions the most specious, and tricks the most subtle that artifice can invent, I shall reveal to you secrets which are so simple that you will henceforward wonder at nothing in the works of our hands." [1] These words sound almost like a literal translation of some sentence from the treatise ascribed to Roger Bacon "On the Secret Works of Art and Nature and the Nullity of Magic." Descartes was not without faith in such time-worn marvels and ancient superstitions as the inexhaustible lamps supposed to burn for centuries without addition of new fuel, or the bleeding of the wounds of a corpse at the approach of the murderer.[2] He was confident that his Method could offer satisfactory explanation of the truth of such marvels.

Finally, before taking leave of Descartes, let us recall that even his claim to be the inventor of analytical geometry must be discounted, since Nicholas Oresme had already made use of coördinates in the fourteenth century.[3] Oresme had also employed fractional exponents for powers,[4] an innovation formerly attributed to the sixteenth-century mathematicians, Vieta and Stevin.

These cases illustrate the truth that not only were many intellectual interests of the middle ages perpetuated in the early modern centuries, but that what have been acclaimed as new discoveries resulting from the free spirit of the Renaissance and the Reformation were often mere revivals of, or improvements upon, ideas which had already been broached in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Duhem has traced the use made by Leonardo da Vinci in his scientific thought of the previous mediaeval literature, and shown that his geological ideas, for example, were largely taken from Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth, and Albert of Saxony in the fourteenth century.[5] Cardan was influenced in his turn by da Vinci, while Palissy plagiarized from Cardan. Torricelli, Galileo's private secre-

[1] *Philosophical Works*, 1911, I, 311.

[2] *Principles*, IV, 187: in C. Adam and P. Tannery, *Œuvres de Descartes*, 12 vols., Paris: Cerf., 1897–1910.

[3] In the *Tractatus latitudinum formarum*, printed Padua, 1486; Venice, 1505; or the *Tractatus de figuratione potentiarum et mensurarum difformitatum*.

[4] In the *Algorismus proportionum*, ed. Maximilian Curtze, Berlin, 1868, whose *Mathematische Schriften des Nicole Oresme*, Berlin, 1870, may also be consulted.

[5] Pierre Duhem, *Études sur Léonard de Vinci; ceux qu'il a lus et ceux qui l'ont lu*, Paris, 1906, 1909, 1913, 3 vols.

tary and demonstrator by his famous experiment of the possibility of a vacuum, in his dynamics often used the reasoning and even the very wording of Jean Buridan, the Parisian schoolman of the fourteenth century.[1] Gesner and Cardan made large use of Albertus Magnus. The thirteenth-century work of Bartholomew of England *On the Properties of Things*,[2] intended by its author only as a handy compilation, was the chief source of scientific information for writers of the Elizabethan age. Mary P. Ramsay has pointed out the mediaeval doctrines in the English poet, Donne, of the seventeenth century.[3] Knight has shown that Grotius' work *On the Law of War and Peace* covered ground already repeatedly trod by the schoolmen.[4] Anatomy and physiology did not begin with Vesalius and Harvey. Guy de Chauliac in the fourteenth century, and the earlier writers whom he cites, possessed anatomical knowledge which has been commonly ascribed to a later period.

Nor did the men of the later centuries always fail to recognize the greatness of their predecessors. Gabriel Naudé in the seventeenth century notes that Scaliger and Cardan in the sixteenth put Richard Suiseth or Swineshead, the "Calculator," of the fourteenth century, in the rank of the ten rarest wits that the world had ever known.[5] Regiomontanus has usually been represented, perhaps especially by German historians, as having resuscitated mathematics from the gloom and neglect of the middle ages. He was better appreciated by Cardan who did not regard him as much of an originator, asserting that he had taken his *Tabulae directionum* in large part from Johannes de Blanchinis of the fourteenth century, his *Epitome* from a still earlier mediaeval writer of Milan, and his treatise on Spherical Triangles from a Hebrew of Spain.[6]

[1] Duhem, *op. cit.*, III, vii. [2] See Ch. 54 of my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*.

[3] *Les doctrines médiévales chez Donne, le poète métaphysicien de l'Angleterre*, 1573–1631, 2me éd. (London: Oxford University Press, 1924).

[4] Wm. S. M. Knight, *The Life and Works of Hugo Grotius* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1925), chapter on the *De iure belli et pacis*.

[5] G. Naudé, *Instructions concerning the erecting of a library, interpreted by Jo. Evelyn* (London, 1661), p. 51. This translation was reprinted by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, in 1903.

[6] P. Gassendi, *Tychonis Brahei equitis Dani astronomorum coryphaei vita. Accessit Nicolai Copernici, Georgii Peurbachii et Joannis Regiomontani astronomorum celebrium vita* (Paris, 1654), p. 363.

The mediaeval regard for such ancient authorities as Aristotle, Galen, and Ptolemy was not diminished by the classical Renaissance and Protestant Reformation. Sometimes the sixteenth century seems guilty of a blinder adhesion to the letter of such authorities than had previously been the case. Duhem held that the archaic Italian Renaissance brought into honor again doctrines of Aristotle and Averroës which had been abandoned about 1300.[1] John Dryander, in his 1540 edition of the Italian anatomist, Mundinus, of the early fourteenth century, was shocked to find that his author did not always follow Aristotle and Galen (as if they had always been in agreement among themselves!) and he presumed to correct Mundinus by citing Galen.[2] When Francis I in 1544 by royal edict condemned both of the recent works of Ramus against Aristotle and forbade him henceforth to attack Aristotle or other approved authors, his sympathizers held that this was an unprecedented assault upon academic freedom, and that it had hitherto been no crime to oppose Aristotle.[3] Henceforth, however, it was to be, at least in Paris, where as late as 1642 the Sorbonne and Parlement censured certain men for attacking the Aristotelian doctrine of form, matter, and substantial forms.[4] Luther for a time indulged in violent vituperation of Aristotle,[5] but he was much irritated when Carlstadt and Melancthon took his invective literally instead of in a Pickwickian sense.[6] By 1535 Melancthon had seen the light and was convinced that without Aristotle "pure philosophy cannot be retained or indeed any right system of teaching or learning," and that "Aristotle wrote so eruditely of civil customs that nothing more is needed." [7] For a long time thereafter the Aristotelian logic, physics,

[1] Duhem, *Études sur Léonard de Vinci* III, v.

[2] At fols. 445 and 675. Dr George Sarton suggests that Niccolò Falcucci (died 1411) may have been the first author to proclaim Galen's anatomical infallibility.

[3] Audomar Talaeus, quoted in *Joannis Launoii de varia Aristotelis in academia parisiensi fortuna liber* (Paris, 1662), pp. 255–256.

[4] J. de Launoy, *De varia Aristotelis in academia parisiensi fortuna*, 1662, p. 310.

[5] Io. Heremannus ab Elswich, *De varia Aristotelis in scholis Protestantium fortuna schediasma*, 1720, pp. 20–25.

[6] Laurentius Surius, *Commentarius brevis rerum in orbe gestarum 1500–1568*, 1568, p. 150.

[7] Elswich (1720), pp. 36, 38. On the general question of the Protestant attitude to Aristotle see further Gius. Saitta, *La scolastica del secolo XVI e la politica dei gesuiti* (Turin: Bocca, 1911), pp. 41–50.

and philosophy remained as firmly intrenched in most Protestant as in Catholic schools. Even so critical a spirit as Pierre Bayle, when he became professor of philosophy at Sedan in 1676, continued to follow Aristotle in logic and morals, though introducing the Cartesian physics, while his metaphysics remained scholastic with some attention to Cartesianism.[1]

The good old mediaeval teaching of dialectic received severe punishment at the hands of Renaissance critics and satirists, but appears to have taken it all and come back smiling. When the Collège de Guienne was instituted in 1533 at Bordeaux, it was regarded as a progressive, humanistic enterprise, and Tartas, its first principal, was represented as going south to revive learning, accompanied by twenty-one teachers of Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. As a matter of fact, only one or two of them knew any Greek, while Hebrew was never taught at the school. However, disputations were abandoned, and the emphasis was on the Latin classics. Nevertheless, dialectic was taught from the start, and although Nicholas de Grouchy at first dictated his lectures in Greek, he concluded by using the Latin Aristotle of Joachim Périon. The pupils were dissatisfied with his successor in the chair of dialectic, and we find efforts being made to secure someone qualified to comment on Aristotle in Latin. This might sound as if good teachers of logic were becoming scarce, but at the beginning of the next century, when the study of Greek had been dropped from the curriculum, we find that the principal of the school was a Scot named Balfour whose most important work, published in 1616, was a commentary on the *Organon* of Aristotle.[2]

Similarly in the field of medicine there was at first a marked tendency in the late fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century to revert to the Greek text of Hippocrates and Galen, and to cast aside the great Arabic medical writers of the intervening period. This movement, however, never went very far, and was soon seen to be an antiquarian retrogression rather than modern progress. The normal trend of early modern medicine was rather to continue, with

[1] J. Delvolvé, *Essai sur Pierre Bayle* (Paris, 1906), p. 29 et seq.
Ernest Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, Paris, 1874.

occasional innovations such as those of Paracelsus, the methods and matter of the numerous mediaeval works and Latin translations. Since the later mediaeval centuries had seen no little progress in anatomy, medicine, and surgery, this situation cannot be called one of mediaeval stagnation, although it perhaps became stagnation in the subsequent centuries. Be that as it may, we find the candidates for degrees or professorial appointment at Montpellier in 1574 defending theses which can generally be duplicated in the works of the Jewish physician Isaac of the tenth century or of Petrus Hispanus and Pietro d'Abano in the thirteenth.[1] These questions were argued theoretically or scholastically from the usual premises of ancient and mediaeval science and their *Weltanschauung*. This may be further illustrated by quoting the forms followed by candidates for the doctorate at Padua in 1642 and 1665 A.D., as preserved in two manuscripts of the Sloane collection of the British Museum.

Relying on the inspiration of the divine spirit and your good will, O most wise fathers, I enter on explanation of the points assigned me by lot by the most illustrious presiding officer for today's examination, in expounding which I follow the received order in this dear university and proffer four things. First, I will show the connection of the text with what went before. Second, I'll expose the author's meaning. Third, I'll divide the text into parts. Fourth, I'll explain the various parts and, if any matters

[1] *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, ed. A. Germain, vol. II, 1912. See the Theses of François Sanchez of 2–4 August, 1574, with notes of the argument jotted down by the examiner, and the Theses of Jean Blazin of 7–9 October, 1574. Among the questions discussed are:

Which meal should be the more frugal, dinner or supper?
Is man of hotter constitution than woman?
Is the vital faculty different from the animal?
Is respiration necessary to all animals?
Is wine or water more healthful?
Is purging or bleeding more suited to children?
Is vomiting or purging the better treatment for dysentery?
Should bread be eaten with garden fruits?
Is the flesh of poisonous animals poisonous to eat?
Is a wound from contusion properly cured by agglutinating remedies?
Are purging and bleeding good for virulent stings and bites?
Is suppuration caused by unnatural heat?
Do heavy and foetid odors help those who are suffocating?

These may be compared with questions from Petrus Hispanus and Peter of Abano, given in my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 504–505, 886–87.

are worthy of consideration, I'll note them too. I have to interpret a two-fold point, one philosophical, the other medical. The philosophical is from the second book of Aristotle's Physics, and its opening words are: "Quasi natura sit principium . . ." The medical is from the *Ars Parva* of Galen, chapter 43, opening, "Humidius autem et frigidius. . . ."

I come then to the first part of the text, in which Aristotle thus defines nature, that it is the principle and cause of motion and of that rest in which it is first and *per se* and not *secundum accidens.* Moreover, that nature is the principle of motion and rest may be confirmed by this argument: whatever gives the essence to things, gives likewise the operations following the essence. But nature gives things their essence, ergo etc. The major (premise) is clear; for whatever immediately constitutes a cause, the same also immediately constitutes the effect. The minor (premise) is proved by this reasoning. If nature is both the matter of natural things and their form, it also gives them their essence. But the former is true, and hence the latter also. A second argument that I adduce is that whatever is the principle and cause of increase and alteration and progression, the same is the principle of motion and rest. But nature etc., ergo etc. . . .

In another case the candidate is assigned the problem of a youth of hot and dry temperament laboring with intermittent fever complicated by headache. His diagnosis is that the patient has a hot and dry distemper of the heart and entire body, caused by bilious humour putrefying outside the veins in two places. The headache comes from bilious and putrid vapor affecting the brain. Hence the patient requires cold and wet treatment, riddance of the putridity and inhibition of further putrifying by means of attenuating, abstergent, incident, and imminuent remedies, with cordials and liver-pills. Hippocrates is cited to the effect that the disease is not perilous and that a cure may be hoped for. The candidate for the doctorate advises bleeding from the basilic vein of the right arm as much as the patient's constitution will permit.[1]

It should not be thought, however, that the observance of such forms was necessarily incompatible with observation and experiment. The very man who in 1583 had an anatomical theater con-

[1] In the foregoing paragraphs I have followed the Latin text in Sloane MS. 727, fols. 47r–48r, and fol. 50r–v, *Forma recitandorum punctorum et casuum in gymnasio Patavino,* 1642 A.D. Essentially the same is Sloane 2880, fols. 97–115v, *Methodus resolvendorum casuum pro doctoratu in gym. Patav.,* 1665 A.D. Similar MSS occur in other collections.

structed at Padua, at the same time renewed the practice of disputations which had begun to flag.[1]

In Roman Catholic lands scholastic theology also, which has often been represented as moribund in the fourteenth century, continued to hold its own into the eighteenth. The University of Salamanca was the great centre of Thomism in the sixteenth century. There is a tradition that Duns Scotus was buried alive. Certainly his soul went marching on in many a subsequent disputation and tome. And as his corpse was repeatedly exhumed — in 1476, 1509, 1619, 1642, and 1706[2] — so his philosophy was repeatedly revived. One such occasion was in the seventeenth century when the teaching of two young scholars from southern Italy spread like wildfire through all the Scotist schools.[3] The professors of the University of Rome from 1580 to 1690 were active in publishing works on the philosophy and theology of Aquinas,[4] while Scotism found defenders still in the eighteenth century.

Let us turn very briefly to yet other sides of education. In the schools of Champagne in the second half of the sixteenth century reckoning was still taught by the means of jetons or counters in the mediaeval manner.[5] The old mediaeval textbooks also continued long in use. That meagre epitome of astronomy, the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco, written in 1244, was still taught at the University of Montpellier in 1608. The logic of Paul of Venice, who had a great reputation as an astronomer and philosopher in the early fifteenth century but seems to have done little more than reproduce earlier mediaeval authors, found, according to Momigliano, a last refuge in the schools of the Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth cen-

[1] See in a Venetian MS., S. Marco Ms. Lat. Classis I, cod. 106, in the dedication of Antonius Riccoboni's *In Epist. Pauli ad Rom.* to Laurentius Massa the following passage quoted by Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*, 1868, I, 254: "qui cum rei litterariae triumviris esset a secretis, ad res invisendas, post vacationes autumnales anni 1583 Patavium missus, de anatomico theatro construendo egit; idemque encyclicas disputationes, quae frigere coeperant, disputandi tempore atque ordine constituto, rursus excitavit ratasque fecit."

[2] See the long article on Scotus in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXV, 409 et seq.

[3] Ant. Mongitore, *Bibliotheca Sicula* (Palermo, 1708–1714), I, 112–113.

[4] Gius. Caraffa, *De gymnasio romano* (Rome, 1751), pp. 464–477.

[5] M. Poinsignon, *Histoire générale de la Champagne et de la Brie*, 2d ed., Châlons, 1896–1898, 3 vols.

turies.[1] Boethius was the text in music at Oxford in the eighteenth century. The brief compendium of the philosophy of Albertus Magnus entitled *Philosophia pauperum* was being used at the University of Cracow in 1777.

Alchemy, astrology, and other occult sciences continued on much the same path as they had followed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and men of note in science and thought still were not above lending a favorable ear or even pen to their claims. The works of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, Porta, and Cardan contain almost no superstition not found in previous works. A Giordano Bruno, an Achillini, a Bodin, a Kepler, a Francis Bacon, a Robert Boyle, all had their little weaknesses in these matters. Such a doctrine as that of Bodin concerning climate, instead of constituting a new modern contribution is little more than a borrowing from mediaeval astrology, whose last sighs have sometimes been mistaken for the first breath of a geographical interpretation of history.

Finally, let us note that, despite the absorption of the humanists in classical history and antiquities, there was much historical interest in the mediaeval past manifested from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Familiar enough to us perhaps is the appeal to history made by Protestants and Catholics and reflected in such rival enterprises as the Magdeburg Centuries and the Annals of Baronius; sufficiently familiar, too, the patriotic national histories and the publication of royal records. But there were also numerous works written upon the past of individual towns and localities, of universities and learned professions. At a time when centralization and unification in a few courts and capitals took away the life and power of the old local centres, it was natural that they should seek solace in a review of their historic past. At a time when absolute monarchy or foreign domination allowed few men the active exercise of citizenship, it was not strange that much intellectual rather than political history was written. And such works almost always convey the impression of intellectual continuity between the mediaeval centuries and their own times.

[1] Felice Momigliano, *Paolo Veneto e le correnti del pensiero religioso e filosofico nel suo tempo* (Udine, 1907), p. 125.

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A NEST OF ANCIENT NOTAE

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THE history of mediaeval abbreviations, sketched vividly in its main outlines by Traube,[1] and supplemented with all manner of facts and observations by Lindsay,[2] will doubtless prove a fascinating field for palaeographical investigation for years to come. To study abbreviations meant formerly the mere consulting of lists and lexicons for help in the deciphering of manuscripts. At present, we trace a record of development that, like palaeography in general, has acquired the character of a biological science, save that the workings of natural law are furthered by human invention. We start with a few ancient *notae*, and the symbols of sacred names, and watch the elaboration, for which the Irish are specially to be thanked, of an intricate system that came into ever-widening circulation as the Middle Ages advanced. This statement is doubtless too simple. At least it may lead us to imagine that scribes had refrained from extensive abbreviations till the Irish showed them the way. To-day with the art of printing and all-too-much paper at our disposal, we can save the reader's time by spelling out the words for him. It must have been as true in antiquity as in the Middle Ages, when time was more and writing-material less plentiful than now, that the latter, not the former, was matter for economy on the part of the scribe. In that case, presumably, he would resort to symbols of abbreviation.

It has long been known that a fairly extensive set of symbols was employed by the writers of law-books. These symbols were therefore

[1] "*Nomina Sacra*," *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, II (1907).

[2] *Notae Latinae. An account of abbreviations in Latin MSS. of the early minuscule period (c. 700–850)*, Cambridge: University Press, 1915. After this article was in type, the admirable brochure of Luigi Schiaparelli, "Avviamento allo Studio delle Abbreviature Latine nel Medioevo" (Firenze: Olschki, 1926), was kindly sent to me by its learned author. Finding the present article, to my great delight, in substantial agreement with Professor Schiaparelli's views, I have made no changes in it whatsoever, reserving a few points for discussion in my review of his book, *Speculum*, II, (1927), 105–06.

not unnaturally called *notae iuris*.[1] But Lindsay pointed out that they were not confined to books of law. He declares that "they were in constant use in non-calligraphic writing, and that it is only the loss of early writing of this kind which hides the continuity from us." He refers to two manuscripts as "lifting the veil" that separates us from that early time. In either case the scribe had before him an ancient text in which abbreviations apparently abounded. One of these books is Milan, *Ambros. C. 301, inf.*, a Latin translation, very possibly by St Columban, of Theodorus' commentary on the *Psalms*, probably written at Bobbio in the eighth century. The other is a copy of St Augustine's *Letters* made in Insular, probably Anglo-Saxon, minuscule at the monastery of St Bertin and now preserved at Boulogne, *Bibl. Publ. 63–64.*[2]

Still another manuscript whose significance was first revealed by Lindsay[3] is *Vat. Pal. lat., 1753*, which contains the *Grammatica* of Marius Victorinus, and other works. This is a book of Lorsch not later than the first half of the ninth century.[4] It was copied directly from an original in uncials. The scribes have sometimes directly reproduced the original symbols and sometimes just as clearly indicated their presence by erroneous attempts at resolving them. Fragments of the uncial writing, reproduced with careful pains because not understood, betray the nature of the script of the original. Lindsay uses this new clue to guide the critic through the labyrinth of the text. He finds[5] nine tenths of the manuscript's corrupt readings to be misinterpretations of ancient *notae*, and points to the broader bearings of his discovery. For when to the law-books we add this grammatical work, and a commentary on the *Psalms* and the letters of St Augustine, we may well suspect the presence of abbreviations even in Classical texts. That is in fact the case in a non-calligraphic text of certain speeches of Cicero[6] and in the marginalia of well-known manuscripts of Virgil and Terence dating from

[1] Various lists of these are printed by H. Keil in *Grammatici Latini*, IV, 277–352.

[2] *Notae Latinae* (= *N. L.*), p. 3.

[3] See his paper, "A New Clue to the Emendations of Latin Texts," *Classical Philology*, XI (1916), 270 ff.

[4] See his discussion of "The (Early) Lorsch Scriptorium," *Palaeographia Latina*, III (1924), 15.

[5] *Classical Philology* (= *C. P.*), XI, 275.

[6] *Oxyr. Pap.* 1097 +1251+ *Pap. greci e lat. 20;* see *N. L.*, p. 2.

imperial times.[1] With such evidence before us we can look back into the obscure past and be fairly confident that *éditions de luxe* like the Vatican Virgils give no indication of how scribes could abbreviate in antiquity when they wished to. In less sumptuous books, we may infer, abbreviations could be abundant.

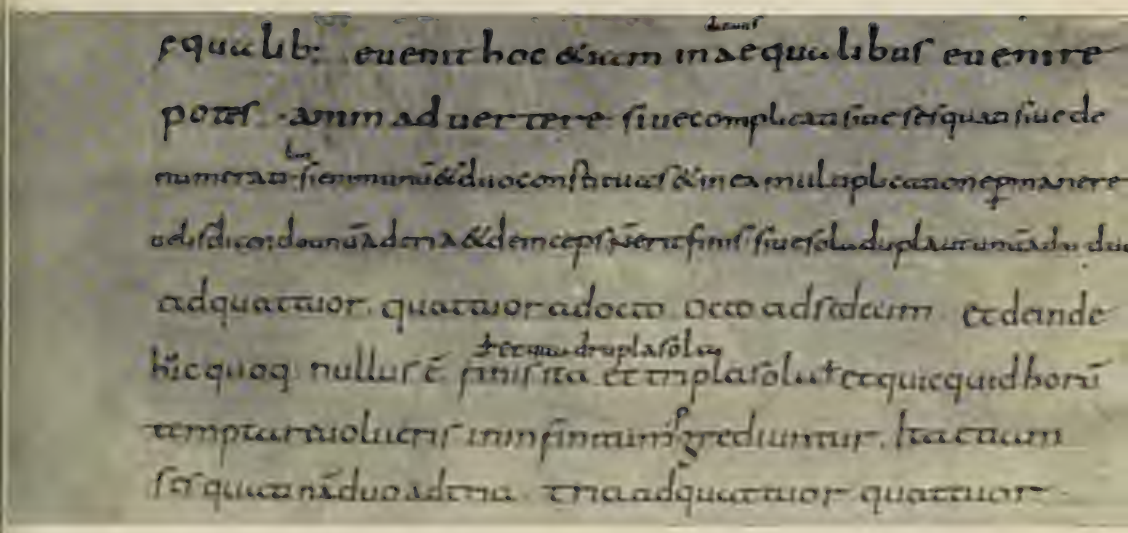
To the sources described by Lindsay one addition can be made, a manuscript of Tours, *Bibl. Publ. 286*, containing St Augustine's *De Musica*.[2] I examined this book in the summer of 1925, and would take this chance to express my gratitude to the librarian, Mons. G. Collon for his many courtesies to me. I will add little to the account of the manuscript given by the elder Mons. Collon in Vol. XXXVII of the *Catalogues des Départements*, save to say that the script in, my opinion, is Pre-Alcuinian, by which I mean that whatever the exact date of the book, it illustrates the style that had prevailed just before the arrival of Alcuin. Of course we must allow for the possibility that the manuscript was written somewhat later by scribes unaffected by the reform, conspicuous, for instance, in the Bible of Bamberg, whatever may be the date of that book. When, however, a book is the work of several scribes, as is the case here, and shows throughout the same general tendencies, it is more natural to think of its style as characteristic of the period when it was written than to call it a survival of an earlier style which had given place to some new variety. We are often asked to picture an aged scribe or groups of scribes who could not be taught new tricks. They doubtless existed. But most scribes were adaptable, I imagine, and soon fell in with the new way. For instance, take the work of almost any of the nine or ten scribes who wrote the Vatican Livy, especially Fredegaudus, Aldo, Nauto, and Theogrimnus.[3] If

[1] *NL*, p. 2.

[2] The photographs from which the plates were made were taken by a reputable photographer of Tours; but much to my dismay I found later, on comparing them with the manuscript, that no attention had been paid to my instructions to photograph each page in the original size. Plate V (fol. 69^{v}), by good luck, is only slightly reduced (211 × 141 mm. for the text-space to 205 × 138 mm.) and gives a satisfactory idea of the original. The other specimens here shown are reduced in varying amounts, as can be seen by comparing them with Plate V. They suffice at least to exhibit the abbreviations.

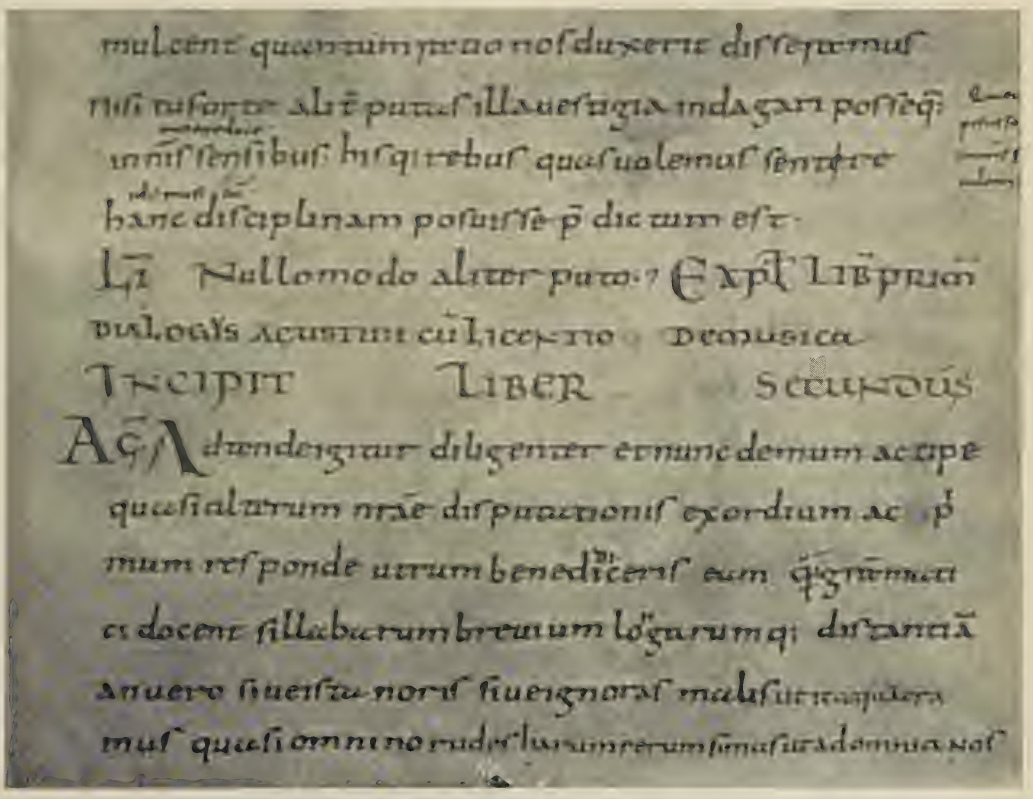
[3] See Rand and Howe, "The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours," *Memoirs of American Academy in Rome*, 1 (1917), 39 (on the number of the scribes) and Plates 3, 4, 7, 9, 10.

PLATE I (A)



TOURS, MS. 286, FOL. 13 v

PLATE I (B)



TOURS, MS. 286, FOL. 20

the director of the scriptorium should instruct these scribes merely to do *always* what they already *often* do, — to avoid ligatures and to practise the closed form of *a*,— they would all turn out a minuscule quite the peer of that of the chief hand of the Bamberg Bible.[1] Had this new principle, which I call Regular, been proclaimed, they could have mastered it with a week's practice. Some of the other scribes of the Livy, particularly Ansoaldus and "Landemarus II," [2] would have required considerably more training or even would never have acquired the new manner. They would have been the "left-overs," and would have been occasionally employed for "filling in." It seems to me improbable that an entire book of any importance would have been entrusted to a group of this sort. Whatever the date at which the reform was achieved, there are no signs of it in either the Vatican Livy or Tours *286*.[3]

MS. 286 is in the main the work of two hands, of which *A* writes most of foll. 1–58 and *B* most of foll. 59–115. *A* is spelled by a third hand, *C*, for a few lines on fol. 13, by a fourth, *D*, on fol. 54 and some of the succeeding pages, while other scribes may have relieved *B* from time to time. If the reader will compare Plates Ib and II with a page of Fredegaudus,[4] he will find something very similar. Similarly, Hand *B* suggests that of Aldo very nearly.[5] *C* is not quite like anything in the Vatican Livy, unless it is the hand of Theogrimnus,[6] while *D* is nearer to that of Theodegrimus [7] than any other of the writers of the Livy. The more I study the photographs of these two books, the more I am impressed with the general similarity of their style. Further comparison might well show that Aldo and

[1] See Rand and Howe, *op. cit.*, Plate 2. [2] Plates 12 and 14.

[3] The reader should of course weigh the words of my friend Dom Wilmart in his brilliant paper in *Speculum* 1 (1926), 269–78. With regard to the manuscript which he discusses there, Chartres *24*, I should be induced from the nature of the script to date the book much nearer the end than the beginning of the abbacy of Fridugisus (804–834). On the basis of Dom Wilmart's calculations, Audradus would have been about fifty at the time. He was certainly an expert scribe. The traits that incline me to put the book late rather than early could readily have been mastered by one who had learned the Regular style when he was considerably younger.

[4] See Plate 8 in the "Vatican Livy."

[5] Compare Plates IV and V with Plate 3 of the "Vatican Livy."

[6] Plate Ia; Plates 9, 10 ("V. L.").

[7] Plate III; Plates 10, 11 ("V. L.").

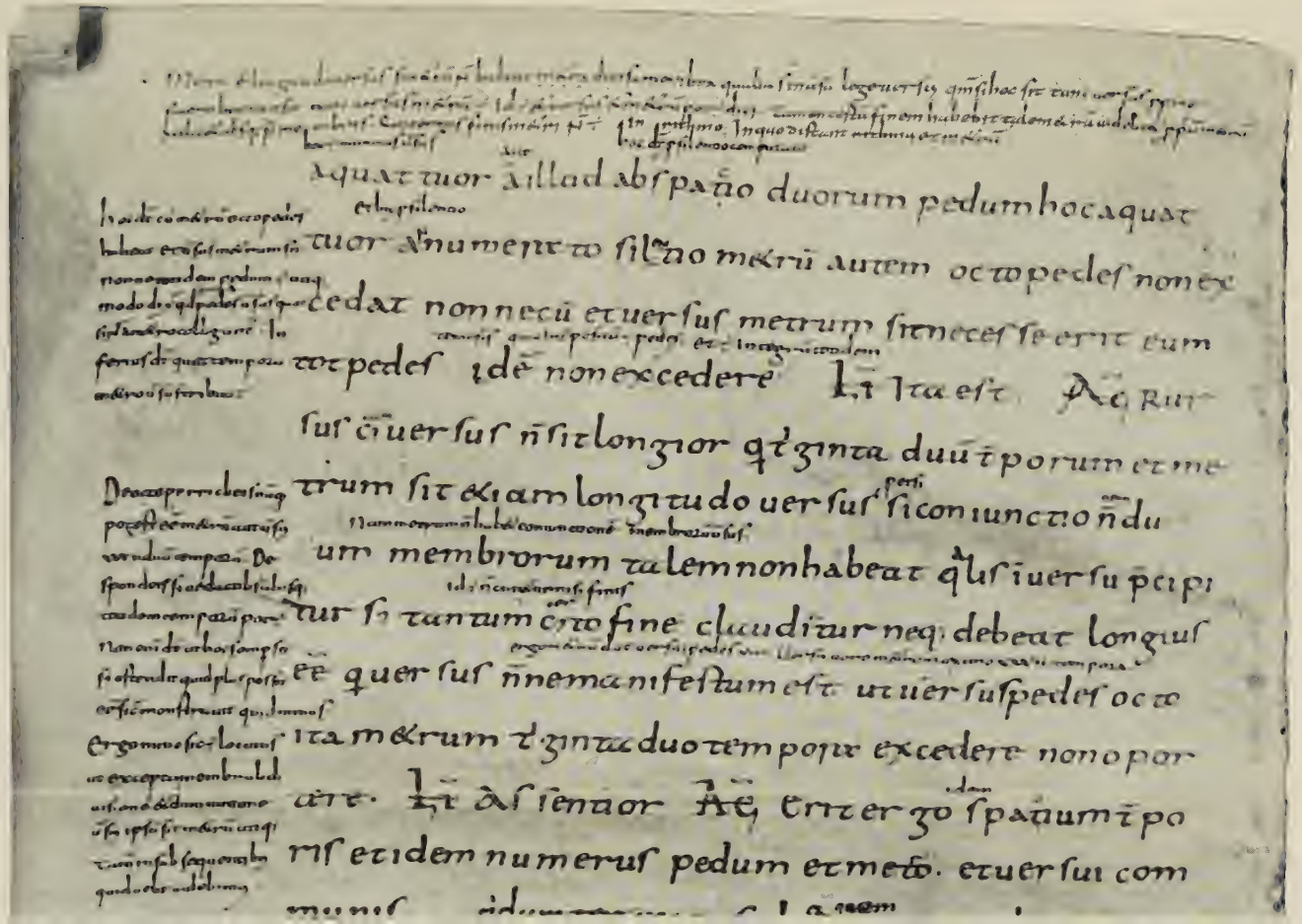
Fredegaudus were the two main scribes of *286*. A glance at the majuscules employed for headings in both books reveals a striking sameness; particularly noticeable is a little fork, or notch, at the base of certain letters.[1] I feel certain at least that the Vatican Livy and the Tours St Augustine are both products of the scriptorium of St Martin's made during the period — whatever its limits — that I call "Pre-Alcuinian."

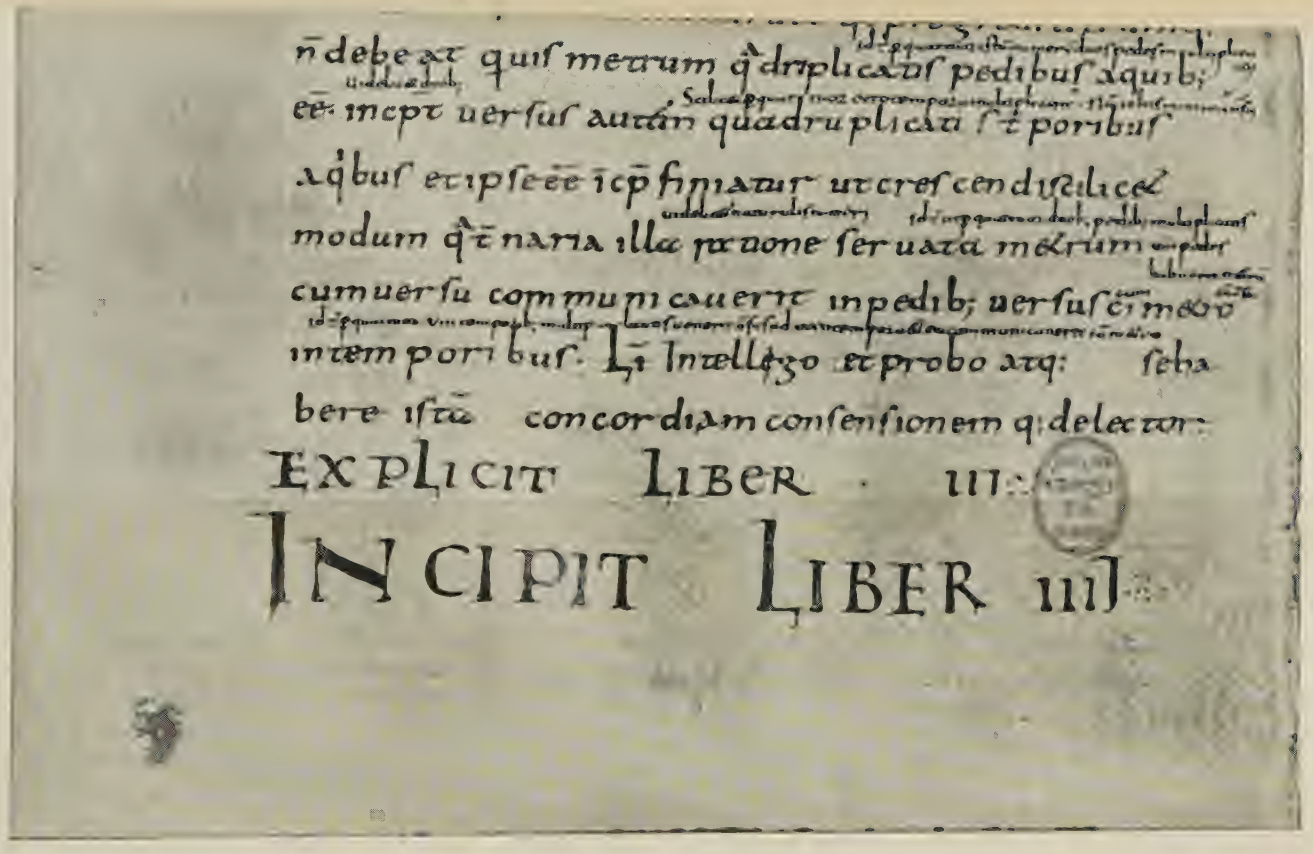
The text is accompanied by elaborate interlinear and marginal glosses, comments, corrections and resolutions of the ancient symbols of abbreviations which run through the manuscript. Whether these notes are contemporary or a bit later, the scholiast had access, I believe, to the original from which the text was copied, and it may be that some of the glosses or variants that he introduced had descended from antiquity. Some interpretations, and misinterpretations, are his own. The abbreviations that he uses in his own text and in his resolutions of the ancient symbols evidently represent the general usage at Tours in his day. They are what we should expect in a continental scriptorium at the beginning of the ninth century. I will note merely that in the abbreviation of *-tur* the apostrophe-sign is invariably used.[2] The work of this scholiast should be published in complete form and his matter sifted.

I now will give a list of ancient *notae* of which this book is full. This list, though doubtless not complete, is at least representative. I began by noting only the symbols most clearly ancient, but especially after a study of the photographs at my disposal, I was led to suspect that all or nearly all the abbreviations found in *MS. 286* were also in the original; both of the chief scribes followed the ancient text with scrupulous care. A more minute investigation of the book is essential, but I can offer a substantially true picture of its character. I refrain from giving page-references except in special cases; if nothing is said, the reader may conclude that the symbol in question is employed by both of the main writers of the book. It may also be understood, unless otherwise stated, that all the symbols listed

[1] Compare Plates Ib, II, V with 3, 4, 5 of the "Vatican Livy."

[2] In *Speculum* II (1927) 52–65, I have published a few notes on this and the figure-2 symbol, in an attempt to show that the latter may have been known at Tours considerably before 820. See Lindsay, *N. L.*, pp. 372 ff.





n̄ debeat quis metrum q̄ duplicatis pedibus aquib;
ee incpt uersus autem quadruplicati s t̄ poribus
aq̄bus et ipse ee īcp̄ finiatur ut crescendi scilicet
modum q̄ t̄ naria illa ratione seruata metrum
cum uersu communicauerit in pedib; uersus ci metro
in temporibus. Li Intellego et probo atq: se ha
bere istā concordiam consensionem q: delector:

EXPLICIT LIBER III:

INCIPIT LIBER IIII

Tours, MS. 286, Fol. 49v

are regarded as *notae antiquae* by Lindsay, whose treatment should be consulted in every case. I annex a star (*) to those symbols that are never or only very rarely used by the Irish, and two stars (**) to symbols which to the best of my observation Lindsay has not included.

aut = *a* with suprascript horizontal stroke.[1]

autem = *aut* with stroke. Generally not abbreviated.

* *cum* = *c* with an apostrophe placed at the side of the letter, not above it. See Plates II, V.

dicit = *dit* with stroke, fol. 112^{v}. Lindsay's examples are mainly from books in Insular script (*N. L.*, pp. 48, 51), but the symbol may also be ancient.

dicitur = *dr* with stroke, fol. 112^{v}.

** *donec* = *don* with an apostrophe at the side of the letter. Rare, but in Hand *D* as well as *B* (foll. 54 and 78^{v}). See Plate III, and below, under *nec*.

** *dum* = uncial *D* with a cross-stroke slanting up from left to right. Once in Hand *B* (fol. 60 = Plate IV). See below under the syllable *um*.

* *enim* = a capital *N* with an upright capital *I* cutting the middle of the cross-bar. See Plate VIa.

ergo = ** *erg* with stroke. Once in Hand *B* (fol. 112^{v}).

* *est* = *e* with stroke. Sometimes points are added before and after the letter half way up.

esse = *ee* with stroke and sometimes the points as in *est*.

** *huius* = *h* with suprascript apostrophe. Once, in Hand *B* (fol. 110^{v}). The similar Irish symbol is *h* with a horizontal stroke through the top of the shaft.

in = *i* with stroke. Very frequent, both as a separate preposition in compound verbs and in words like *deinde* (fol. 60) and *deinceps* (fol. 69). See Plate IV.

inter = *i longa* with slanting stroke.

item = *it* with stroke. Once in Hand *B* (fol. 60 = Plate IV), where the corrector has intruded *e* before the following word (*caput*).

mihi = *m* with suprascript *i*.

modo = *m* with suprascript *o*.

nam = capital *N* with horizontal stroke crossing lower prolongation of the left-hand shaft. This symbol is used even when *nam* is part of a word (*unam*, fol. 47^{v}). On fol. 54 (= Plate III) we find it in *quattuordenam*

[1] Hereafter the phrase "with stroke" means "with suprascript horizontal stroke."

by mistake. The right text is *quattuordena metra*,[1] which was presumably read by the original of the ancient manuscript, the scribe of the latter committing a dittography which was reproduced by the text-hand of *286* and corrected by the glossator, apparently *suo Marte*.

** *nec* = *n* with apostrophe at the middle of the right-hand shaft. In one case (fol. 69^{v} = Plate V), the symbol for *nam*, erroneously used in the ancient manuscript instead of that for *non*, is superscribed with *nec* by the glossator. Lindsay observes (*N.L.*, p. 132) that he has not "found in any manuscript of our period . . . the ancient Nota *n'*, *nec*." That this symbol, with the apostrophe at the middle of the letter rather than above, was fairly frequent in the original of *286* may perhaps be inferred from its extension to *donec*, *q. v.*

* *nihil* = capital *N* with a capital *L* cutting its cross-stroke and descending below the line. Fairly frequent in Hand *A*, but only once, so far as I noted in Hand *B* (fol. 79 = Plate VIb). The Irish symbol is *nl* with horizontal stroke through the top of the *l*.

* *nisi* = capital *N* with a capital *S* cutting its cross-stroke and descending below the line. Frequent in Hand *A*, but apparently not in Hand *B;* yet, see below, p. 172. The Irish symbol is *n* with suprascript *i*. In the St Bertin manuscript (Boulogne *63–64*), the inserted *s* is apparently of the minuscule shape (*N.L.*, p. 134). Compare the following symbol.

= ** capital *N*, the first shaft of which forms a ligature with a minuscule *s*. Once in Hand *B* (fol. 73 = Plate VIa).

nobis = *nob* with stroke. Fol. 113, and probably other cases which I failed to record.

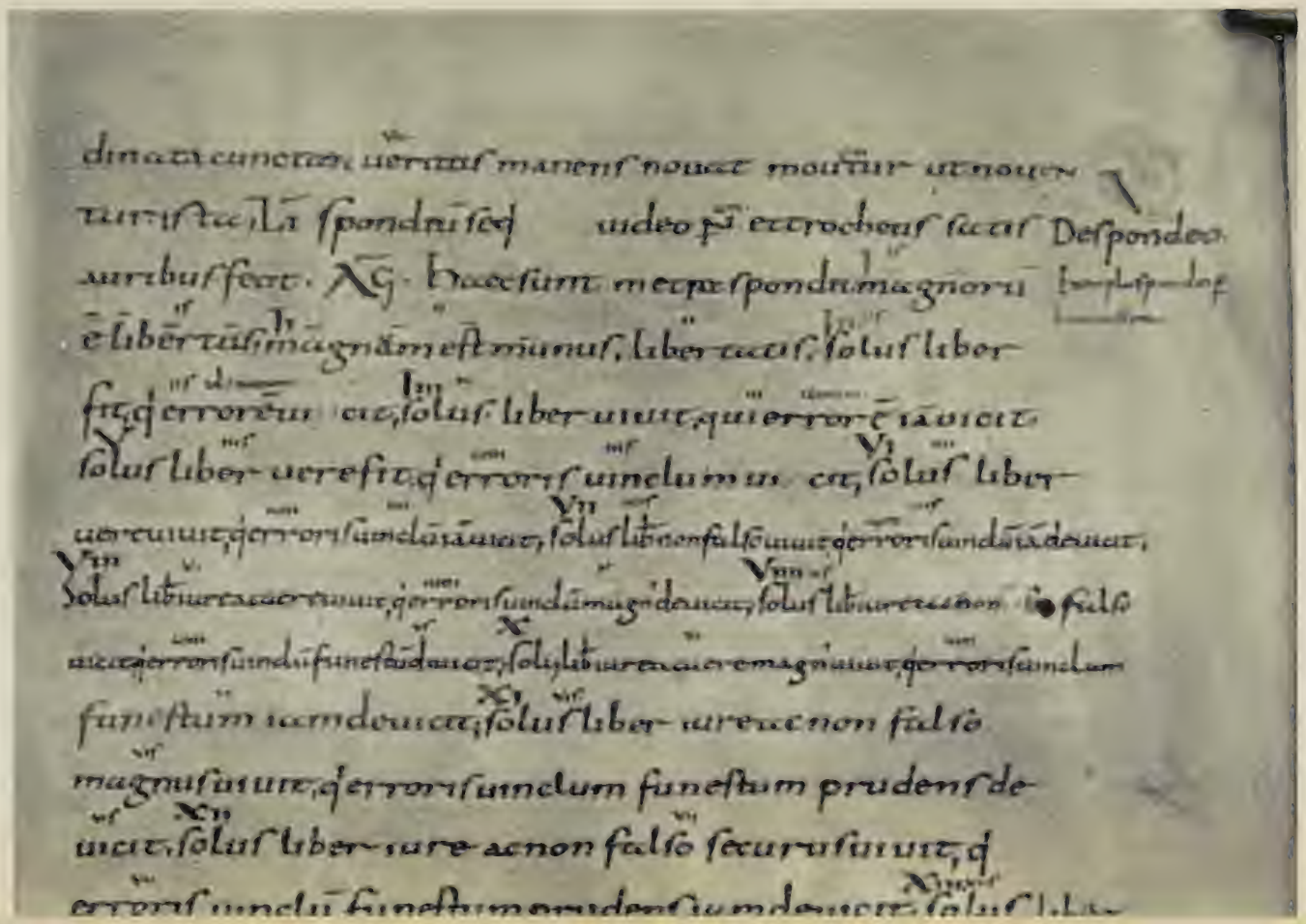
non = capital *N* and, less frequently, minuscule *n*, with stroke. This symbol is regularly written out by the corrector, even though it is frequently found in the glosses, which may well be his work. Apparently he wished to leave no uncertainties in the text.

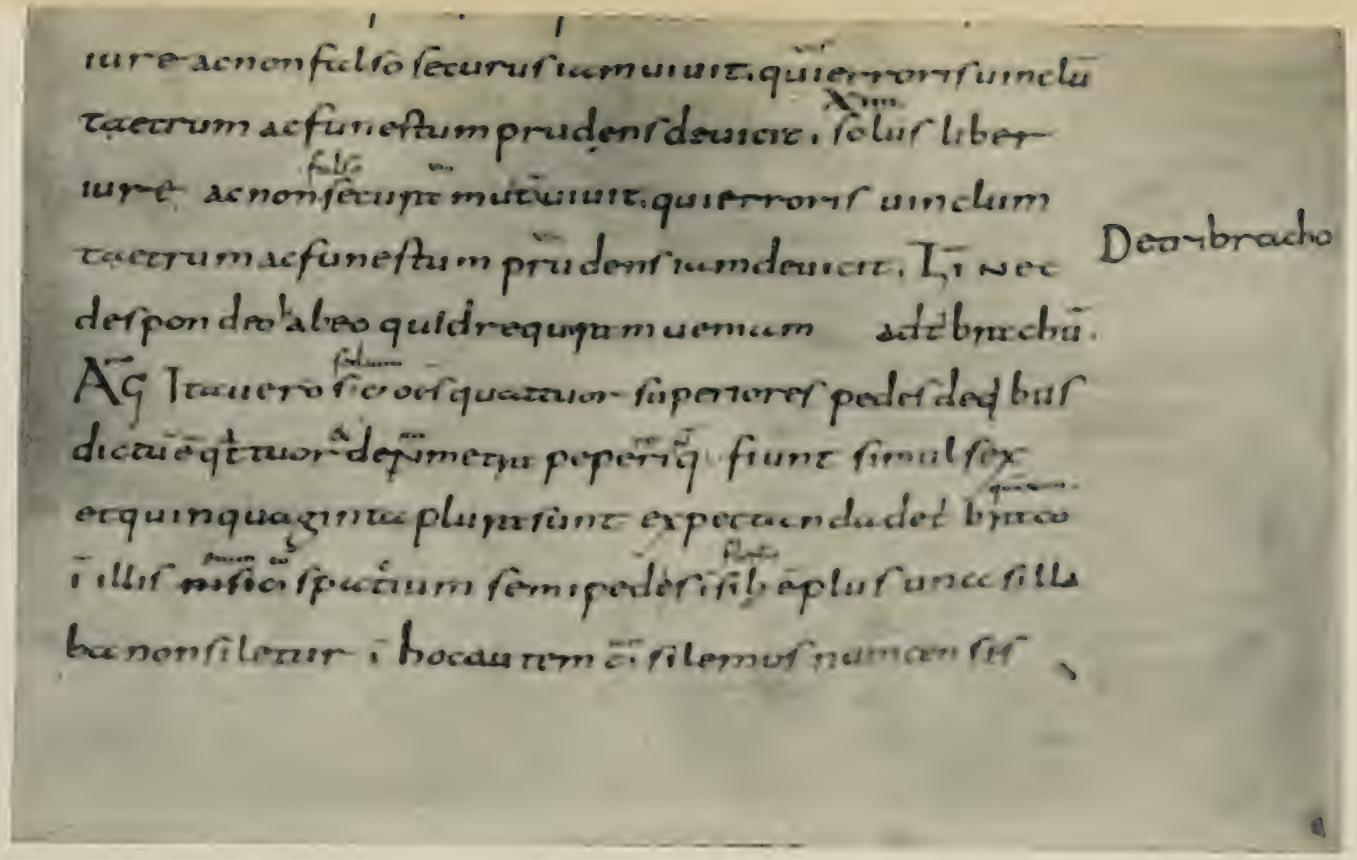
noster Besides the usual *nri* etc., we find *ni* with stroke (glossed *nri* with stroke, fol. 115); *nis* with stroke (glossed *nris* with stroke, fol. 20 = Plate Ib). Very possibly the briefer form was fairly frequent in the original, the scribe replacing it by the symbol more familiar to him. It should be remembered that Traube, whose argument is not refuted, so far as I can see, by the new evidence amassed by Lindsay, regarded both *ni* and *nri* as ancient, *nri*, in fact, being the earlier.[2]

nunc = *n* with suprascript *c*. Often in Hand *A*, rare in Hand *B* (foll. 60, 73).

[1] *Sancti Aurelia Augustini . . . opera omnia . . . studio monachorum ordinis sancti Benedicti e congregatione S. Mauri* I (Paris, 1836), col. 805, C.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 215–224.





Tours, MS. 286, Fol. 54

omnis = *ois* with stroke. So *oi*, *one*, *ones*, *oes*, *oium*, *oibus*, *oe oia*. In one case, the symbol is written uncials (fol. 73 = Plate VIa, OIB›), thus betraying the script of the original; see below, p. 174. The Irish were fond of the *ois*, *oe* method, but as Lindsay points out (*N.L.*, p. 172), one cannot call it an exclusively Irish method, owing to the use of *oa* in Lucca *490*. The evidence of our manuscript seems to indicate that it was ancient. See below, p. 174.

per = *p* with stroke through the shaft. The usual Irish symbol has a curving hook attached to the top of the loop.

* *pos*, *post* = *p* with apostrophe at right of middle of loop. Irish scribes favored *p* with suprascript *o* or *t*, and English *pt* with stroke. In the Tours manuscript the symbol is found both for the preposition and for the syllable *pos* in words like *possidet* (fol. 27); *posterior* (fol. 28ᵛ); *posse* (fol. 56); *posset* (fol. 60). See Plate IV.

prae = *p* with stroke.

pro = *p* with the loop continued in a curving stroke to the left.

propter = *pp* with stroke. Likewise this symbol with the *ter* symbol added; see below, p. 170. Also the *pro* symbol with *p* and the *ter* symbol added. Also *prop* with the *ter* symbol. These developed symbols are of course common enough in various scriptoria of the eighth and ninth centuries, but as all the elements are ancient, the scribe might well have found them in his ancient codex.

qua = *q* with suprascript *a*. Not very frequent (fol. 37ᵛ). Also in syllables (*qualis*, *quadruplicatis*, *quaternaria*, fol. 49ᵛ = Plate II). This is a symbol which might well have abounded in the original but was resolved *currente calamo* by the scribes of *286*.

quae = *q* with stroke. Rare (foll. 12ᵛ, 69ᵛ).

= *q* with apostrophe at right of middle of loop. Rare (fol. 47ᵛ), but possibly a regular feature of the original.

= *q;* with stroke. More frequent than the preceding. Also in syllables (*quaedam* fol. 20; *quaero* foll. 24; *quaesitum* fol. 83ᵛ). See Plate Ib.

= *q* with three dots. Rare (foll. 54, 60, *quaed(am)* fol. 79), but possibly frequent in the original. See Plates III, IV.

= *q* with stroke and three dots. Rare (fol. 58, *quaero* fol. 73 = Plate VIa). In the last instance the symbol is embedded in a little stretch of uncials, copied from the original text. Possibly in the original the addition of the stroke differentiated *quae* from *que*, there being, as usual, instances of the careless confusion of the two symbols; see *N.L.*, p. 207. The same distinction is made, at times, in the Tours Eugippius (Paris *B.N. nouv. acq. lat. 1575*); see *N.L.*, p. 221. It apparently is not common in Irish work, though *q* with the three dots is.

quam = *q* with cross-stroke slightly slanting up from left to right. See Plate V.

quamquam = *qq* with slanting cross-stroke through both shafts. Rare (fol. 30^{v}).

quando = *qdo* with slanting cross-stroke through the shaft of the *q*. Rare (fol. 45^{v}).

quantum = *qtu* with slanting cross-stroke through the shaft of the *q* and stroke above *u*. Rare (fol. 56).

quasi = *qsi* with *a* above *q*. See *qua*. Rare (fol. 73).

que = *q; q:* or *q* with apostrophe at right of middle of the letter (fol. 56^{v}).

** *quem* = *q* with something like the angular "short-hand" symbol for *quia*, later approaching in shape the figure 2; see *N.L.*, p. 245. The upper stroke is less prominent than the lower, which is capped with a fine, short stroke; see Plate II = fol. 49^{v}. This symbol has apparently not been found before. On fol. 79 something has been erased after *q* and *ue* with stroke written in small letters in its place.

qui = *q* with suprascript *i*. Used in syllables, as in the next four symbols.

quia = *qa* with *i* over *q*. Not very frequent.

= *q* with slanting cross-stroke through the shaft, like the symbol for *quam*. Once, apparently, fol. 75. See *N.L.*, p. 244, where this familiar Irish symbol is derived from an ancient nota.

quibus = *qbus* with *i* over *q*. Rare (fol. 49^{v}). = Plate II.

quid = *qd* with *i* over *q*. Rare (fol. 37^{v}).

quidem = *qd* with *i* over *q* and horizontal stroke through shaft of *d*. See Plate IV = fol. 60.

quo = *q* with suprascript *o*. Used in syllables, as in the following:

quoque = *qq;* with *o* above the first *q*. Rare (fol. 23^{v}).

quot = *qt* with *o* above *q*. Rare (fol. 25).

secundum = *sn* with stroke. Rare (fol. 60 = Plate IV).

* *sed* = *s* minuscule with apostrophe at right of middle of the letter. See Plates II, IV. Rare in Irish script, which generally has a stroke above the *s*.

sine = *sin* with stroke. Rare (foll. 109, 112^{v}). See syllabic abbreviations, *e*.

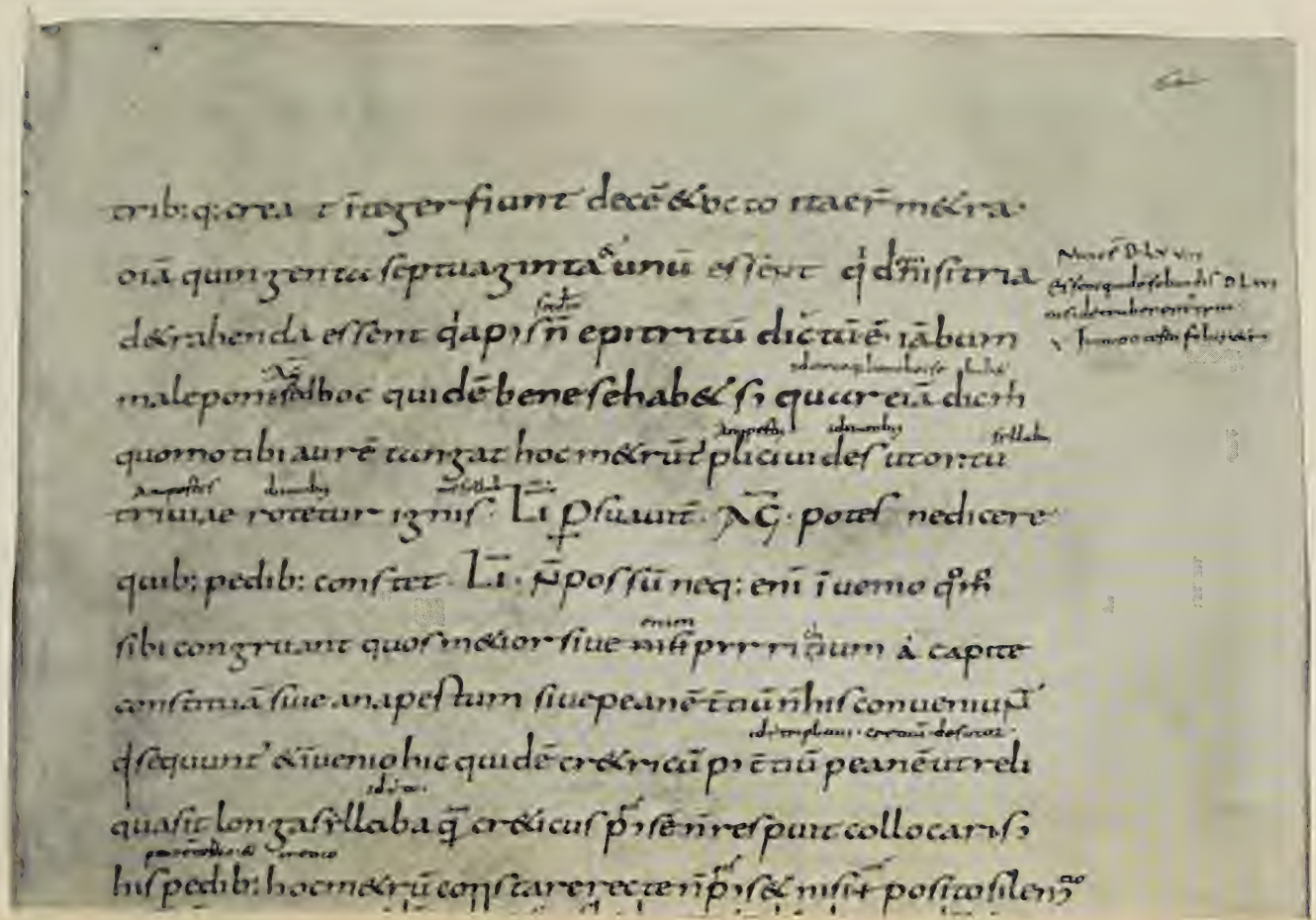
* *sunt* = *s* minuscule with stroke. The Irish symbol is *st* with stroke.

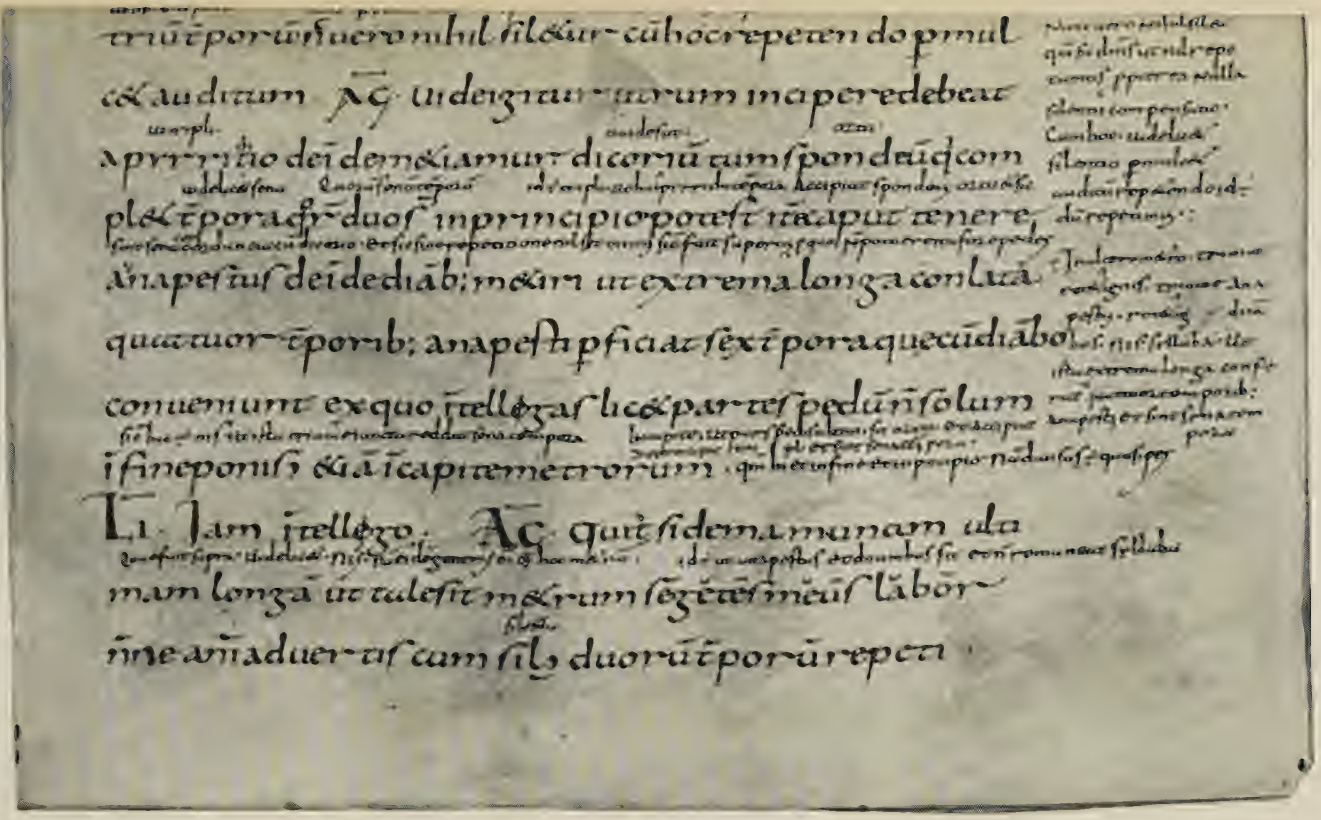
** *tam* = *t* with horizontal cross-stroke through middle of shaft. Not frequent, but found in both hands (foll. 45^{v}, 56, 79, 101^{v}, 107). See Plate VIb.

tunc = *t* with suprascript *c*. Rare (foll. 77, 111^{v}), but see *nunc*.

uel = * *u* with stroke. Not used by the Irish. See Plate V.

= *ul* with stroke through upper part of *l*. Fairly frequent in Hand *A* but not in *B*. Only rarely in Irish script. The regular Irish symbol, *l*





Tours, MS. 286, Fol. 60

with stroke through the upper part is frequently used by the glossator but not by the scribe of the text.

uero = *u* with suprascript *o*. Only in Hand *B*.

= *uo* with stroke. Rare (fol. 114).

** *uerum* = *u* with suprascript uncial *m*. Rare (fol. 74^{v}), but evidently a feature of the original, as the uncial form indicates.

* *unde* = *und* with stroke through upper part of the shaft of *d*. Rare (foll. 113, 114).

Syllabic Symbols

ae

sillabae = *sillab* with stroke through shaft of *b* (fol. 51). Owing to the nature of the work, this may be merely a technical or "capricious" abbreviation; see *N.L.*, pp. 413 ff. Very possibly there were many of this sort in the original.

am

dam = uncial *d* with cross-stroke slanting up from left to right. E.g., *q(uae)dam* (fol. 79 = Plate VIb); *quadam* (fol. 108); *quibusdam* (fol. 108). In *quasdam* (fol. 108) the minuscule *d* is used. In general, the scribe reproduces the uncial form found in the original.

nam See above, under *Nam*.

con = *c* with the apostrophe at the side, as in *cum*. Rare (fol. 32, *conueniat*). The continental symbol, *c* with stroke is rarely found (fol. 28, *conlocatur;* fol. 108^{v}, *congruentia*). The Irish symbol, the reversed *c* does not appear.

e

ne = *n* with stroke. Only in Hand *B* (fol. 110, *homine;* fol. 112^{v}, *lumine;* fol. 114, *consuetudine, longitudine*). See *sin*, above. See *N.L.*, p. 329.

nte = *Nt* with stroke. Fol. 110, *peccaNte* (*N ss. m1*) *homin(e)*.

em

dem = *d* with stroke through shaft. Rare (fol. 60 = Plate IV, *q(ui)dem.*)

tem = *t* with stroke. Frequent in the different cases of *tempus* (see Plates II, IV). This may well be considered a "technical" abbreviation. But also in *contemplatione, contempla(tio)*; fol. 113^{v}.

en

cen = *c* with stroke. Rare (fol. 31, *uicensim(us)*.

** *len* = *l* with subscript dot. With the apostrophe-symbol for *tio* (*q.v.*); fol. 47^{v}, *silentio*.

= *l* with subscript stroke combined with the apostrophe-symbol to form *silentio* (*sillentio, sylentio*); fol. 47^{v}, 49^{v}, 56, 58, 60. See Plates II, IV.

= *l* with subscript stroke and dot. Fol. 47^{v}, *sil(en)du(m)*.

= *l* with two subscript strokes. With the *tio*-symbol, fol. 54; *sil(entio)*.

See Plate III. This symbol, which is a regular feature of all parts of the book, should perhaps be rated as a technical abbreviation.

men = *m* with stroke; fol. 112^{v}, *lumen*. This ancient symbol, says Lindsay (*N.L.*, p. 331), was adopted in all countries except Spain and the British Isles.

** *ren* = majuscule *R* followed by either a point or a stroke. Fol. 73 = Plate VIa, *ABORR·DO* (= *abhorrendo*). The uncial traces show that the scribe copied what he found in the original. Fol. 79 = Plate VIb, *nutrirentur*.

** *ten* = *t* with stroke at the base, slightly sloping up from left to right. Fol. 73 = Plate VIb, *sententiam;* fol. 108, *attendit*.

Lindsay has instances of symbols for *cen*, *gen*, *hen*, *men*, *nen*, but not for *len*, *ren*, *ten*.

er

cer = ** *c* followed by apostrophe at middle of letter. Fol. 37^{v}, *certis;* fol. 49^{v} = Plate II, *certo*.

c with stroke. Foll. 37^{v}, *certum;* fol. 108, *certe;* fol. 48^{v}, *cernatur*.

ser = *s* minuscule with stroke. Fol. 56^{v}, *praesertim*.

s minuscule with a stroke slightly slanting up from left to right through the straight shaft. Fol. 56, *sermone*. This is found in a few of Lindsay's manuscripts, the St Bertin Augustine included; see *N.L.*, p. 336.

ter = *t* with stroke through the shaft. I see no essential difference between this symbol (fol. 56) and that for *tam*, *q.v.* With the *tio*-symbol in *tertio* (fol. 58). This ancient nota was replaced by *t* with stroke, which is frequent in our manuscript; e.g., *aliter* (fol. 20 = Plate Ib). Lindsay cites symbols for *ber*, *fer*, *ger*, *ner*, none of which I noted in Tours *286*.

es

des = *d* with stroke through the shaft. Fol. 58, *pedes*. Possibly a capricious or technical abbreviation.

m = a stroke above a vowel. Frequent. Also used in the middle of words far more freely than one would expect in this period. E.g., fol. 58, *ia(m)bum;* fol. 60 = Plate IV, *ani(m)aduertis*.

n

in = *i* with stroke. See under the preposition *in*.

ra

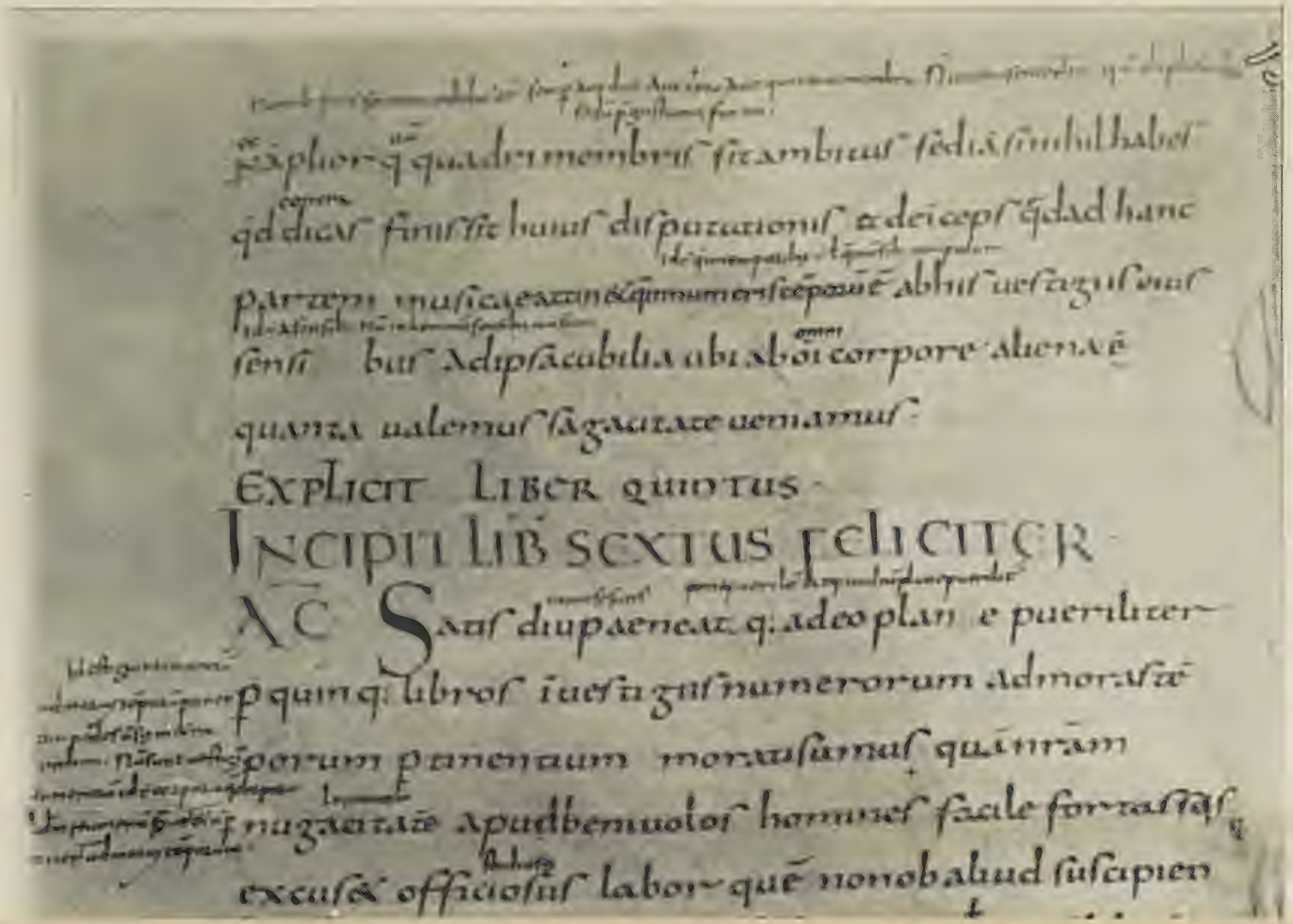
tra = *t* with suprascript *a*. Rare (fol. 48^{v}, 69^{v} (= Plate V), *ultra*.

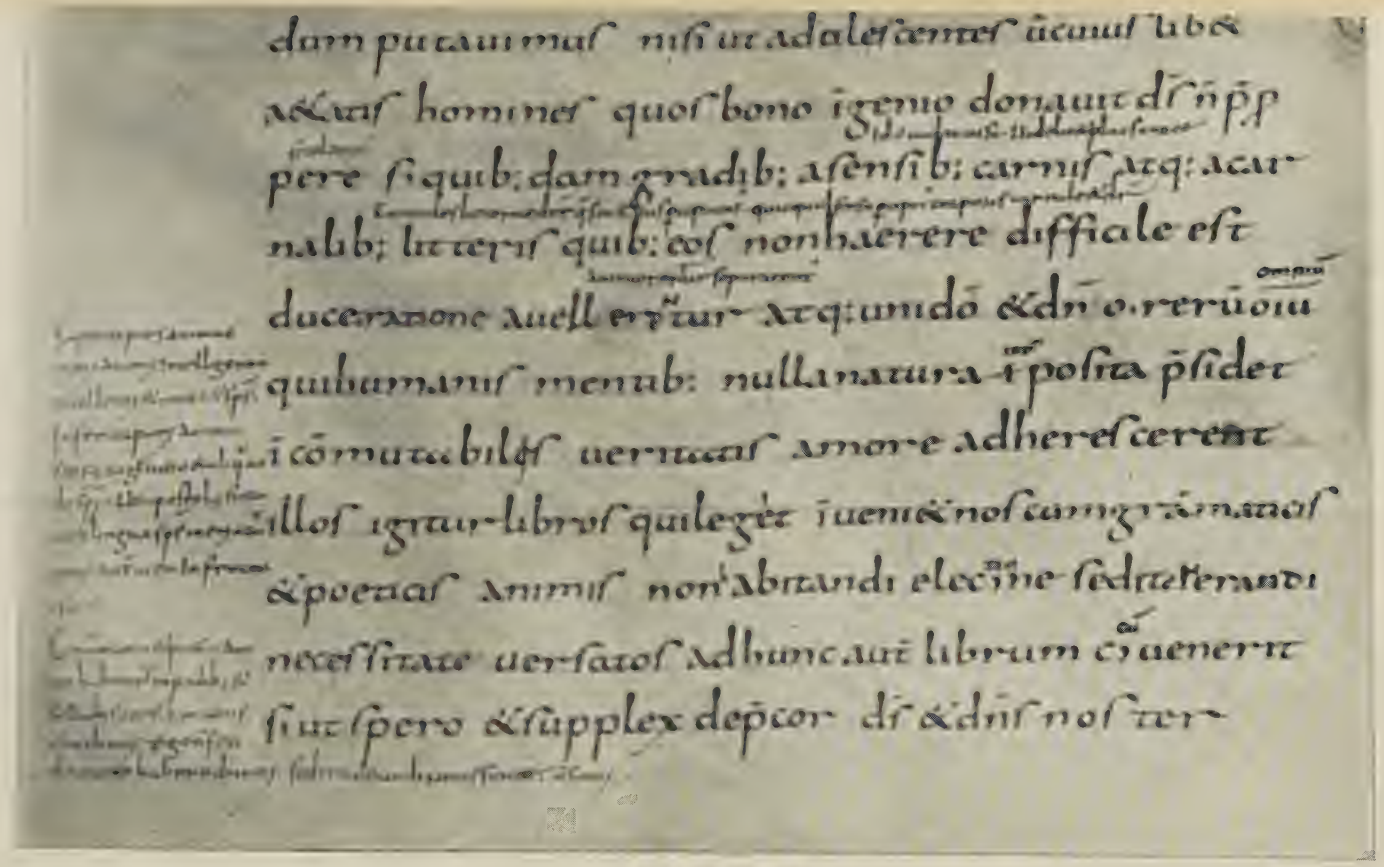
ri

pri = *p* with suprascript *i*. Frequent. *Primus* constantly.

tri = *t* with suprascript *i*. Frequent. E.g., fol. 54 = Plate III, *tribrachium;* fol. 60 = Plate IV, *triplici*. The frequency of both symbols (*pri* and *tri*) is partly caused by the nature of the subject.

Plate V





Tours, MS. 250, Fol. 69r

** *tio* = a semi-circle or apostrophe at the middle of the letter. Not found in Lindsay's manuscripts (*N.L.*, p. 358). In our manuscript it is found in all parts in combination with the *len*-symbol, *q.v.* It is rarely used for other words in Hand *A;* fol. 58, *conpara(tio)ne, sen(tio)*. Hand *B* is rather lavish in the use of this symbol, which may well have been a constant feature of the original. Uncial traces are conspicuous on fol. 77. Examples: *electione*, fol. 69^{v} = Plate V; *distributione*, fol. 77; *ATTENTIONES ACTIONES*, fol. 77; *actionibus*, fol. 77; *operationes*, fol. 77; *ratione*, foll. 78, 83^{v}; *rationis*, fol. 107^{v}; *delectione*, fol. 108; *silentiorum*, fol. 109; *ratio*, fol. 109; *actiones*, fol. 112^{v}; *contemplatio*, *sanctificatio*, fol. 113^{v}.

um

See the abbreviations discussed in *N.L.*, p. 358 ff.

rum = *r* with suprascript apostrophe. A few instances are found in Hand *B* (*aeternarum*, fol. 112^{v}; *peccatorum*, fol. 113; *duorum*, fol. 115). The apostrophe seems to have stood a bit to the right of *R* in the ancient manuscript.

= *R* (*r*) with stroke, probably a bit at the right of the letter. Fol. 60 = Plate IV, *quorum;* fol. 73 = Plate VIa, *hoRum*. Note the uncial *R* and the fact that *u* is obviously a later addition. This symbol was adopted by the Irish; see *N.L.*, p. 367.

un (*unc*) = an apostrophe at the side of the letter. Fol. 53^{v}, *c,ntaq;* (?).

unt

runt = *r* with suprascript apostrophe. Rare (fol. 23^{v}, *cauerunt;* fol. 30, *cecinerunt*).

= *R* (*r*) with suprascript stroke, which apparently stood a bit to the right of the letter. Fol. 60 = Plate IV, *erunt;* fol. 77, *cesseRunt*. Both symbols may have been used in the original. Cf. *um*.

ur

tur = *t* with suprascript apostrophe, an ancient nota; see *N.L.*, p. 372. Often. *Futa* with stroke above *t* for *futura* (it should be *futuram*) may be a capricious abbreviation (fol. 112^{v}).

us

bus = *b;* This is an ancient nota; see *N.L.*, pp. 228, 382. The *u* is also suprascript between *b* and *s* (*auribus*, fol. 113^{v}). This, too, is an ancient practice, though no abbreviation is involved.

dus = *d* with cross-stroke through the shaft. Rare (fol. 114, *modus*).

ius = *i* followed by an apostrophe. Rare (fol. 11, *cuiusd(am)*; *i* with suprascript apostrophe. Rare (fol. 8, *eius*).

mus = *m* followed by an apostrophe. Rare (fol. 31, *vic(en)simus;* fol. 33^{v}, *primus*).

m with suprascript apostrophe. Rare (fol. 7 *ignoramus;* fol. 111, *accipimus;* fol. 112^{v} *uidebimus*).

nus = *n* with suprascript apostrophe. Rare (fol. 54 = Plate IV, *magnus*). Note that this word occurs in a passage written in a smaller — though I think not different — hand. The scribe has omitted something, misled by *homoiteleuta*, and erasing part of what he had written crowded in all that he should have written at first. Naturally he resorted to all the devices at his command. Fol. 113^{v}, *bonus* with this symbol is apparently the work of Hand *B*.

pus = *p* with apostrophe at side of the letter. Rare (fol. 35, *opus*).

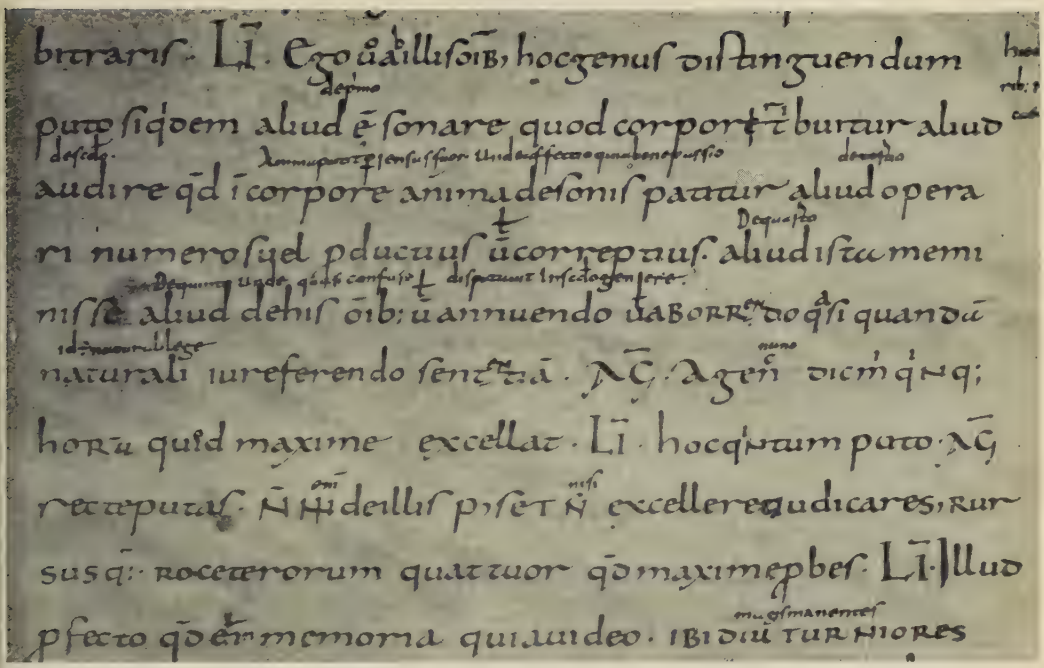
Nomina Sacra

Here there is nothing important to record. The divine names occur, even in this technical treatise, and specimens may be seen on Plate V (= fol. 69^{v}). An erasure will be seen after *n* in *dno*, possibly indicating that *dmo* was used in the ancient book.

On the errors made by the scribes in copying the symbols of the old manuscript my notes do not throw much light. A collation of the entire text would presumably be instructive on this point, particularly as the manuscripts used in the Benedictine edition seem to preserve a reliable tradition and therefore afford a criterion of what the correct reading is in the vast majority of cases. Without going into details, I will say merely that *MS. 286* clears up some of the errors in the Benedictine text and itself commits some which that text corrects. In the matter of abbreviations, an error in *286* like *sunt* corrected to *sed* (fol. 35) shows that the scribe had the ancient nota for *sed* before him; in many cases, it is copied exactly as it was found. Hand *A* frequently writes *nisi* which is corrected to *enim*, and a few such instances occur in Hand *B*.[1] Apparently in the original the symbols for *enim* and *nisi* had a similar cross-stroke through the uncial *N*, or perhaps the ancient scribe had himself carelessly replaced the former symbol by the latter. Similarly, *nihil* is wrongly used for *enim* on fol. 79 = Plate VIb. In general it would appear from the data at my disposal that the scribes of *286* followed the original scrupulously and that many or most of the errors due to the misinterpretation of symbols had already been

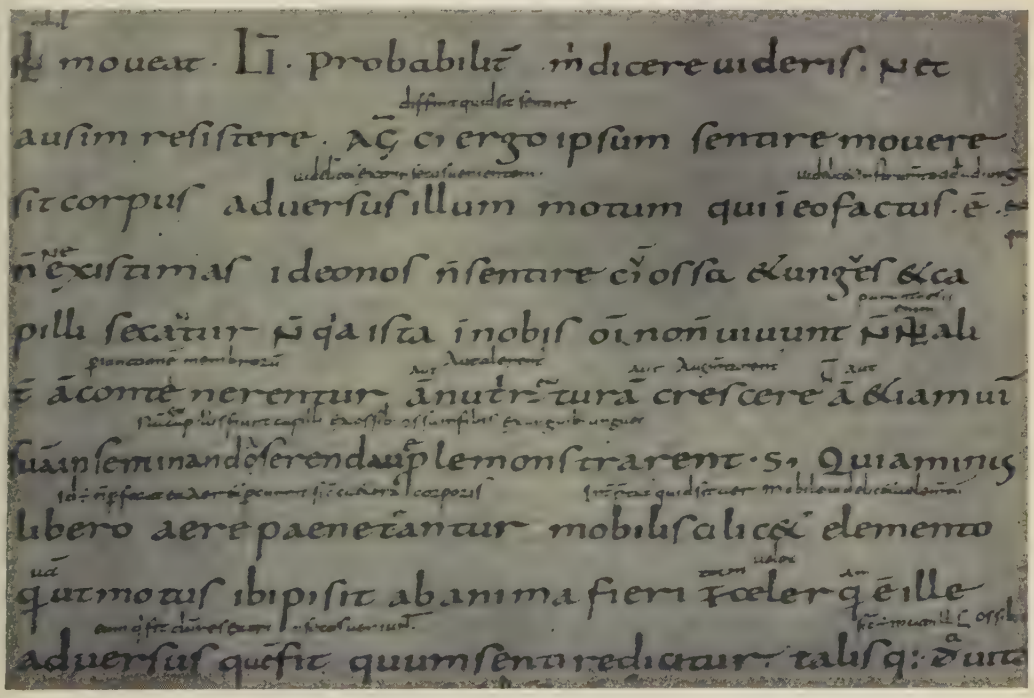
[1] For an example, see fol. 60 = Plate IV.

PLATE VI (A)



TOURS, MS. 286, FOL. 73

PLATE VI (B)



TOURS, MS. 286, FOL. 79

made in the ancient manuscript. The corrector, it would seem, depended for his revision not only on that book but perhaps on some other text besides, and, surely, on his own wits.

Pending a more minute examination of the manuscript of Tours, which I hope that somebody may be inspired to undertake, we may at least be sure that the book from which it was copied was full of ancient notae. The two main hands of *286*, while differing in their method of reproducing these symbols, agree at so many points that I think we may feel tolerably certain that the original before them preserved a certain system throughout its text and therefore certain symbols which are found in Hand *A* but not in Hand *B*, or *vice versa*, were probably characteristic of all parts of the original. The lists given above are only tentative. It may well prove that certain symbols which I have designated as rare are found more plentifully in our manuscript than I have noted. At all events, the material here presented is enough to justify the title of this paper, "A Nest of Ancient Notae."

I call these symbols ancient rather than Insular, because of the infrequency of the symbols that, with Lindsay's help, we have learned to regard as characteristically Insular. I append a list of the symbols so classed in *Notae Latinae* (pp. 496 ff.) that do not, so far as I could observe, appear in our manuscript.

ante = *an* with stroke.
apud = *ap* with stroke.
autem = *h* with appended apostrophe; *at* with stroke.
bene = *b* with stroke through the shaft.
contra = the reversed *c* with cross-stroke; the reversed *cc*, etc.
cuius = *cs* with stroke.
cum = *c* with stroke or followed by figure 7.
eius = the reversed epsilon.
enim = the *H* symbol.
ergo = *eg*, *er* with stroke; *g* with suprascript *o*.
est = ÷
et = the figure-7 symbol.
etiam = *eti* with stroke.
filius = *fls* with cross-stroke through *l*.
haec = *h* with stroke above shoulder.
homo = *h* with *o* at right of shoulder; *ho* with stroke.
meus = *ms* with stroke.
nihil = *nl* with cross-stroke.
nisi = *n* with suprascript *i*.
nobis = *nb* with cross-stroke.
nomen = *no* with stroke.
pater = *pr* with stroke.
per = *p* with appended apostrophe.
post = *p* with suprascript *o* or *t*; *pt* with stroke.
quando = *qn*, *qno*, with stroke.

quantum = *qnm* with stroke.
quare = *qre* with stroke.
quasi = *qsi* with stroke.
que = *q* with appended 3.
quem = *qm*, *q* with stroke.
quia = *q* with slanting cross-stroke through shaft. The one possible instance noted above, p. 168, is most uncertain.
quippe = *qp*, *qpe* with stroke.
quod = *q* with curving stroke through shaft.
quomodo = *qmo* with stroke.
quoniam = *qm* with stroke.
quoque = *qq* with stroke.
quot = *qt* with stroke.
secundum = minuscule *s* with cross-stroke.
sed = *s* with stroke.
sicut = *s* with suprascript *i* or (rare) *t*.
sine = *sn* with stroke.
sive = *su* with stroke.
sunt = *st* with stroke.
super = *sr* with stroke.
tamen = *tn* with stroke.
tantum = *tm* with stroke.
trans = *trs*, *ts* with stroke.
uel = *l* with cross-stroke.
unde = *un* with stroke.
ut = *u* with stroke, *u* with suprascript apostrophe.

Syllabic Abbreviations

con = the reversed *c*
us = the 3-symbol, as in *b(us)*, etc.

Nomina Sacra

Final *c* (Greek sigma) in the symbols for *Christus* (*xpc*, with stroke), *Iesus* (*ihc*, with stroke), and *Spiritus* (*spc* with stroke).

This is an imposing array. Conversely, the reader will find in my first list (pp. 165 ff.), nine symbols, singly starred, which contravene the Insular practice, and twelve symbols, doubly starred, which, to the best of my observation, Lindsay has not recorded at all. The character of this evidence warrants the conclusion that in the very few cases where a symbol plausibly regarded as specifically Insular occurs, we may now say that the symbol was not invented by the Irish but was drawn from an ancient source; see under *omnis*, *quae*, *dicit*.

A study of the scribal errors of *286*, so far as this is permitted by my material, points in the same direction. When we note *anarestus* for *anapestus* (fol. 108) and *erret* for *esset* (fol. 4), we are tempted to think of an original in the Insular hand. A glance at the errors gathered by Ribbeck from the majuscule manuscripts of Virgil,[1] should give us pause. His lists should more often be consulted when we suspect an Insular or a Visigothic or a Beneventan source for

[1] *Prolegomena Critica ad P. Vergili Maronis Opera Maiora* (Leipzig, 1866), pp. 252 ff.

some mediaeval text, for unless the "symptoms" of Ireland or Spain or Monte Cassino exist in profusion, we have no right to infer that the style of any one of these centres lies behind the script under inspection.[1] *Rinu* for *pinu*, *perendit* for *pependit*, *rensa* for *pensa* — "Aha!" we cry, "Insular original!" But slowly — these examples come from the *Palatinus* of Virgil, which also shows not a few confusions of *R* and *S*. Similarly, we have no right to suspect a Spanish origin for our manuscript, just because of the appearance of *quur* (fol. 60 = Plate IV) and *quum* (foll. 73, 77, 79).

But no long parley is needed in the matter of the script of the book from which *286* was copied. One has only to consider the instances of uncial remnants in various of the symbols discussed above and to turn at once to Plate VIa (= fol. 73), to be certain first that the scribe is struggling with an original in continuous script and second that this script was uncial.

Several conclusions may be drawn, or several possibilities inferred, from the new data before us.

(1) As to the history of abbreviations, here is a new link in the chain of continuity from ancient to mediaeval times.

(2) Symbols of abbreviations were employed in antiquity not only in books of law and grammar, but, as in the manuscript of St Bertin, in a work of St Augustine. True, the subject is technical; music, like grammar, is a member of the quadrivium, but at least our knowledge of the scope of ancient abbreviations has been enlarged.

(3) It may be that various Continental scriptoria at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century were better acquainted with symbols of abbreviation in general and ancient symbols in particular than has been imagined. Here is a book of Tours written just before Alcuin or during his régime or not long after it, and copied directly from an ancient and much abbreviated original.

(4) It follows that the avoidance of abbreviations in the early Carolingian books may have sprung not from ignorance but from principle. In some cases, then, we should be wary about dating a manuscript late in the ninth century just because it is full of abbre-

[1] See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVII (1926), 35 f.

viations. Turn for instance to Plate VIb and note the symbols with which the lines here shown are cluttered. In the series of words *non quia ista in nobis omnino non*, five of the seven are abbreviated; in the series *non nihil aliter aut* every word contains an abbreviation. This is not the usual method of the scribes of St Martin's at the time *MS. 286* was written! Ordinarily, a manuscript so thickly abbreviated would be relegated to the close of the ninth century or thrust out of it into the tenth — a criterion that in the case of our book would lead to an error of about a hundred years. Such cases are doubtless exceptional. It would seem true as before that in general the more abundant use of abbreviations was due to the Insular influence that in many ways operated powerfully towards the close of the ninth century.

(5) As to the Irish themselves, we may have to ascribe to them less invention — and a wider acquaintance with ancient sources and with ancient styles of script. The original of Tours *286*, like that of the Lorsch manuscript discussed by Lindsay, was a codex in uncials. Were not the Irish familiar with such in their own country? How much longer may we continue to say that Irish script developed solely from the half-uncial? For further light on the subject we may look to renewed study of the history of abbreviations, which also may well have a bearing on a problem of larger scope — the history of ancient culture in Ireland from the end of the Roman Empire to the Carolingian Renaissance.

Harvard University.

CHAUCER'S HELL: A STUDY IN MEDIAEVAL CONVENTION

By THEODORE SPENCER

DURING the past hundred and fifty years, beginning with Tyrwhitt's edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, a considerable amount of effort (largely misdirected) has been expended in pointing out parallels between Chaucer and Dante. The *House of Fame* is said to have been based upon the plan of the *Divine Comedy;* [1] innumerable resemblances to Dante have been detected (or imagined) throughout Chaucer's work; and, most trying of all, the common employment by both Chaucer and Dante of the same conventional phrases has been interpreted as the borrowing of one poet from the other.

It is the consideration of these errors which has prompted a study of Chaucer's conception of hell. The purpose of the present paper is to show that this conception — far from being largely Dantesque, or, indeed, borrowed from any individual writer — is, with one or two trifling exceptions, entirely dependent on the convention of infernal description which was prevalent in Chaucer's day.

About such a convention Chaucer, naturally enough, says nothing. On the contrary he twice mentions his authorities for hell explicitly. The devil in the *Friar's Tale* promises the Sumner, his companion, that he, by his "owene experience" will be able to tell about what goes on there

> Bet than Virgyle, whyl he was on lyve,
> Or Dant also.[2]

And in the *House of Fame*, Claudian's name is added.[3] Now if we

[1] For the demolition of this grotesque notion, see W. O. Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's Hous of Fame*, Chaucer Society, London, 1907.

[2] *C. T.*, D 1519–20.

[3] Chaucer, giving us an outline of the adventures of Aeneas, says:

> And every tourment eek in helle
> Saw he, which is long to telle.
> Which who-so willeth for to knowe,
> He moste rede many a rowe
> On *Virgile* or on *Claudian*
> Or *Daunte* that hit telle can. (vv. 445–450.)

could only take Chaucer at his word, it would be simple enough to collect all his infernal references and trace them back to these three sources. Our problem would then resolve itself into assigning to Virgil, Claudian, and Dante, their legitimate shares in Chaucer's mind. But the problem is not so simple; for there were other descriptions of hell (not quite so literary as these) about which Chaucer is silent, but which played, nevertheless, an important part in influencing his opinions: the visions of mediaeval travellers to the other world.

These visions were both numerous and popular. "Dans l'Europe du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle," says Le Braz, "la fortune de ces récits étranges fut presque aussi grande que celle des romans gallois." [1] Their history is a long one,[2] but it was not till the twelfth century that they reached the climax of their favor. From that period date the two descriptions of the other world which were by far the most popular during the following three hundred years: the vision of Tundale, and the adventures of Sir Owayn in *St Patrick's Purgatory*.[3] It is difficult to overestimate their prevalence.[4] The descriptions given by Tundale and Owayn of the purgatorial flames, the fumes of sulphur, the countless tortures, the nameless and terrible beasts which tease the unfortunate souls in hell, seem to have seized the popular imagination. Indeed it is difficult to conceive how anyone living in fourteenth-century England could have escaped their influence. The adventures of Owayn, for example, were incorporated

[1] A. Le Braz, *La Légende de la Mort chez les Bretons Armoricains* (Paris, 1902), I, xxvii.

[2] Plato ends his *Republic* with an account of the vision of Er the Pamphylian; Cicero, following Plato's example, concludes his *De Republica* with the dream of Scipio; Plutarch in his Treatise on the delay of Divine Justice, introduces the detailed vision of Thespasius. Descriptions of heaven and hell appear in the apocryphal gospels, and they were used with increasing frequency and effectiveness throughout the first Christian millennium. For example, Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* (iii, 19 and v, 12) gives an account of two visions of the other world, one by St Fursa, another by the monk Drihthelm. We have the *Visio Pauli*, the vision of Charles the Fat (William of Malmesbury, ii, 111), the revelation of the Monk of Eynsham, and many others. See E. J. Becker, *Mediaeval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Baltimore, 1899.

[3] Tundale is said to have enjoyed his vision in 1149; Owayn in 1153.

[4] There are fifty-four Latin MSS alone of Tundale's vision (Cf. A. Wagner, *Visio Tungdali*, Erlangen, 1882) extending from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries — and his account was translated into French, German, English, Italian, Irish, and Icelandic. Owayn's adventures in St Patrick's Purgatory had an almost equal popularity. In this case, too, we are confronted with a large number of MSS in Latin, French, and English. Cf. E. J. Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 ff.

into the great South English Legendary and used on the feast day of St Patrick, March 17.[1] They must have been very effective when used in the pulpit, and we may be fairly sure that Tundale's vivid and horrible description was employed in the same way.

Unfortunately I have neither the space nor the occasion to discuss these visions — nor the others: those of Paul, Thurcill, Alberic, et cetera, which bear so close a resemblance to them. All that it is necessary to point out at the moment, is that these visions existed, that they were extraordinarily popular in the fourteenth century, and that they largely resemble each other in their images and vocabulary. They created, so to speak, a kind of hellish convention, in image and phraseology. And with this convention Chaucer, as we shall see, was thoroughly familiar.[2]

Chaucer mentions hell in connection with a distinguishing feature of that locality, some forty-seven times, but none of these references, with two exceptions, are either very lengthy or explicit; they extend to the length of only two or three lines apiece. One exception is the description of the future lot of friars, which the Sumner gives with so much relish.[3] We shall discuss this later. The other is the Parson's discourse on the "horrible peynes of helle";[4] and since this is in a different class from Chaucer's other accounts of the infernal regions, we will not include it in our discussion.[5] It is a piece of conscious patch work; the references to hell do not spring uncon-

[1] See C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Paderborn, 1875, and the same editor's *Early South English Legendary*, E.E.T.S. orig. ser., no. 87, pp. 199 ff.

[2] In the following pages, when referring to any of these visions, I have cited the editions used. In the case of *St Patrick's Purgatory*, I have referred to the English version edited by Horstmann (*Early South English Legendary*, pp. 199 ff.). Since there is unfortunately no edition of the English vision of Tundale based on a MS. earlier than the fifteenth century, I have referred to the French version which dates from the thirteenth century (*La Vision de Tondale*, textes français, anglo-normand et irlandais, ed. V. H. Friedel and K. Meyer, Paris, 1907).

[3] *C.T.*, D 1685–1706.

[4] *C.T.*, I 157–230.

[5] The Parson speaks of the "put of helle" and its devils (169–170), he calls it a "lond of darkness" (181); he mentions the infernal fire (183), the torments (188 ff.) and the pain. Chaucer's authorities for this picture, according to Skeat (*Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1900, V, 450–52), include *The Epistle to the Romans*, St Bernard, *The Proverbs*, St Anselm, St Jerome, *Job*, *Samuel*, *Deuteronomy*, *Isaiah*, *Micah*, *The Psalms*, *Matthew*, St Gregory, and St Basil. In other words, it is nothing but a crazy-quilt of quotation; and Chaucer is fully conscious that this is the case, for to nearly every remark he adds the name of its original author.

sciously from the bottom of Chaucer's mind. Consequently this passage is far less interesting than the other forty-six, which (except for the vague mention of Virgil, Claudian and Dante) have no label attached to them to tell whence they came. Chaucer probably did not know himself.

We may divide these references to hell into three categories: those which hint at the geography of hell, those which mention its inhabitants, and those which tell of hellish events.

Infernal Geography

As regards infernal geography, Chaucer is not very explicit. He speaks once of the "swolow of hell," [1] and three times of the "put [pit] of helle." [2] The description of hell as a "swolow" (gulf), is used as a figure to contrast Aeneas' entertainment by Dido with his past misfortunes:

> This Aeneas is come to Paradys
> Out of the swolow of helle.[2]

Now it has been suggested [3] that this conception of hell comes from the *Inferno.* Dante, referring to hell, speaks of the *tristo buco* [4] and *della valle d'abisso dolorosa.*[5] It is barely possible that this passage was in Chaucer's mind, but since it is so closely connected with his conception of hell as a "pit," let us suspend our judgment for a moment. Elsewhere Chaucer describes the dwelling of Morpheus as a cave

> as dark
> As *helle-pit* over-al aboute; [6]

the black trumpet of Eolus, in the *House of Fame* (v. 1654), "stank as the *pit* of helle"; and Criseyde, swearing her fidelity to Troilus, prays, if she proves false, that

> Saturnes doughter, Juno, thorugh hire myght,
> As wood as Athamante do me dwelle
> Eternalich in Stix, the *put* of helle. (iv, 1538–40.)

[1] *Leg.*, 1103–1104. [2] *Troil.*, iv, 1540 (ed. Root); B. of D., 171; *H.F.* 1654. See Skeat's note to *Leg.*, 1104.
[4] *Inf.*, xxxiii, 2. [5] *Inf.*, iv, 8. [6] *B. of D.*, 171.

Now in Virgil and Claudian hell is not regarded as a pit; it is rather an underground plain. Thus Dante's conception is closer to Chaucer's than that of Virgil and Claudian, and, if we were limited to the three authors Chaucer mentions as his authorities, we should be forced to consider these references as reminiscences of Dante. There were other descriptions of hell, however. Even as early as Job we find the exhortation:[1] "Deliver him from going down to the pit." The phrase occurs in *Piers Plowman:* "I shall punisshen in purcatory or in the *put* of helle."[2] And in practically all the mediaeval visions, hell is described as a pit.[3] Drihthelm[4] in the seventh century (while in the other world) saw things like globes of dusky flame, which rose from a great pit and which were full of agonized souls, tossed up from the stinking depths of hell. Tundale also saw hell as a pit, with Satan at the bottom of it, as we shall see. And the phrase the "put of helle" is a favourite one with the English author of *St Patrick's Purgatory*, where in twenty lines (vv. 357–377) hell is spoken of eight times as a "put." Examples from the visions could be multiplied almost indefinitely. Indeed the Middle Ages rarely thought of hell as anything else, and we cannot say that Chaucer's description of it as such or as a "swolow" comes from Dante alone. And it is equally doubtful if he was thinking of Dante's description of Styx as *una palude . . . che ha nome stige*[5] (as has been suggested[6]) when he called Styx the "put of helle"; for a marsh and a pit are not, after all, quite the same thing.[7] It is far more likely that, when Chaucer spoke of Styx, he meant hell as a whole, and not any particular part of it.[8]

The other references to infernal geography give us no more definite impression. Chaucer speaks once of "Flegiton, the fiery flood of helle,"[9] once of Styx (as we have seen), and once of "Lete, that

[1] *Job*, xxxiii, 24.

[2] Ed. Skeat, A, xi, 248.

[3] Cf. Miss Stanford, *art. cit. infra.*, p. 381, n. 14.

[4] Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, v, 12.

[5] *Inf.*, vii, 106.

[6] J. L. Lowes, "Chaucer and Dante," *Mod. Phil.*, XIV (1917), 705–35.

[7] And besides Chaucer never refers to hell as a marsh (Virgil's *tenebrosa palus* and the *enferne palu* of Old-French tradition).

[8] So Claudian (*De Raptu*, ii, 34), speaks of Cerberus as *Stygii . . . canis*, when Cerberus is the guardian of all hell rather than of the river only. He speaks similarly of Pluto (ii, 264): *Stygio ducor . . . tyranno* — the tyrant, not so much of Styx, as of hell as a whole.

[9] *Troil.*, iii, 1600.

is a flood of helle unswete." [1] Phlegethon is mentioned casually by both Virgil and Claudian; [2] but the picture of that river as a "fiery flood" was too common a classical convention to enable us to decide which of them Chaucer was thinking of.

However, the reference to Lethe as a "flood of helle unswete" can be more definitely traced to Claudian's line,

Stagnaque tranquillae . . . marcida Lethes; [3]

"the rotting pools of sluggish Lethe"— a description close enough to Chaucer's. In this case, then, if we consider only Virgil, Dante, and Claudian as the competitors for Chaucer's source, it is clear that the honor is Claudian's.

There is one further reference to hellish geography. Criseyde, in a passage we shall have occasion to refer to again, promises Troilus, when they are parting, that

in the feld of pite, out of peyne,
That hight Elisos, shal we be yfeere.[4]

And this description of the Elysian fields, as Mr Tatlock has observed,[5] seems to be a reminiscence of Dante's Limbo,[6]— a field of sighing outside the "peyne of helle"— rather than of Virgil's "*locos laetos et amoena virecta.*" [7] At any rate it has no counterpart in Claudian.

So much for the meagre hints which Chaucer gives us for his picture of the appearance of hell. It is a pit containing three rivers and neighboring the Elysian fields. The rivers have their springs in

[1] *H.F.*, 71–72.

[2] Virgil speaks of the vast Tartarean prisons,

Quae rapidae flammis ambit torrentibus amnis
Tartareus *Phlegethon* (*Aen.*, vi, 550–51)

and Claudian:

Adsurgit *Phlegethon*: flagtantibus hispida rivis
barba madet totoque fluunt incendia vultu (*De Raptu*, ii, 315–16).

[3] *De Raptu*, i, 282. It certainly does not come from Dante; for Lethe in the *Divine Comedy* is one of the streams in the Earthly Paradise. Virgil also speaks of this river favorably. It flows through the Elysian fields: *Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnum* (*Aen.*, vi, 705).

[4] *Troil.*, iv, 789–790.

[5] *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX (1914), 97.

[6] *Inf.*, iv, and esp. verse 26; "non avea pianto, ma' che di sospiri."

[7] *Aen.*, vi, 638.

the classics, the pit is the common property of all mediaeval descriptions of hell, Elysos grows from a recollection of Virgil's name combined with a reminiscence of Dante's description of Limbo. We have then a complicated mixture of impressions, some from the classics, one from mediaeval phraseology, and one largely from Dante.

Inhabitants of Hell

The same diversity appears when we consider Chaucer's remarks about the inhabitants of hell. To several of these it is impossible to assign a definite source. He speaks of being "as deepe . . . in helle as *Tantalus*";[1] *Ticius*,[2] and "*Cerberus* in helle"[3] are mentioned; the peyne of *Sesiphus* is referred to,[4] and we are told that Troilus, when Criseyde has departed, goes to bed

> and walwith ther and torneth
> In furie, as doth he, *Ixion*, in helle.[5]

But since the punishment of Tantalus, Sisyphus, Tityos, and Ixion, as well as the existence of Cerberus, are the commonplaces of the classical descriptions of hell, we can assign no definite source for them.[6] Pluto, in his character of king of hell, has an equally vague provenance. Chaucer mentions him three times, but in no case with sufficient detail to permit identification with a specific source.[7]

[1] *Troil.*, iii, 592–93.

[2] *Ticius*, in helle,
Whos stomak foughles tiren evere mo
That highten volturis, as bokes telle (*Troil.*, i, 786–88.).

[3] *Troil*, i, 859. [4] *B. of D.*, 567 ff. [5] *Troil.*, v, 211–12.

[6] All these (except Sisyphus) are mentioned in Boethius, iii, met. 12, and, for all we know, Chaucer may have been thinking of no other passage. But he could have found Tityos in *Aeneid*, vi, 595, or in *De Raptu*, ii, 332 ff.; Tantalus in *De Raptu*, ii, 332 ff., Ixion in the same place and in *Aen.*, vi, 601, and Cerberus in Claudian, Virgil, Ovid, Dante, etc.

[7] These are:

Troil., iii, 592–593; "With *Pluto* kyng as depe ben in helle / As Tantalus."

C.T., F 1073–74: Into her [Proserpine's] owene derke regioun Under the ground, ther *Pluto* dwelleth inne.

C.T., A 2082: Ther *Pluto* hath his derke regioun.

It is possible, since Claudian speaks far more than any one else about Pluto as hell's king, that Chaucer had the *De Raptu* in mind when writing these passages. But this is an idle assumption.

Chaucer's other mention of Pluto as the "king of fayerye," in the *Merchant's Tale* (E 2225 ff.) is an interesting example of a not uncommon mediaeval confusion between fairy-

Chaucer's phraseology in connection with Proserpine may have, however, a firmer anchoring place. Troilus is telling Pandar of the lasting quality of his love for Criseyde. He says:

> But fro my soule shal Criseydes darte
> Out nevere mo; but down with *Proserpyne,*
> Whan I am dede, I wol go wone in pyne;
> And ther I wol *eternaly compleyne*
> My wo, and how that twynned be we tweyne.[1]

Now Criseyde, when pledging her faith to Troilus, uses practically the same beautiful words:

> Myn herte, and ek the woful goost therinne
> Byquethe I with your spirit to *compleyne*
> *Eternaly*, for they shul nevere twynne.[2]

The phrase that seems to have been in Chaucer's mind when he wrote these lines has been pointed out by Mr Lowes.[3] Dante, in the ninth canto of the *Inferno*, is describing the Furies. They are, he says (v. 44)

> le meschine
> della *regina* dell'*eterno pianto*,

the handmaids of Proserpine; the queen of eternal complaint. It is a haunting phrase, and it is small wonder that it remained in Chaucer's mind.

Closely connected with this passage is Chaucer's characterization of the Furies — whom he describes three times. Once, he mentions the "cruel Furie, *sorwing ever in peyne*," [4] once he addresses the

> Herynes, Nyghtes doughtren thre,
> That endeles *compleynen evere in pyne*,
> Megera, Alete, and ek Thesiphone.[5]

land and the districts of purgatory and hell. Cf. *Orfeo and Herodys*, (Ritson, *Met. Rom.*, II, 248), and Dunbar's curious description of Pluto as "that elriche incubus" ("The Goldin Targe," *Poems of Wm. Dunbar*, ed. Schipper, Vienna, 1891, p. 107, v. 125). The matter is mentioned by T. Wright, *St Patrick's Purgatory*, London, 1844, pp. 81 ff., and somewhat more fully discussed in W. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1905, 3rd ed., pp. 357 ff. (For this latter reference I am indebted to Mr Kittredge's kindness.)

[1] *Troil.*, iv, 472–76. Cf. *H.F.*, 1511–12: *Proserpyne*,/That quene is of the *derke pyne*.
[2] *Troil.*, iv, 785–87.
[3] *Mod. Phil.*, XIV (1917), 705–35.
[4] *Troil.*, i, 9.
[5] *Troil.*, iv, 22–24.

And once in the *Franklin's Tale*, when he is describing the torments of Aurelius, we are told that Aurelius languished, "as a furie dooth in helle." [1] In other words, Chaucer thinks of the Furies as sorrowful themselves; they are not only the wrathful cause of sorrow in others. It has been said that this conception is found only in Dante,[2] and that, since Chaucer's order of naming the Furies is the same as that of Dante, Chaucer's source is plain. This may, however, be questioned. For Dante is not the only author who describes the handmaids of Proserpine as being in eternal complaint. Claudian, for instance, mentions the "*tristis* Erinys," [3] and Chaucer, in translating Boethius, had himself written as follows (Boethius is describing the effect of Orpheus' music upon the inhabitants of hell): [4] "and the three goddesses, Furies, and vengeresses of felonyes, that tormenten and agasten the sowles by anoy, woxen *sorwful and sory, and wepen teres for pity.*" In other words, Dante is probably not the only source for Chaucer's conception. He undoubtedly remembered Dante's description; for as we have seen, he used his words (*la regina dell'eterno pianto*) elsewhere, but he could have derived the conception of "sorwful" furies from Claudian and Boethius as well.[5]

A similar mingling of associations is probably to be found in Chaucer's mention of Minos. He refers to this individual twice; in each case as the judge of the souls of the damned. Once, in *Troilus*, when Troilus, thinking Criseyde to be dead, draws his sword

> Hym self to slen, how sore that him smerte,
> So that his soule hire soule folwen myghte
> Ther as the doom of *Mynos* wolde it dighte.[6]

And again, in the first line of the *Legend of Ariadne*, he addresses the "Judge infernal, *Minos*, of Crete king." Now Mr Tatlock has seen in the first mention a reminiscence of Dante's use of Minos

[1] *C.T.*, F 950.

[2] *Mod. Phil.*, XIV (1917), 718 ff.; see *Inf.*, ix, 37–51; esp. 47: Quella *che piange* dal destro è Aletto. . . . and 49: Con l'unghie si fendea ciascuna il petto;/Batteansi a palme, e gridavan sì alto. . . .

[3] *De Raptu*, i, 226.

[4] *De Cons. Phil.*, iii, met 12. 37 ff.

[5] Cf. Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. H. Bergen (E. E. T. S., London, 1908), iii, 5446: "Allecto & Thesyphone,/ And Megara, þat evere doth *compleine*,/ As þei þat lyve evere in wo and *payne*/ *Eternally*, and in turment dwelle/ With Cerberus, depe doun in helle" — a passage plainly reminiscent of Chaucer.

[6] *Troil.*, iv, 1186–88.

as a judge over the souls in hell.[1] However, this seems to me to be dubious. In the first place, Chaucer is speaking of "payens corsed rites," and he could have found Minos referred to in either Virgil or Claudian.[2] In the second place, it would not be very appropriate for Troilus, Chaucer's hero, to descend to the (Christian) regions of eternal punishment. It is much more likely that Chaucer merely remembered that Minos was considered the judge of dead souls, but did not recollect where this fact was mentioned.[3] Dante, Virgil and Claudian seem to have made a sort of composite imprint on his mind, which he used when it occurred to him.

Another individual whom Chaucer mentions as residing in hell is Athamas:

> Saturnes doughter, Juno, thorugh hire myght
> As wood as Athamante do me dwelle
> Eternalich in Stix, the put of helle![4]

Now Dante (*Inf.*, xxx, 1–4) speaks as follows:

> Nel tempo che Giunone era crucciata
> per Semelé contra il sangue tebano,
> come mostrò una ed altra fiata,
> Atamante divenne tanto insano;

and Mr Lowes[5] has suggested that Chaucer borrowed the reference from Dante. But, as Mr Lowes himself remarks, the form 'Athamante' could have come from Ovid, *Met.* iv, 470; 'Athamanta,' and Ovid is probably the source for Chaucer's knowledge of that character's woodness.[6] Further, we have already seen (p. 183) that the

[1] *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX (1914), 97.

[2] *Aen.*, vi, 431–33: Nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine judice, sedes;/ Quaesitor *Minos* urnam movet; ille silentum/ Conciliumque vocat, vitasque et crimina discit. *De Raptu*, ii, 332: Urna nec incertas vereat *Minoia* sorta.

[3] Dante is not the only mediaeval visionary who speaks of a judge of the dead. He occurs also in the vision of Alberic (printed in F. Cancellieri, *Osservazione . . . sopra l'originalità . . . di Dante*, Roma, 1814), and in the vision of Thurcill (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maior*, A.D. 1206). In this latter vision there are some striking parallels to the Egyptian view of the other world, where the soul is judged by Horus, Anubis, and Thoth, as (according to Thurcill) it was judged by St Michael, St Peter, and St Paul. See E. J. Becker, *Mediaeval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Baltimore, 1899, pp. 16–17.

[4] *Troil.*, iv, 1538–40.

[5] *Mod. Phil.*, XIV (1917), 705–35.

[6] Cf. *Met.*, iv, 485, 499, and 512, where madness is specifically mentioned.

phrase, *Stix, the put of helle*, derives by no means from Dante alone; hence we cannot use its employment here as additional evidence to show that Chaucer had Dante in mind when writing Athamante. The passage can be accounted for by Ovid and the convention of mediaeval hell; if Dante was in Chaucer's mind here at all, the portion of it he occupied was, I think, very small.[1]

The prince of hellish inhabitants, "th' Arch Enemy, and thence in Heaven called Satan," is mentioned, in passing, twice by Chaucer. He is speaking of that "sowdanesse, rote of iniquitee" who drove away Constance; he calls her a

> serpent under femininitee,
> Lyk to the serpent depe in helle *y-bounde*.[2]

And a few lines beyond:

> But he, that starf for our redempcioun,
> And *bond* Sathan (and yit *lyth* ther he lay) . . .[3]

Descriptions of Satan *bound* are not very common. We have the passage in *Revelation* (xx, 1, 2): "And I saw an angel come down from Heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil, and *bound* him a thousand years." [4] A picture

[1] The mention of people in hell in *H. F.*, vv. 439–444:

> And also saw I how Sibyle
> And Eneas, besyde an yle,
> To helle wente, for to see
> His fader, Anchises the free.
> How he ther fond Palinurus,
> And Dido and eek Deiphebus

comes so obviously from Virgil, that it needs no comment.

[2] *C.T.*, B 360–61. There can be little doubt that Chaucer here refers to the devil; though serpent-like monsters were a well-known feature of hell (cf. Tundale, *ed. cit.*, pp. 25–27) and the entrance to hell was commonly pictured as the mouth of a beast (especially in sculpture, see W. H. v. d. Mülbe, *Die Darstellung des jüngsten Gerichtes an den romanischen und gotischen kirchen-portalen Frankreichs*, Leipzig, 1911, plates iv, vi, xi, xiv and xv). But in none of these cases is the serpent (if such it is) *bound*.

[3] *C.T.*, B 633–34.

[4] Cf. *Jude*, 6: "And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, into the judgment of the great day." Also the Old-English *Genesis B*, vv. 377–79, gives a detailed description of Satan bound:

> Me habbað hringa gespong,
> sliðhearda sal siðes amyrred,
> afyrred me min feðe, fet sint gebundene,
> handa gehæfte . . .

(here reproduced) of Satan sitting bound in hell existed in the twelfth-century *Hortus deliciarum.*[1] And both Tundale and Dante echo this description. The climax of Tundale's tour of the nether regions comes with his sight of the devil; he peers down into the pit of hell, and sees the *prince de tenebres*, who is of enormous size, and *noir com un corbel.* He *lies* on a gridiron, with little devils blowing up the fire beneath him, and he is bound *par toutes les jointures de*

chescun membre a grosses chaines de fer et d'erain ensamble ardant.[2] Dante's Satan is equally stationary and equally large, but he suffers from cold rather than from heat, and stands in the bottom of hell fastened in ice.[3] It is plain that Chaucer is following the tradition of these descriptions when he mentions Satan; but when he says that that monarch *yit lyth ther he lay*, the reference must be, I think, to Tundale; for Chaucer and Tundale are alone in giving Satan a horizontal position.[4]

[1] From Abbé Brouillet, "Le Jugement dernier dans l'Art," in *Notes d'Art et d'Archéologie*, 1895, p. 70.

[2] *La Vision de Tondale, ed. cit.*, p. 37.

[3] *Inf.*, xxxiv, 28–29: Lo imperador del doloroso regno/da mezzo il petto uscia fuor della ghiaccia.

[4] Chaucer once more speaks of "the feend in helle wher that he is lord and sire," (*C.T.*, G 918), but the notion of Satan's dominance over hell was so widely prevalent, that it need not occupy our further attention.

Characteristics of Hell

We now come to Chaucer's characterization of hell: it is dark; it is fiery; it has innumerable torments; it stinks; it has a loudly bellowing wind; and it is inhabited by yelling black devils.

The description of hell as "dark," is, of course, a classical commonplace. We have Virgil's *ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram,*[1] Claudian's *pratisque Ereba nigrantibus errant,*[2] and many other similar phrases which contribute to the general gloomy impression of those nether regions. Further Dante's *Inferno* is also dark: *oscura, profunda era, e nebulosa;*[3] so that when Chaucer speaks of Proserpine's "owene derke regioun" [4] or of Pluto's "derke regioun" [5] or of the "regne of Pluto derk and lowe," [6] it is likely that his authorities for his description are, as usual, scattered, with a large preponderance on the side of the classical. But when, on the other hand, he refers to Morpheus' Cave as being

> as dark
> As helle pit over-al aboute,[7]

or says,

> "Derk was this cave, and smoking as the helle," [8]

a reference to the classics seems less probable. Let us glance again at the mediaeval visions. As Drihthelm was led by his heavenly conductor from the valley of purgatory towards the pit of hell, he "saw the place begin to grow dusk and filled with darkness. When I came into it, the darkness, by degrees, grew so thick, that I could see nothing besides it and the shape and garment of him that led me." [9] So another early monk, one Barontus, of the abbey of Longoretus in the district of Berry, in France, enjoyed a prospect of hell — it appeared to him a dark obscure place, covered with

[1] *Aen.*, vi, 268. It is interesting to note that Bede, when describing Drihthelm's progression through Purgatory (*Eccl. Hist.*, v, 12), uses practically these same words: "et cum progrederemur *sola sub nocte per umbras*" (cf. C. Plummer's ed., II, 299, note *ad loc.*). The darkness of the mediaeval hell was doubtless a legacy from the Classical Hades.

[2] *De Raptu*, i, 281.

[3] *Inf.*, iv, 10.

[4] *C.T.*, F 1073.

[5] *C.T.*, A 2082.

[6] *C.T.*, A 2299.

[7] *B. of D.*, 170–71.

[8] *Mars*, 120.

[9] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, v, 12.

vaporous clouds.[1] Alberic, an Italian boy nine years old, was vouchsafed a vision of the other world in which he saw the *os infernalis baratri . . . qui simile videbatur puteo*, which threw out an intolerable stench, and was dark; so dark, indeed, that Alberic, like Barontus, could see nothing of what went on there.[2] Tundale's soul is left alone on the brink of hell "en tele manière qu'ele ne povit veir," so dark it was,[3] and he saw a deep smoking valley with "une *fumee* si puant que plus grevoit as ames a sentir que tout le tourment qu'eles avoient souffert par-devant." In the light of these descriptions, Chaucer's phrases would seem rather to echo the mediaeval visions than anything classical. Certainly darkness and smoke must have been a widely recognized characteristic of hell. Thus in the lines of the Second Nun's prayer:

> So for to werken yif me wit and space,
> That I be quit fro thennes that most derk is. . . .[4]

Chaucer's audience would soon recognize a reference to the lower regions.

But of all the phenomena in mediaeval hell, fire was the most striking. Indeed, it is the chief means of punishment in nearly all eschatologies; it is found in Buddhist and Mohammedan doctrine, in the Old and New Testaments, it is common throughout the Fathers, is emphasized in every mediaeval vision,[5] and is one of the chief punishments in Dante's *Inferno*.[6] Thus when Chaucer prays the Virgin,

> Now lady from the fyr thou us defende
> Which that in helle eternally shall dure [7]

[1] "Visio Baronti Monachi Longoretus," *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Script. Rer. Meroving., 1910, v, 390, Sect. 17: "Deinde iter agentes pervenimus ad infernum, sed non vidimus quid inter se ageretur propter tenebrarum caliginem et fumigantium multitudinem." Cf. Ovid, *Met.*, iv, 434, "Styx nebulas exhalat iners."

[2] F. Cancellieri, *Osservazione sopra . . . l'originalità della Divina Comedia di Dante* (Rome, 1814), p. 162.

[3] *La vision de Tondale, ed. cit.*, p. 34.

[4] *C.T.*, G 65–66.

[5] It occasionally occurs, not only in hell, but also in heaven. In the Hebrew *Revelation of Moses* (trans. M. Gaster, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1893, pp. 571 ff.), the following curious description is given: "I saw further the fiery river Rizyon, which comes out before God, from under the throne of glory and is formed from the perspiration of the holy Creatures who support the throne of Glory, and out of dread of God's majesty perspire fire."

[6] See cantos ix, xiv, and xxvi.

[7] *A B C*, 95–96.

"Et gisoit cel orrible dyable sus un greil de fer qui estoit assis sus grant plentet de charbons ardans." (Tundale)

"L'Enfer," from *Les Très Riches Heures de Jean de France, Duc de Berry* (ed. Paul Durrieu, Paris, 1904, plate xlvii); after Tundale's description.

he is referring to a very common notion, one which was in everybody's mind, had been there for a long time, and for which it is hopeless to seek any definite source.

The same lack of a definite authority strikes us in Chaucer's account of the infernal torments. When he mentions the "pyne" or "peyne" of hell we can only remark that Chaucer, like all his contemporaries, was not unaware that punishment for sins was a leading feature of the future existence. That these punishments were numerous was also commonly observed. Virgil says, for instance:

> Non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum
> Ferrea vox, omnis scelarum comprendere formas
> Omnia poenarum pecurrer nomina possim.[1]

Hardly one of the mediaeval visionaries refrains from making the same comment, and anybody who had read Dante realized that there was justification for it. Thus when Chaucer speaks of "every tourment down in helle . . . which is long to telle," [2] he was again repeating a commonplace. It is possible that he was thinking of Dante's numerous forms of torture, but we have no means for proving it.

In the *House of Fame* (v. 1654), as we have already observed, Eolus' black trumpet "stank as the pit of helle," and Chaucer says to the Virgin (*ABC*, 54–56)

> So have I doon in erthe, allas ther-whyle!
> That certes, but-if thou my socour be,
> To stink eterne he [God] wol my gost exyle.

Now hell, to the ancients, may have been a disagreeable place, but it did not stink; it was left to mediaeval imagination to add this feature. When Dante, for example, is speaking of the gluttonous, he says "*pute* la terra che questo riceve"; [3] the wrathful and the

[1] *Aen.*, vi, 625. These words are given a Christian turn in the M.E. *Visio Pauli* (in *Old English Miscellany*, vv. 263 ff.), where it is said that though a hundred men, with teeth and *tongues of steel*, had sat talking from the birth of Cain till now, yet they would have left untold a thousand pains and more. The same phrase recurs in Richard Rolle's *Pricke of Conscience* (ed. R. Morris, Berlin, 1863, vv. 647 ff.); if a hundred thousand men, with "an hundreth thousand *tunges of stele*" had been talking since the beginning of the world, they could not tell all the sorrow of hell.

[2] *H. F.*, 445. [3] *Inf.*, vi, 12.

sullen lie on a *lorda pozza*, 'a putrid fen'; [1] and it takes him some time to become accustomed to the horrible smell thrown out by the lower depths of hell:

> l'orribile soperchio
> del puzzo, che il profondo abisso gitta.[2]

So Sir Owayn, in *St Patrick's Purgatory*, comes to a "deep water . . . that foule stunk"; [3] "so strong stunch" [4] as that from the pit of hell, Owayn had never smelled. And St Brandan, as he sails northward, comes to

> a lond deark i-noug,
> Smoke stynkinde foule; [5]

which he soon discovers to be hell. St Paul, when the chief infernal pit was unsealed, was overcome by the stench issuing from it:

> Et tele puor en issi
> Que soz ciel n'est hueme né
> Ki sace dire la verité [6]

And Tundale, left alone on the brink of hell, felt "soubitement si grant horreur et si grant froit et si grant pueur et tenebres et tribulations et angoisse si grant que il astoit avis a l'ame que tous li fondemens de la terre tranbloit sous ses pies" — the wretched soul could not move "pour la tres grant puour qu'ele sentoit." [7] Thus, when Chaucer mentions such a common convention as the stink of hell, we cannot assume that he thought of any particular description.

And wind was as common as the stink. The author of the *Poema Morale* speaks of "Hwilc hete is þer soule wuneð, hu biter *winde* þer *blaweð*"; [8] in *St Patrick's Purgatory*, we are told, "a smart *wind* . . . *blewz* wel faste" [9] on the tortured souls. And as Owayn is about to cross the pit of hell by a bridge (a bridge so high no one

[1] *Inf.*, vii, 127.
[2] *Inf.*, xi, 5–6.
[3] *Ed. cit.*, vv. 331–32.
[4] *Ed. cit.*, v. 407.
[5] *Early South English Legendary*, vv. 470–71, p. 232.
[6] Printed in A. F. Ozanam, *Études sur les Sources Poétiques de la Divine Comédie* (Paris, 1845), p. 111, vv. 198 ff.
[7] *La Vision de Tondale, ed. cit.*, pp. 33–34. (Cf. passage cited, p. 192, above.)
[8] *Old English Miscellany*, v. 138.
[9] *Ed. cit.*, v. 245.

dared mount it, so narrow that no one could set foot on it, and so slippery no one could stay on it without falling), he is warned that the fiends will send "such a wynde" that he will be blown down to hell.[1] So when Chaucer in the *House of Fame* (v. 1803) says that Eolus blew his trumpet "as loude as *belweth wind in helle*," he had, for the existence of that hellish wind, a strong tradition behind him. But that winds *bellowed* is not so ordinary a feature. It is found in Dante:

> Io venni in loco d'ogni luce muto,
> che *mugghia* come fa mar per tempesta
> Se da contrari venti è combattuto;[2]

and as Mr Lowes has remarked,[3] Chaucer's word, "belweth," seems like a direct translation of Dante's *mugghia*. The noise made by infernal wind, however, is also mentioned by the *Ayenbite of Inwit:* in hell there is "ver bernynde, brenstone stinkinde, *tempeste brayinde*, voule dyevlen, honger, and þorst."[4] And in the light of this, we cannot assume that only Dante was in Chaucer's mind when he mentioned infernal winds, though it is likely that he had some recollection of Dante's description.

In the *Nun's Priest's Tale* the people chasing Chanticleer and the fox "yelleden as feendes doon in helle."[5] Now Dante's fiends, the Malebranche,[6] only twice do anything like this. When Ciampolo is fished by the devils from the river of pitch, Dante says (vv. 40–42),

> "O Rubicante, fa che tu gli metti
> gli unghioni addosso si che tu lo scuoi,"
> *gridavan* tutti insieme i maledetti.

Again one of them "si mosse, e *grido*," (v. 126). But this yelling is a mere commonplace. If we turn to St Brandan's fiends, we find that "they gounnen to *yeolle* faste"[7] and even when St Brandan and his companions are some distance from hell "Yeot heo i-heorden heore *yeollinge*."[8] And in *St Patrick's Purgatory*, the fiends do little else but yell. As the devils came to Sir Owayn, "*yeollinde* ech-one

[1] *Old English Miscellany*, v. 415.
[2] *Inf.*, v. 28–30.
[3] *Mod. Phil.*, XIV (1917), 717; cf. also Miss Stanford, *art. cit. infra*, p. 381, n. 14, at end.
[4] Ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1866, p. 73 (this seems closer to Dante than does Chaucer).
[5] *C.T.*, B 4579.
[6] *Inf.*, xxii, 42, 126.
[7] *Ed. cit.*, v. 482.
[8] *Ibid.*, v. 493.

heo were," [1] "heo *yollen* and grenneden on him foule," [2] "wel grisliche he *yollen*." [3] St Paul, journeying in the other world, was shown

> a serwful siht,
> And he looked þer forþ riht;
> An Old man sat þer wepynge
> Bi-twene four develes foul *yellynge*.[4]

Another characteristic of Chaucer's devils is their blackness. Pertelote is talking about the effect of dreams; she says,

> the humour of malencolye
> Causeth ful many a man, in sleep, to crye
> For fere of blake beres, or boles blake,
> Or elles, *blake develes* wol him take.[5]

Now neither *St Patrick's Purgatory* nor the *Voyage of St Brendan* mentions the color of the devils who dwell in hell; but their blackness is elsewhere unquestioned. Charles the Fat met devils of a black complexion; he was led "in profundissimas ualles et igneas; ecce, *nigerrimi* daemones aduolantes cum uncis igneis." [6] Tundale saw the same variety — the devils who tormented the souls on the brink of hell's pit "estoient noir comme charbon." [7] And when he later caught a glimpse of the "prince de tenebres," that monarch, as we have seen, was also black, "noir com un corbel." So in the *Debate of the Body or the Soul* we have "mani a devel foul and blac," [8] and in *Guy of Warwick*, black devils are referred to.[9] Dante is not unaware of this convention (*Inf.*, xxii, 29) and, like Chaucer, he here draws from a floating mass of tradition.

Chaucer gives us another hint concerning his conception of hell. Constance's first mother-in-law is persuading the assembly not to submit to Christianity:

[1] *Old English Miscellany*, Appendix II, v. 143. [2] *Ibid.*, v. 168.
[3] *Ibid.*, v. 177. [4] *Ibid.*, vv. 173 ff. [5] *C.T.*, B 4123–26.
[6] William of Malmsbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ii, 3.
[7] *La Vision de Tondale, ed. cit.*, p. 34.
[8] From O. F. Emerson, *Middle English Reader*, London, 1924, p. 60, l. 14.
[9] Ed. J. Zupitza, E.E.T.S., London, 1887, p. 430, stanza 62.
A Saracen is described:

> As blac he is as brodes brend;
> He semes as it were a fende,
> þat comen were out of helle.

What shulde us tyden of this newe lawe
But thraldom to our bodies and penance?
And afterward in helle to be *drawe*.[1]

The idea of being 'drawn' is not mentioned by Dante, but Sir Owayn, in *St Patrick's Purgatory*, knows hardly any other form of locomotion. The devils "to-*drowen* him wel faste." [2] They "*drewen*

with heom this knigt," [3] "mid oules heom to-*drowe*," [4] and from punishment to punishment, the devils thus lead their unfortunate victim.

The relation between Chaucer and St Patrick's Purgatory has already been ably pointed out by Miss M. A. Stanford.[5] The lines in the *Sumner's Tale*,

"Delivereth out," quod he, "anon the soules,
Ful hard it is with fleshhooks or with oules!
To been y-clawed, or to brenne or bake." [6]

in which Chaucer gives us a description of purgatorial torments, seem to refer definitely to Owayn's picture of them. And, as Miss

[1] *C.T.*, B 337–39. [2] *Ed. cit.*, v. 170. [3] *Ed. cit.*, v. 178.
[4] *Ed. cit.*, v. 248. This, to be sure, is in purgatory rather than hell, but the peculiarities of the two places are often indistinguishable.
[5] "The Sumner's Tale and Saint Patrick's Purgatory," *Journ. Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, XIX (1920), 377–81. [6] *C. T.*, D 1729–31.

Stanford remarks, 'oules' (awls) and flesh-hooks were not only common in mediaeval descriptions of hell, but are found in purgatory also. One may see what the flesh-hooks looked like in a curious woodcut printed in a little black letter pamphlet at Lyons in 1506, *Le Voyage du Pays Sainct Patrix* (reprinted Paris, 1839, as here reproduced): horrible looking tools — a sort of cross between a club and a rake, or a two-pronged fork. As for the 'oules,' the reader may observe their method of application in the lower left hand corner of the plate opposite page 188.[1]

Chaucer gives three more descriptive notes of hell. One of these is the Sumner's unsavory description of the future dwelling-place of friars,[2] which we mentioned at the beginning of this paper (p. 179). That this is probably not of Chaucer's invention but rather from current tradition may be inferred by the Sumner's words:

> For pardee, ye han *ofte tyme* herd telle,
> How that a frere ravisshed was to helle . . .

with which he begins his account. But though the exact situation here described does not seem to have survived in literature outside of Chaucer,[3] nevertheless the disagreeable position occupied by Chaucer's friars was pretty familiar to mediaeval imagination. In the fresco of hell (formerly attributed to Orcagna) in the Campo Santo at Pisa, we may see an unfortunate individual (labelled Simon Magus in a sixteenth-century (?) reproduction of this fresco) who

[1] Flesh-hooks, awls, etc., may be found in *La Vision de Tondale, ed. cit.*, p. 12; in Thurcill's vision (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maior*, A.D. 1206); in Dante, *Inf.*, xxi, 52 ff.; in *The Debate of the Body and the Soul*, v. 414, in the *Visio Pauli* (*Old English Miscellany*, pp. 147 ff.), and, as Miss Stanford observes, throughout *St Patrick's Purgatory*. The *N.E.D.* gives no meaning for awl except that of 'pricker'— more especially the shoemaker's tool. But the context of the visions demands something more than this; one could be 'drawn' with awls (*St Patrick's Purgatory*, v. 179), and 'rent' by them (*Body and Soul*, v. 414), language which would imply that they were more like hooks than awls. The term was probably used to include almost any kind of pointed instrument.

[2] *C.T.*, D 1685–1706.

[3] Thomas Wright (*St Patrick's Purgatory*, London, 1844, p. 35) suggested that the Sumner's description was due to an incident in the vision of Tundale, where the souls of monks and canons are swallowed and digested by a hideous beast, and then expelled "in the natural way" into a frozen lake (see ed. of Friedel and Meyer, pp. 25–27). But the beast is not Satan, nor are the souls permanent inhabitants of his posterior. Cf. Fragment C of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, vv. 7577–78: "But thou shalt for this sinne dwelle/ Right in the devils ers of helle."

is in painfully close contact with the *prince de tenebres.* Giotto, in his picture of the Last Judgment in the Arena Chapel at Padua, had the same notion: a writhing figure issues half-way out of Satan's posterior. So that in this instance also, we may be sure that Chaucer is drawing upon his usual conventional material.[1]

In the *Man of Law's Tale,* Chaucer addresses the following words to old Donegild, who has behaved in a treacherous manner to Constance, her daughter-in-law:

> Fy, mannish fy! O nay, by god, I lye,
> Fy, *feendly* spirit for I dar wel telle
> *Though thou heer walke, thy spirit is in helle!* [2]

Now Mr Tatlock has considered [3] this to be a recollection of Dante's description of Tolomea (*Inf.*, xxxiii, 124 ff.), the home of traitors:

> Cotal vantaggio ha questa Tolomea
> *Che spesse volte l'anima ci cade*
> *innanzi ch'Atropos mossa le dea.*

And it seems possible that Chaucer actually had this notion in mind when blaming Donegild for treachery. The conception is not found, to my knowledge, outside of Dante.

The last remark which we shall consider is made by the Friar:

> Al-be-it so, no tonge may devyse,
> Thogh that I mighte a thousand winter telle
> The peyne of thilke cursed *hous* of helle.[4]

We have heard Virgil speak, in somewhat similar terms, of the difficulties of describing the torments of hell, and the description of

[1] Skeat considered the lines,

> "And now hath Sathanas," saith he, "a tayl
> Brodder than of a carrik is the say" (*C.T.*, D 1687–88),

reminiscent of Dante's description of Satan's *wings:* "vele di mar nou vidio mai cotali" (*Inf.*, xxxiv, 38). But this is very doubtful.

In *Modern Language Notes,* XXIX (1914), 143, Mr Tatlock expresses the view that the incident is related to one told by Caesarius of Heisterbach (*Dial. Mir.*, vii, 59) about a vision of *heaven;* Mr Curry (*MLN*, XXXVIII (1923), 253) connects it with *Inf.* xxxiv, 76–77, where the "meanest part of Satan's anatomy" is the bottom of hell. But Mr Tatlock's parallel contains no reference to the location of the incident; Mr Curry's citation omits the story. I find it difficult to believe that Dante had anything to do with Chaucer's description.

[2] *C.T.*, B 782–784.

[3] *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXIX (1914), 97.

[4] *C.T.*, D 1650–52.

hell as a "hous" may be found both in the Middle-English vision of St Paul [1] and the romance of the *Holy Grail*.[2] Thus, even in the most minute of Chaucer's infernal descriptions, the influence of tradition is all important.

We have now come to the end of Chaucer's references to hell. It is plain, I think, that he nearly always draws, not from any single description, but from the general hellish convention which underlies them all; a convention which (like nearly everything else in the Middle Ages) was a combination of Christian and classical material. The visions alone, as we remarked at the beginning, established a common basis of imagery and language for their pictures of hell. In them hell was a dark pit, the prison-house of Satan, full of fire and stink; inhabited by black and yelling devils, who, in purgatory as well as in hell, tortured their victims with "oules" and flesh-hooks. Chaucer, quite naturally, based his descriptions on these conventional details; it is impossible that he should have lived in the fourteenth century and done otherwise.

But have we evidence to prove his acquaintance with any of the individual visions? [3] Though it is very slight, I think we have. In the article referred to above (p. 195, n. 5), Miss Stanford has shown the extreme probability of Chaucer's familiarity with the clerical version of *St Patrick's Purgatory*. I can only endorse her conclusion; the great popularity of the poem, combined with the Sumner's description of purgatorial discomforts (*C. T.*, D 1729–31), makes it very likely that Chaucer knew of it. And I believe the same may be said of Tundale's vision. Chaucer and Tundale, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 188), are alone in describing Satan as *lying* bound in hell (the other descriptions of Satan bound either do not describe his position or mention him as erect), and it seems to me exceedingly likely, considering how very popular Tundale's vision

[1] *Old English Miscellany*, Appendix II (Vernon MS.), v. 140; the unchaste are seen with four "angels" standing by them "þat wearen of þe *hous* of helle."

[2] Ed. F. S. Furnivall (E.E.T.S., London, 1875, pt 2) ch. xxxiii, 108 ff. King Label in a vision sees a filthy house, and he is later told (v. 351): "That dirk blak *hows* signefyeth *helle*."

[3] Mr W. O. Sypherd (*Studies in Chaucer's Hous of Fame*, Chaucer Society, London, 1907, pp. 68, 115) has already produced some possible visionary parallels to the poem he so carefully examined.

was, that Chaucer borrowed his description from it. We cannot be absolutely certain, but everything (as in the case of *St Patrick's Purgatory*) stands in favor of the assumption.

As for classical references to hell, here too we find a background of common tradition. To Chaucer, the realm of Pluto and Proserpine was a dark, low region, near the Elysian fields, where Lethe and Phlegethon flowed, Cerberus was stationed, and Sisyphus, Tityos, Ixion and Tantalus languished in company with the Furies. But there is little that can be traced with certainty to either Virgil or Claudian; though to Virgil we may credit the passing reference to Palinurus and his companions (*H.F.*, 439–44), and to Claudian we may doubtfully assign the mention of Pluto (*H.F.*, 1509–12) and of Lethe (*H.F.*, 71–72). We can be no more definite about the source for his mention of Tityos, Tantalus, Cerberus, Phlegethon, and the others than we can be, say, for his reference to the infernal stench. Yet this very inconclusiveness is perhaps the most interesting thing about our discussion. It shows, for one thing, that in describing hell, Chaucer (as indeed we might have suspected) was entirely dependent on convention, and that his phraseology is derived from that convention; and it shows that this convention itself was (when expressed in literature) a changing one — shifting, as occasion demanded, from a classical to a mediaeval outline, and back again.[1]

And what of Dante? One would have imagined, attacking the subject in an *a priori* fashion, that, if Chaucer had known the *Divine Comedy* well, details of Dante's vivid and intense picture of hell would have made a stronger impression on him than any others. We know, at least, that he quotes more from the *Inferno* than from the other two canticles of the poem; yet when we review Chaucer's images of hell, we find that the number of those drawn from Dante is remarkably small. There are, as a matter of fact, only two probable reminiscences of the *Inferno:* the recollection of the property of

[1] An entertaining example of this Classical-Christian confusion may be seen in the thirteenth-century poem, *Le Turnoiement d'Antecrist*, by Hugo de Berti (cited in T. Wright, *St Patrick's Purgatory*, London, 1844, p. 111, from *MS. Harl 4417*), where Pluto and Proserpine appear as the monarchs of hell, leading an army composed indiscriminately of Christian vices, classical deities, and the companions of Beelzebub. Cf. p. 183, n. 7.

Tolomea (*supra*, p. 197) and the remembrance of Dante's phrase "la regina dell' eterno pianto" (*supra*, p. 184). And we cannot be absolutely sure, even of these. When Chaucer refers to the "feld of pitee out of peyne" (*supra*, p. 182), we are on still shakier ground, but it seems likely that he had Dante's Limbo in mind, though in connection with classic tradition as well (*supra*, p. 182). When he speaks about the Furies, he may have had Dante in mind also, but he could have found similarities to his conception, as we have shown, in Claudian and Boethius (*supra*, p. 185). As for the "belwing" wind, Dante's influence seems predominant, but not complete (*supra*, p. 193); and the other remarks once attributed to Dante's influence: the "swolow" of hell, and Minos as judge of the damned, seem to be the result of convention (*supra*, pp. 181, 185). So with the hellish smell and the yelling devils. Dante and Chaucer had a common source; one was not the origin of the other.

Our conclusion thus tends to minimize Dante's influence. Chaucer's references to hell are, to be sure, fragmentary and brief, but those which probably derive from Dante are among the briefest of all. The most we can say is that Dante, as far as his picture of hell is concerned, occupied a slightly more important place in Chaucer's mind than Virgil or Claudian; the influence of convention was overwhelmingly predominant.

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NOTES

ALDHELM AT THE HANDS OF SHARON TURNER

Sharon Turner (1768–1847), who inaugurated the modern study of Old English literature by his *History of England from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest* (1795–1805), devoted a part of his Book 9, chapter 6, to Aldhelm's prose, having already treated of his verse in chapter 5. Mentioning Aldhelm's treatise on virginity as his principal prose work, he pays his compliments to its style in a passage which contains these two sentences (3.403–4):

> He clouds his meaning by his gorgeous rhetoric: never content with illustrating his sentiment by an adapted simile, he is perpetually abandoning his subject to pursue his imagery. He illustrates his illustrations till he has forgotten both their meaning and applicability.

He then quotes four paragraphs in exemplification, the first containing only disjointed phrases and clauses, culled from different parts of the work; the second corresponding to 247.9–13 of Ehwald's edition (*Aldhelmi Opera: Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctorum Antiquissimorum Tomus* XV. Berlin, 1919); the third representing most of 320.20–321.2; and the fourth standing for 231.12–232.11 — all in translation. To illustrate the method and quality of Turner's version, I subjoin, first the Latin of this fourth specimen, and then the specimen itself [1] (the square brackets enclose portions omitted by Turner, and the reference-numbers correspond with those in the translation):

> Ast tamen solertissimæ apis industriam [prædictis exemplorum formulis coaptari posse uberrima rerum experimenta liquido declarant], quæ roscido facessante crepusculo [1] et exorto limpidissimi solis iubare densos extemplo [2] tripudiantium turmarum exercitus per patentes campos [gregatim] diffundunt, modo melligeris caltarum frondibus seu purpureis malvarum floribus incubantes [mulsa] nectaris [stillicidia] guttatim rostro [3] decerpunt [et velut lento careni defruto, quod regalibus ferculis conficitur, avida viscerum receptacula certatim implere contendunt,] modo flavescentes saliculas et crocata [4] genestarum cacumina circumvallantes [fertilem] prædam numerosis crurum et coxarum oneribus [5] advehunt, quibus cerea castra conficiunt, modo teretes hederarum corimbos [6] et levissimos florentis [7] tiliæ surculos [8] constipantes multiformem favorum machinam [9] angulosis et opertis [10] cellulis construunt, cuius artis molimen [11] egregius poeta metrica facundia [12] fretus catalectico versu creditur [13] cecinisse, [cum diceret

[1] *History of England from the Earliest Period to the Death of Elizabeth* (London, 1839), 3. 405.

Cerea gemmatis flavescunt mella canistris
et infra brachicatalecto sive colopho
Collucentque suis aurea vasa favis.

Nam quemadmodum examen arta fenestrarum foramina et angusta alvearii vestibula certatim per turmas egressum amoæna arvorum prata populatur,] eodem modo vestrum, ni fallor, memoriale mentis ingenium [14] per florulenta [15] scripturarum arva [late] vagans bibula [16] curiositate decurrit.

Turner's translation (3.405) follows, with notes calling attention to its inaccuracies and infelicities:

Resembling the industry of the most sagacious bees which, when the dewy dawn appears,[1] and the beams of the most limpid sun arise, pour the thick armies of their dancing crowds from the temple [2] over the open fields; now lying in the honey-bearing leaves of the marigolds, or in the purple flowers of the mallows, they suck the nectar, drop by drop, with their beaks [3]; now flying round the yellowing willows and purplish [4] tops of the broom, they carry their plunder on numerous thighs and burthened legs,[5] from which they make their waxen castles; now crowding about the round berries [6] of the ivy, and the light springs [8] of the flourishing [7] linden trees, they construct the multiform machine [9] of their honeycombs with angular and open [10] cells, whose artificial structure the [11] excellent poet with natural eloquence [12] has [13] sung in catalectic verse; so, unless I mistake, your memorising ingenuity of mind,[14] in like manner wandering through the flourishing [15] fields of letters, runs with a bibulous [16] curiosity.

[1] dawn appears: darkness retreats
[2] from the temple: straightway
[3] beaks: tongues
[4] purplish: golden
[5] on numerous thighs and burthened legs: by innumerable loads on legs and hips
[6] berries: clusters
[7] flourishing: flowering
[8] springs: sprigs (misprint)
[9] machine: fabric
[10] open: hidden
[11] whose artificial structure the: which ingenious contrivance an
[12] natural eloquence: metrical fluency
[13] has: is believed to have
[14] ingenuity of mind: faculty
[15] flourishing: flowery
[16] bibulous: absorbing (insatiable, avid)

Asser, in his *Life of King Alfred*, twice makes use of this figure of the bees (chaps. 76 and 88), which Stevenson, in his edition (p. 302), suggests he may have borrowed from Aldhelm. The passage from chapter 76 runs thus in my translation (Boston, 1906):

Like a prudent bee, which, rising in summer at early morning from her beloved cells, steers her course with rapid flight along the uncertain paths of the air, and descends on the manifold and varied flowers of grasses, herbs, and shrubs, essaying that which most pleases her, and bearing it home, he directed the eyes of his mind afar, and sought that without which he had not within, that is, in his own kingdom.

That from chapter 88 is as follows:

> Thus, like a most productive bee, flying far and wide, and scrutinizing the fenlands, he eagerly and unceasingly collected various flowers of Holy Scripture, with which he copiously stored the cells of his mind.

As Stevenson points out, the metaphor was common among classical and later writers. The first occurrence is perhaps Lucretius 3.9–13, where, apostrophizing Epicurus, he says:

> Tu, pater, es rerum inventor, tu patria nobis
> Suppeditas præcepta, tuisque ex, inclute, chartis,
> Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,
> Omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta,
> Aurea, perpetua semper dignissima vita.

The process of assimilating the gatherings is dwelt on by Seneca (*Letter 84*), who first quotes Virgil, *Aen.* 1.432–3:

> Or with the flowing honey storing close
> The pliant cells, until they quite run o'er
> With nectared sweet.

He then comments:

> Let us perfectly assimilate the various morsels of our spiritual food; otherwise they will pass into our memory, but not into our soul. Let us make them wholly our own, and appropriate them utterly, so that a unity shall result from the original multiplicity. . . . Let our mind conceal all its borrowings, and only display the finished product into which it has converted them.

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GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS AND PETRONIUS

Giraldus Cambrensis has been strangely neglected by students of the history of classical scholarship. Sandys dismisses him with a brief paragraph, stating summarily that practically all the important Latin authors except Lucretius and Tacitus are quoted by him, and even this statement needs qualification. No comprehensive study of his classical scholarship seems to have been made, though an excellent account of one phase of it is found in the first number of this journal (C. C. Coulter and F. P. Magoun, Jr, "Giraldus Cambrensis and Indo-Germanic Philology," *Speculum*, I (1926), 104–109).

One naturally thinks of Giraldus' greater contemporary, John of Salisbury. There is, to judge from my incomplete material, a decided resemblance in the lists of authors mentioned by these two. There seems to be

no writer known to Giraldus and not also to John; on the latter's list we find only two new names, Catullus, quoted once, and Livy, merely mentioned. But if one compares the depth of knowledge possessed by them, the results may be quite different.

The case of Petronius is in point. No writer of the Middle Ages or Renaissance possessed a knowledge of Petronius comparable to that of John. Giraldus, on the other hand, quotes him only once, so far as my information goes. While Burmann refers to this quotation in his editions of Petronius of 1709 and 1743, it seems to have escaped the notice of Bücheler, who makes no reference to it in his critical apparatus (possibly for reasons suggested below); it also eluded Collignon, Thomas, and Manitius, who have carefully collected the testimonia; and the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholars who devoted so much time and zeal to the study of Petronius. For this reason, it may not be out of place to call attention to the quotation again.

In chapter 3 of the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, Giraldus quotes four verses of Petronius, printed by modern editors in chapter 82 of the *Satirae*, by earlier editors in chapter 42. Some points of interest may be noted. First, the passage is quoted from Petronius by Fulgentius (*Myth.* ii, 18), an author of whom Giraldus displays no knowledge. Second, the passage is found only in the printed editions of Tornaesius (1575) and Pithoeus (1577), in the MS. edition of Scaliger (MS. *Leid. 61*), in the interpolated MS. *Monacensis 12479* (*saec.* xvii or xviii), in a florilegium (*Paris 17903;* so probably in *Paris 7647* and other similar MSS), in Vincent of Beauvais, and, in part, in Jacobus Magnus, and in none of the MSS of the vulgate family. It is therefore part of the florilegium tradition, and Giraldus is perhaps, except for Fulgentius, the earliest source.

The question now arises whether Giraldus got the passage from Petronius direct or from Fulgentius. A collation of the passage may be of assistance in deciding. I print first the four lines as they are found in the latest text of Bücheler (sixth edition by Heraeus, 1922):

> Non bibit inter aquas poma aut pendentia carpit
> Tantalus infelix, quem sua vota premunt.
> Divitis haec magni facies erit, omnia cernens
> Qui timet et sicco concoquit ore famem.

I now quote the readings of the following:

B Bücheler's *editio maior* of 1862
F Fulgentius
G Giraldus
I Jacobus Magnus (*Zophil.* II, 4, 18)
L Leidensis 61
M Monacensis 12479
N Parisinus 17903
p Pithoeus' edition of 1577
t Tornaesius' edition of 1575
V Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Hist.* xx, 25)

v. 1. Nec Ft (*i.m.*) Non *cett.* nec poma FGL (*i.m.*) neque poma t (*i.m.*) poma aut *cett.* patentia F (editions) fugacia G pendentia *cett.* (except dependentia in one MS. of Fulgentius, and apparently in a gloss in a Bodleian MS. of Claudian, quoted by Burmann).

v. 3. omnia late FGL (*i.m.*) omnia cernens *cett.*

v. 4. Quae t qui t (*i.m.*) *cett.* tenet BFGIL (*i.m.*) MNV timet Lpt conquerit INV concoquit *cett.*

While the body of evidence is too slight to admit of certainty, the readings *nec poma* (v. 1) and *omnia late* (v. 3) seem to indicate that Giraldus derived the passage from Fulgentius and not from any MS. of Petronius now known. Scaliger of course took his marginal readings in *L* from Fulgentius. There is only one example of a reading belonging clearly to the florilegium tradition represented here by INV (*conquerit* in v. 4), and that Giraldus does not have. The reading *fugacia* (v. 1) may be a conjecture of Giraldus, or the actual reading of the Fulgentius MS. that he used. It is an easy conjecture, made again centuries later by Muncker and perhaps by others. It would appear probable then that Giraldus borrowed the poem from Fulgentius, and it is perhaps due to a universal recognition of this that modern scholars make no reference to Giraldus.

A word should be added regarding the other possibility, that Giraldus used a florilegium. It is probable that John used mainly excerpt MSS (cf. Schaarschmidt, "Johannes Sarisberiensis in seinem Verhältniss zur kl. Litteratur," *Rhein. Museum*, XIV [1859], 221, and my paper "Petronius, Poggio and John of Salisbury," *Class. Philol.*, XI [1916], 19), and it is even more probable that Giraldus used a florilegium if he had access to any Petronius MS. The evidence is scanty, but so far as it goes it contradicts this theory. It should, however, be noted that Giraldus couples the name of Petronius directly with the quotation, and H. Owen (*Gerald the Welshman*, p. 97, note) assures us that Giraldus "usually acknowledges his quotations." The whole question of the place of the florilegia in the history of the text-traditions of classical authors needs further study, and perhaps the answer to a particular point should be reserved until this has been done. A more complete investigation of Giraldus' acquaintance with Latin literature would be welcome.

In any case, whether Giraldus got his quotation from Fulgentius or from a MS. containing Petronius, this item should be restored to the list of *testimonia* to Petronius; subsequent editors should consider whether the readings in Fulgentius should carry any weight; and the possibility of a connection between the authors of the florilegia and Fulgentius kept in mind.

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ADVERSARIA PETRARCHIANA

An important contribution to Petrarch studies has been made by Paul Piur's *Petrarca: 'Buch ohne Namen' und die Päpstliche Kurie* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1925). Of the excellence and utility of this very scholarly book I have elsewhere written.[1] What I should like to emphasize here is the need of further investigation into the condition of Petrarch's Latin text, and to that end I wish to discuss a few passages typical of those which in my opinion require correction, and which can be emended without further reference to MSS authority.

The 17th letter closes with the following words (*ed. cit.*, p. 228):

> Illud tibi pergratum, mihi vel invidiosum affuit solamen, quod inter tantas vitiorum tenebras 'quatuor magnis illis quidem viris velut totidem lucidissimis te sideribus usum' scribis, quos nescio an auorum crimen (ipsos enim optimos integerrimosque hominum novi) an que fallacissima vite spes an que Fortune violentia tristisque necessitas ibi detineat. *Quare* permitte, queso, ut quod in animo est, vel *in ameno* sermone explicem quasi, inquam, in cloaca solis radios et loci simul obscenitatem omnem suo lumine nudantes et circumfusis sordibus inaccessos.

The last sentence seems defective in meaning and in grammar: *quare* has no logical pertinence, the function of both *vel* and *quasi* is inapparent; *amenus sermo* is rather arbitrarily taken to be "in einem Gedicht." It is difficult to imagine the poet establishing an analogy between *quod in animo est* and *in cloaca* (grammatically the *cloaca* ought to correspond to the *amenus sermo*). All this is remedied by removing the period before *quare;* by reading with many and good MSS *quasi* instead of *quare;* and by making one word of *in ameno* (the adjective *inameno* is used by Petrarch; see among others Epistle 14, p. 210, l. 10).

Then the logical relation of the last sentence to what precedes becomes clear: *vel* is used in its regular meaning; *inquam* instead of an odd intrusion appears in its frequent function of a resumptive stressing of the repeated word, and we are not compelled to call a hypothetical invective against the corruption of Avignon an *amenus sermo.* The text so emended would yield the following meaning: The poet has been saying that his correspondent is fortunate in that he has four noble companions in his tainted abode, "as though . . . *quasi* — permit me, pray, to express my thought by an unlovely phrase (*inameno sermone*) — as though, I say, they [these four men] were rays of the sun shining down upon a sewer, exposing with their light all the foulness of the place and yet remaining unsullied by the overflowing filth." One might object in this revised reading to the cacophony of *quasi, permitte queso.* Yet this combination of sounds is not infrequent. See among others, Epistle 2 (p. 170, l. 10) *queso, quis.*

[1] To appear shortly in the *Romanic Review.*

The next Epistle likewise seems to be in need of emendation and revision. We read (pp. 232–33) the following characterization of the dignitaries of Avignon:

> Tam calidi tamque precipites in Venerem senes sunt. Tanta eos etatis et status et virium cepit oblivio. Sic in libidines inardescunt, sic in omne ruunt dedecus quasi omnis eorum gloria non in cruce Cristi sit, sed in commessationibus et ebrietatibus et que has sequuntur in *cubilibus impudicitiis*. Sic fugientem manu retrahunt iuuentam atque hoc unum senectutis ultime lucrum putant ea facere que iuuenes non auderent. Hos animos et hos nervos tribuit hinc Bacchus indomitus, hinc orientalium uis *baccharum*. O ligustici et campani palmites, o dulces arundines et *indice* nigrantes *arbustule* ad honestas delitias et comoditates hominum create, in quos usus et quantam animarum pernitiem clademque uertimini! Spectat hec Satan ridens atque *in pari* tripudio delectatus interque decrepitos ac puella arbiter sedens stupet plus illos agere quam se hortari.

In the first place, it is to be remarked that *in cubilibus impudicitiis* does not seem possible grammatically. Had the editor recalled that this line is a quotation from St Paul's *Ad Rom.* (non in commessationibus et ebrietatibus non in cubilibus *et* impudicitiis), he would, it seems, have accepted the reading of the Florentine MS. (*F* of the editor) and have inserted *et* between *cubilibus* and *impudicitiis*. In the reading and interpretation of the next sentence, the editor seems to have missed the point. Petrarch is here speaking not of one sole aphrodisiac but of two: wine and spices (pepper and cloves); therefore *baccharum* does not mean 'Bacchantes,' but it is instead the genitive plural of *baca* (berry). Therefore also *indice* is not used as Dr Piur has it, "mit Beziehung auf den Beinamen des Bacchus imperator indicus," for Bacchus does not come in question here, Indic being the standing epithet of the '*indica messis*,' of the berries that fill 'the spiced Indian air.' *Palmites* are then indeed the grape vines; but *dulces arundines* translate the *dolce cannella* ("sweet cinnamon"); and in *indice nigrantes arbuscule* (sic) we must see black pepper or some such spice.

Further on in the same sentence, *impari tripudio* of *Vat.* and *Gr.*, seems demanded by the sense instead of *in pari tripudio;* for Petrarch here is emphasizing the ridiculous unevenness of ages, the '*decrepitos*' and the '*puellas*.' And finally the periods after *sunt* and after *oblivio* should be replaced, it seems to me, by some mark of punctuation which would indicate both the continuity of the sentence and the matching of the correlatives. Lower down in the same page (l. 18) where we have *et si* (two words) obviously we should read *etsi*, one word.

On the previous page (p. 232) in the sentence, "*Taceo utriusque pestis artifices et concursantes pontificum thalamis proxenetas*," it might be questioned whether Petrarch would construe *concursantes* with *thalamis* in view of the Ciceronian "concursare *lecticula* mecum" and "concursare omnium

mortalium non modo *lectos* verum etiam *grabatos*," and other similar examples of the use of the accusative with *concursare*.

In Epistle 16 (p. 188, l. 17) the consistent MS. reading is: "*Sentio*, rediit ab inferis Julianus (the apostate), etc." Here *sentio* is awkward, to say the least, both from the grammatical and from the logical point of view, and it seems as though we ought to get from some MS. the more likely reading: "*Sentis* rediit ab inferis Julianus, etc.," an echo of the Virgilian description of hell — *loca senta situ* (*Aen.*, vi, 462).

In the sentence: "Furiis illos ultricibus et diris suorum scelerum *aculeis* laniandos linque" (Epistle 16, p. 218, l. 4), *aculeis* seems untenable. Mangling (*laniare*) is not done with needles (*aculeis*). What Petrarch must have written here is *aeculeis* for *eculeis* or *equuleis*, the well-known tortures of the 'rack-horse' which Petrarch mentions in the *Vita Solitaria* and elsewhere.

In the first Epistle (p. 166, ll. 14, 15) the sentence "Heu quanto felicius patrio terram sulcasset aratro puam *scalmum piscatorium ascendisset*" seems strangely worded. *Scalmum* consistently means 'thole-pin, oar-peg' in the classical authors, in Mediaeval Latin, and in Italian (*schermo*, *scalmo*). The phrase *ascendere scalmum* therefore appears odd, whereas *scapha piscatoria* is a fairly common expression; (see Justin and others). It might be well to consider the elements of the case. The same perhaps might be said for *canibus maritimis* a few lines below, instead of the common *canibus marinis*.

Occasionally we find an *et* where perhaps *ut* would be required. So in Epistle 16 (p. 218, l. 22): "'Tace,' inquit, '*et* si verum est non simus auctores.'" The word *non* which, as the sentence now stands seems ungrammatical, would fit in the phrase correctly if we read *ut* si verum est, instead of *et* si verum est. In the same way a little farther on (foot of p. 220), for *et si Cristum colis* . . . , we read *ut si* . . . .

Adherence to the tradition in the misplacing of periods frequently vitiates the sense of the sentence. A few examples will suffice. We read in Epistle 4 (p. 183, l. 28): "Tam mira et tam repentina mutatio rerum fuit. Septem enim mensium non amplius spatio frena reipublice tenuit, ut vix ab origine mundi maius aliquid attentatum rear, etc." Grammar and sense compel us to remove the period between *fuit* and *septem* to construe the clause *septem—tenuit* as parenthetical, to be included between commas or parentheses, taking *ut* before *vix* as correlative to *tam* before *mira;* so that the sentence means: "So marvelous and sudden was the change (for he did not hold power more than seven months) that in my view from the beginning of the world down, nothing greater seems ever to have been attempted."

In Epistle 15 (p. 215, l. 18) we read: "Tu uero, meus hortator, quid de te statuis? Quamquam quid statuisse profuerit, nusquam minus cogitata

respondent." . . . which does not seem to make sense. If we put an interrogation mark after *profuerit*, we have the required thought and construction. "And yet (*quamquam*) what's the use of planning? Here less than anywhere else in the world things come out as you plan them."

Likewise in Epistle 12 (p. 205, l. 10) the sentence, "Et quoniam nobis propter inenarrabilem misericordiam tuam hoc fiducie prebuisti, ut uascula terrea atque fragilia adversus eternum figulum disceptemus. Certe, etc.," cannot stand; the period after *disceptemus* is to be removed and the sense continued into the main clause "*multo . . . ulcisceris.*"

There are other passages with defective readings because of erroneous punctuation. One in Epistle 9 (p. 196, l. 13); another in Epistle 15 (p. 216); another in Epistle 6 (p. 189, ll. 9, 10), where *rebusque . . . explicitis* is an ablative absolute.

Among the minor and obvious slips and misprints are (p. 196, l. 18): "rident labiis, corde gemunt, ludunt *interius* intus tremunt," where in place of *interius* we should read *exterius* (inner worry but outward assurance). On p. 213, l. 33, instead of *tua* we should have *sua*. There are similar typographical errors on pages 181, 27, 183, 3, 206, 20, etc.

In Epistle 6 near the end we read, "Nulla inter Herodotum et Thucididem lis erit vero 'omnia consonant,' inquit Aristotiles," and Dr Piur's note: "das Zitat bleibt nachzuweisen." The quotation however should begin with *vero*, which is here a substantive and not a connective, and then we have the very words of the well-known sentence "*vero* quidem enim *omnia consonant*," by which the *antiqua translatio* rendered the phrase *τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεῖ πάντα συνᾴδει* (*Ethics*, i, 8, 1098b). In connection with the matter of quotation, it should be remarked that Dr Piur's practice of indicating the borrowed sentences of Petrarch by italicizing them is very praiseworthy. Much he has done towards identifying the different patches of mosaic, but still more work is needed. A hasty reading reveals a few such omissions as, for example, the well-known *optime manebimus* (p. 166), *provinciarum dominam* (p. 168), *ineptis, insanis* (p. 169). On page 193 surely we have quotations in the Biblical "in adiutorium nostrum intende" and "festina," and lower down the page in "pharetrata Semiramis" from Juvenal (ii, 108), and on page 195 in *degeneri metu* from Lucan. There are many scriptural quotations which are not identified, very likely through the fault of the printer. Such as (p. 206) *in conspectu omnium qui ceperunt* (*Ps.* 105, 46); and such as (p. 207) *in compedibus . . . vinctos in mendicitate et ferro* (*Ps.* 104 and 106); and on the same page scraps from *Ps.* 59, 5 and from *Ps.* 118, 116. There is *perfecto odio* on page 223; *pretium sanguinis* on page 226; and *evasisti, erupisti* on page 236, which should have been italicized, and on this same page there is a quotation from *Deut.* 21, 8. *Idolorum servitus* on page 231 is ascribed by Piur to St Paul's *Col.* 3, 5; but there we

have *simulacrorum servitus;* the phrase is borrowed rather from St Paul's *Ephes. 5, 5: quod est idolorum servitus.*

The above enumeration is by no means meant to be exhaustive. The examples have been chosen rather to afford an indication of the kind of work that perhaps is still to be done. I submit them to the attention of the learned German scholar so deserving of the admiration and praise of all those who are interested in the history of the fourteenth century.

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THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

The Annual Meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America will be held pursuant to the By-Laws of the Academy on April 30, 1927, at the building of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts, at ten o'clock in the morning. Besides the election of officers and other current business, there will be the annual Presidential Address, "The Latin Literature of Sport," by Professor Charles Homer Haskins, and a paper in French, illustrated by lantern slides, on "Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," by Professor Charles Diehl of the University of Paris, a Corresponding Fellow of the Academy. Members who desire to bring guests are requested to notify the Executive Secretary.

REVIEWS

MERREL DARE CLUBB, ed., *Christ and Satan, an Old English Poem edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary* (Yale Studies in English, LXX), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. Pp. lx + 175.

IT is an open secret that 'mediaeval' looking texts are not very readily accepted by modern publishers. Hence, it is matter for congratulation that the high-minded institution known as 'Yale Studies in English' has generously taken the Old-English *Christ and Satan* under its sheltering wings, thereby adding the seventieth number to its enviable record of scholarly publications.

That a modern edition of this text was greatly needed cannot be doubtful to any one who bears in mind that the latest editions available were those of Grein and Wülker. Grein, that rare, retiring scholar, to whom all students of Old English owe an immeasurable debt of gratitude, had not seen the MS. itself, for it had never been his good fortune to visit England and to examine the treasures of the Bodleian Library. As to Wülker's revision of the texts contained in Grein's famous *Bibliothek*, it is admittedly far from satisfactory; it is, in fact, a constant source of disappointment and irritation. Besides, no annotated edition of this poem had ever been prepared.

The present edition aims to be complete in the accepted sense of the term. A critical text with variants, full notes, glossary, bibliography, and an exhaustive introduction are provided, so that it will no longer be necessary at every point to consult a number of books and papers dealing with a variety of general or specific questions.

It was hardly to be expected that any strikingly new views would be placed before us in the Introduction. But the critical survey of previous investigations, together with the editor's presentation of his own conclusions, is an eminently satisfactory basis for approaching the study of the text. Mr Clubb shows a commendable spirit of conservatism in contenting himself with results which are not as definite as some students of Old-English literature might wish them to be, but which are all that could be looked for under the circumstances. By accepting the title first given by Grein, *Christ and Satan*, the editor indicates that he believes in the unity of the poem. He shows the insufficiency of the arguments that have been advanced for the opposite view, and, in explanation of the lack of articulation and consistency found between the main divisions and within each of them, he offers the suggestion that the transmitted text represents an "unimproved first draft" which did not receive the benefit of a much

needed thorough revision. This felicitous observation, it will be seen, serves to account for the strange textual imperfections which render very difficult an adequate interpretation of so many passages. For a full exposition of Mr Clubb's theory concerning the evolution of *Christ and Satan* the reader must be referred to pages liv ff.

No immediate sources of any of the main parts — viz., 1, The Laments of the Angels; 2, The Harrowing of Hell and its Sequel; 3, The Temptation of Christ — can be admitted to have been discovered, although various ultimate sources (such as the Gospel of Nicodemus) and homiletic parallels are easily pointed out. Of the latter, abundant and illuminating examples are given in the comprehensive notes on the text.

That the dialect of the poem was originally Anglian has been fully demonstrated by Frings (*ZfdPh.* XLV, 1913, 216–37). The West-Saxon forms introduced by the second scribe and especially by the corrector throw remarkably clear light on the history of the text which as early as the eleventh century was placed in connection with the first part (or, Book I) of the *Codex Junius XI.* It appears "that at some later time in the eleventh century the two sections were treated as one book, because there are traces in the *Genesis* of the hand of the late West-Saxon Corrector who was so active in *Christ and Satan*" (p. xv). However, no possible relation can be established between the poem itself and the so-called Cædmonian literature, the parallels discoverable between the former and *Genesis A* being in fact exceedingly slight. On the other hand, we are continually reminded of the Cynewulfian cycle, in matters of diction, style, and general tone or temper, and it may be called a fair inference that our poem — an unfinished one — arose some time after "the period of Cynewulf's literary activity." To name a fairly definite date is, of course, a hazardous matter, especially as the chronological tests based on certain linguistic and metrical features have of late — not without reason — lost a good deal of their supposedly authoritative significance. The dating suggested, viz., between 790 and 830 A.D., is not unreasonable, although some critics might consider even this cautious expression of opinion somewhat too definite.

To prepare an Old-English text which is marred by so many imperfections is perhaps a tempting task, but not a very grateful one when the editor is conservatively inclined. Mr Clubb has endeavored to produce an intelligible text with as little change as possible and, at the same time, to provide helpful interpretational and illustrative matter in the shape of explanatory Notes. His rich annotations covering more than ninety pages are, indeed, the most impressive feature of the book. Sometimes, it is true, he seems to have been carried by his enthusiasm to greater lengths of discussion than was necessary.

Great care has been taken to secure textual accuracy. By the use of a rotograph the exact MS. readings could be definitely established. Thus, to mention one interesting case, it was possible — for Professor Menner — to decipher the letters erased after *sceaðа* in v. 57 and in this way to discover the entirely satisfactory reading *sceaðana sum*. The variants are given very fully, thus enabling us to gather at a glance the history of textual criticism. Perhaps, by a slightly more systematic presentation, their usefulness could have been increased. As a matter of fact, it is not quite easy in some instances to make out the real MS. version. Also the employment of brackets in the text to indicate both alterations and additions of words or letters is of questionable value; it was certainly unnecessary to set the use of italics apart for those extremely rare cases in which the order of letters has been changed. Whenever alterations made by the ever-meddling Corrector have been placed in the text (in twenty instances only), this is shown by the — typographically somewhat too conspicuous — device of heavy underscoring. But ordinarily the reading of the uncorrected MS. has been taken as the basis. As a result of this procedure, it may be noted, the important form *sīc* (*sic* changed by the Corrector to *seoc*) in v. 275, which seems to have escaped the attention of grammarians, is now displayed to full advantage in the text itself. That an adjectival formation (pointing to a *-li* suffix) *sīcle* had been brought to light by M. Förster (Herrig's *Archiv* CXXIX, 1912, 21, n. 6), may be mentioned in this connection.

An altogether smooth text of the Old-English poem was, of course, out of the question. Certain *cruces* still remain, some of them to be considered hopeless. At times, also, the editor seems to have been a little too tolerant of textual shortcomings. Chiefly as an indication of the interest evoked by this timely edition, I beg to offer a few miscellaneous comments: V. 59. *wēndes ðū ðurh wuldor ðæt þū woruld āhtest.* The only meanings assigned to *wuldor* in the Glossary are 'glory,' 'heaven.' But *ðurh wuldor* evidently denotes 'vaingloriously,' cf. *īdel gylp*, v. 254; see B.-T. under *wuldor* and *wuldor-full.*—V. 78–80: the punctuation inherited from a succession of editors is in need of correction: v. 79b, *ne bið swelc fæger drēam* should be placed in parenthesis or between dashes. There are a number of other passages in which my preference would be for a different punctuation. It must be admitted, of course, that it will often be difficult to agree on the best mode of punctuating, the more so as our modern stylistic feeling is not necessarily a safe guide for properly judging of Old-English sentences, periods, and paragraphs. — V. 130: *ic eom limwæstmum þæt ic gelūtian ne mæg;* here an explanatory note would have been very much in order. — V. 147: *būtan þām ānum þe hē tō āgan nyle* is translated in the Notes: "but rather those whom he will not have." Is this permissible? The difficulty

is not in the simple uninflected infinitive (*āgan*) after *tō*, but in the use of *tō* in connection with *nyle*. Sievers's *zu eigen* (adjective) *wollen* is entirely different. — V. 213–14a: there can be little doubt that we should read *fæg[er]re land, þonne þēos folde sēo,/wlitig and wynsum*. The *is* following in the MS. after *seo* is a disturbing element; this was seen by the Corrector, who further expanded it into *þær is*. — V. 260b: it is hard to believe that the poet meant to say *hē is āna* [*riht*] *Cyning* instead of . . . *an riht* . . . (Cosijn); the scribal error in this case is easily accounted for. — V. 512 f. *and ic eft up becōm, ēce drēamas/tō hālgum Drihtne*. . . . The grammatical observation that *tō* "will have the sense of 'from,' as in 686" is not to the point. The case of *fōh hider tō mē/burh* . . . 686 rests on a different basis. Nor will it do to consider *æt* v. 338 equivalent to *tō*. It is equally puzzling to find in the Glossary 'obtain' given as one of the meanings of *becuman*. Thorpe's rendering 'and I again on high obtained eternal joys, with the holy Lord' was at best a paraphrase; did he have in mind German *bekommen?* — V. 539, note: the remark on *Deor* (5 and) 6 is misleading; v. 5 has postpositive, accented *on* (*hine* . . . *on*), whereas the ordinary preposition *on* is used in v. 6. — The ingenious explanation of the unchanged v. 546, though offering helpful information, is not likely to prove acceptable. — V. 575: (*Iūdas*) *sē ðe ær on tīfre torhtne gesalde/Drihten Hælend:* this construction is to be kept apart from that seen in v. 577 f., *hē bebohte Bearn Wealdendes/on seolfres sinc* ('he sold the Son of the Lord for silver'). Strange as this mention of *tīfer* seems, the expression can hardly mean anything but 'who had (delivered, or) betrayed the Savior as a sacrifice.'— V. 597: it would be better to place *mægen* in the first half of the line. — V. 632: the Corrector's *lędað* is certainly preferable to the original *leaðað*, which is even grammatically objectionable. We cannot believe that an invitation was meant.

As a *specimen studii frugiferi* and as an addition to the working library of students of Old English this new edition deserves our hearty welcome.

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J. P. Christopher, ed., *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis episcopi De Catechizandis Rudibus liber unus*, translated with an Introduction and Commentary (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. VIII), Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1926. Pp. xxii + 365. $2.00.

Exactly trained classical scholars have long been waiting for an edition of a Latin Christian classic, in which the subject-matter and the language alike should be treated with the same care and respect that have long been shown to the pagan classics, for an *editio omnibus numeris absoluta*, in fact, with English notes. One has only to contrast the present work with the

paltry edition of the same treatise by the late Rev. W. Y. Fausset, favorably known by a commentary on Cicero's *Pro Cluentio*, to see what I mean. The two editions are as the poles asunder, and it may be hoped that Fausset's book, which for want of something better has enjoyed a totally undeserved success, will now be relegated to the dustbin. The present work is in origin a doctoral thesis, but the author has subjected it to repeated revision and expansion, and the gratifying result is now before us. It will enhance the reputation which these Patristic Studies, issued under the capable editorship of Professor Roy J. Deferrari, already enjoy.

The *De Catechizandis Rudibus* is peculiarly fitted to introduce the reader of Latin classics such as Cicero and Quintilian to Christian Latin literature; for it deals with the topic of education, and is by a master like them, and it is at the same time not overburdened with matters which only the theologian can appreciate. The *rudes* referred to are in fact those who, desiring to become Christians, come before a Christian teacher to be taught the elements of the Faith. It is primarily addressed to a deacon of Carthage, named *Deogratias*, who proffered to the great bishop a request for help in his task, and received the treatise *De Catechizandis Rudibus* as a reply to his benefit and ours.

Dr Christopher opens his edition with an Augustinian bibliography, which for comprehensiveness is unsurpassed. Here and elsewhere throughout the book, while showing himself perfectly loyal to his own church, he has drawn help from writers of all possible races and creeds. Without being diffuse, the Introduction is entirely adequate and treats of the following topics: 'Catechesis and St Augustine's Treatise *De Catechizandis Rudibus*,' 'Occasion and Date of Composition,' 'Contribution to Catechetics,' 'The Knowledge and Use of this Treatise in later Writers,' 'Historical and Literary Importance,' 'Sources,' 'Style,' and 'Place in Literature.' All this is followed by the text, with the English translation opposite. The text agrees almost entirely with the current Benedictine text. It is improbable that much serious improvement can be made on it, to judge by an extended examination I have made of a twelfth-century MS in the British Museum. The translation is much superior to that of E. Phillips Barker (London, 1912), the only other with which I am familiar, and it is an excellent piece of work. The notes are everything that could be desired, the balance having been very nicely held between meagreness and superabundance. I should like particularly to refer to Dr Christopher's practice of printing the illustrative quotations instead of giving mere references, and also to the abundant and apt parallels from Cicero and other early writers, which show that the editor has mastered the writings of the classical period. Himself thoroughly expert in German, he might perhaps have on occasion given his quotations from German scholars in English, unless it be

that knowledge of German is more widespread among likely American students of the book than is the case in Great Britain, where I hope the book will be widely used. An appendix on 'African Latinity,' which is very much to the point, is followed by the brief, admirable indexes, on 'subject,' 'scripture texts,' and 'Latin words and phrases in the Commentary.' All these are a model of how the thing should be done.

I will not burden this review with parallels I have collected during over thirty years study of Augustine, or with notes I have written in an unpublished commentary on the same book, but will draw attention to one or two oversights, which might be corrected in a second edition: p. xvii, l. 20, for 'altchristlichen' read 'altkirchlichen'; p. xxi, l. 5, for 'Weldon,' read 'Welldon'; l. 13, for 'Lexicographie,' read 'Lexikographie'; l. 29, for 'Theologische' read 'Theologischer'; it would also have been better to use different symbols for the 'Revue Biblique' and the 'Revue Bénédictine'; p. 128, l. 8, Christians did sometimes use *credulitas* in the good sense; p. 130, l. 11 from foot, for '121' read '1921'; p. 198, l. 8, for 'Reid' read 'Wilkins'; p. 220 (twice), for τύφος read τῦφος; p. 250, l. 14, from foot, for 'Tyrell,' read 'Tyrrell'; p. 264 (last line), 288, 304, 329, misprints in the Greek; p. 284, *cum tota fiducia* is really part of Augustine's text of *Acts;* p. 314, l. 5, for '11' read '2'; p. 325, l. 9, for 'Maykoff' read 'Mayhoff'; p. 328, l. 15 from foot, for '*obnulibet,*' read '*obnubilet*'; p. 331, the pluralizing of abstract nouns is nowhere more frequent than in Cicero himself; p. 343, for 'Funck, F. X.' read 'Funk, F. X.,' and for 'Nazianzen' read 'Nazianzus.'

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Edward Hutton, *The Franciscans in England, 1224–1538,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926.

The early Franciscan province of England was exceptionally fortunate in having an intelligent chronicler, Thomas of Eccleston, who, in his *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam,* wrote a good account of the introduction and of the expansion of the order in England during the first thirty-five years. For the following period up to the sixteenth century, there is also a considerable source-material in public and private records, which has been carefully gathered in valuable monographs published in recent years.[1] Following Eccleston and the recent monographs, Mr Hutton presents now to the public a general history of the Franciscans in

[1] Weare, *The Friars Minors of Bristol,* 1893. Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London* (British Society of Franciscan Studies, VII). A. G. Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford,* (Oxf. Hist. Soc., 1892), and *Studies in Franciscan History,* 1917. J. Sever, *The English Franciscans under Henry VIII,* 1915. C. Cotton, *The Grey Friars of Canterbury,* 1924, and the other publications of the Br. Soc. Franc. Studies.

England down to the Reformation. All that is known about the Franciscan "custodiae" and convents of the various English cities has been faithfully collected by the author whose book, from this point of view, leaves very little or nothing to be desired. It is not his fault if no important addition is made to what was already known of the Franciscan history of England, and undoubtedly his book, in which the results of all previous researches are brought together, will be highly appreciated by both students and general readers.

It does not seem, however, that the author is quite successful in his attempt, upon the background of the general Franciscan history, to set in its right place and in the right proportion the history of the English Franciscans. For the early period he follows with excessive confidence the narrative of Eccleston, whose work, although one of the most valuable sources of general Franciscan history, is not unbiased by personal prejudices and party interests. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand why Mr Hutton is a little unfair to Brother Elias, why he exaggerates the importance of the part played by the English friars in Elias' defeat and deposition, and above all why he has wrongly identified the opponents of Brother Elias with the group of the genuine representatives of the original Franciscan program. Brother Elias was the real founder, or at least the first organizer, of the Franciscan order, as such, and as Mr Hutton acknowledges, he was the instrument of the Roman Church and of Pope Gregory IX. Undoubtedly it was not the wish of St Francis to organize his followers after the fashion of a monastic order; he resisted this tendency as long as he could, but finally he lost the control of the movement. To regret the failure of the original program of St Francis is natural, and many pages of charming literature have been written to deplore the fate of the evangelical message of the saint who had chosen for his bride Lady Poverty. But to condemn altogether as traitors to St Francis those who worked at the organization of the Order is a different matter. This was after all the only way by which at least part of the Franciscan spirit and traditions could survive. A Franciscan order with no regular organization and depending upon the spirit of unbounded charity, of simplicity and spontaneous obedience on the part of the friars, as St Francis had wished, would have become, as it almost did become, a horde of unruly beggars and fanatics and a scourge of Christian civilization.

Brother Elias undoubtedly sinned against the spirit of the Franciscan tradition; he crushed without mercy the party of Brother Leo, who represented the primitive Franciscan ideal, he ruled the order with an iron hand, he acted against the Franciscan principles in building the monumental Church of Assisi and in forcibly collecting money for this purpose. But those who successfully opposed him and brought about his fall in

1239 were not the representatives of the strictest observance and of the original Franciscan group, as Mr Hutton assumes, when he states that Elias' fall "was the victory of St Francis' idea over the opposition of the Papacy" (p. 121). The opposition to Elias came first from the group of learned Franciscan doctors and teachers in the universities, mostly priests who had joined the order and were themselves wholly in favor of the organization of the Franciscans in a form similar to that of a monastic order with fixed rules and privileges. Alexander of Hales, John of La Rochelle, Richard Rufus, Haymo of Faversham, Jordan of Giano were all learned Franciscans whose ideas concerning the organization of the order were not different from those of Brother Elias. Their opposition to the latter arose from personal reasons. Elias' arrogance and absolutism and his violation of the rule about poverty in his private life were the main complaints made against him. As for his absolutism in ruling the order, it has been remarked that the rule of 1223 did not assign definite limits to the authority of the minister-general; it was only after Elias' deposition that measures were taken to make impossible in the future the exercise of an autocratic power in the order. It is not historically exact to say that Elias "ruled without reference to the rule" (p. 111), at least in so far as concerns the letter of the rule of 1223, though that form of absolutism was against the Franciscan spirit. One of the strongest reasons of the opposition against Elias was undoubtedly the fact that the large group of learned friars who were in priestly orders disliked to be put on the same level with the lay members and to be autocratically ruled by a minister-general who was himself a lay brother. Eccleston betrays his feelings when at the election of Albert of Pisa, Elias' successor, he remarks: "*Igitur celebrata missa a ministro generali, dixit idem fratribus qui non erant de capitulo: Jam audistis missam quae unquam celebrata fuerit in ordine isto a ministro generali*" (I, 243). And a further and clearer evidence of this hostility against the lay brothers of the order is found in the decision taken by the general chapter under the generalship of Brother Haymo of Faversham (1240–1244) by which the lay brothers were excluded from holding offices in the order (Analecta Franciscana, III, 251). Salimbene even affirms with joy that the lay brothers "*processu temporis merito ad nihilum sunt redacti, quia eorum receptio quasi totaliter est prohibita.*" Haymo of Faversham and his group, far from representing the original Franciscan tradition of a lay order of mendicants, were the instruments of its transformation into an ecclesiastical order, and their victory over Elias, far from being the victory of St Francis' ideas over the Papacy, served the Papacy much better than ever Brother Elias did. As a matter of fact, while under the generalship of Elias few privileges were granted to the order, under Haymo, on the contrary, they were showered on the Franciscans by the Pope, and upon the friar's re-

quest; a thing which had been severely forbidden by St Francis. The English friars of the early period were remarkable for their faithfulness to the law of poverty; their leaders, Albert of Pisa and Haymo of Faversham, who were in succession ministers-general of the order after Elias, represented on this question of poverty a more conservative tendency than that of Elias, but they cannot be considered as representing the original Franciscan tradition, which was against the monasticization of the movement, against the acquisition of ecclesiastical privileges, and against the formation of a learned priestly controlling class within the order. The real party of strict observance came to power, for a short period, only with the election of John of Parma (1247–1257), whom Brother Giles, one of the few survivors of St Francis' first companions, greeted with the words: "Welcome Father, but you come too late" (Franz Ehrle, "Die 'historia septem tribulationem ordinis minorum' des fr. Angelus de Clarino," *Archiv für Litt. u. Kirchengesch. d. Mittelalters*, II, 1886, 263).

On various other points Mr Hutton is misled by Eccleston's hatred of Elias, as for instance in stating that "so jealous was Elias and so fearful for the future of his ideas that three days before the time duly arranged for the translation of the body of St Francis to the new basilica of Assisi he seized the body and secretly buried it in the new Church where it was not discovered till 1818" (p. 118). As Lempp (*Frère Élie de Cortone*, 1901, 86 ff.) has remarked, the reasons which led Elias to carry in secrecy and to hide in the church he had built the body of St Francis, disappointing not only the immense crowd which had gathered at Assisi for the circumstance, but also the Pope, under whose authority the arrangements had been made, are rather obscure. But no one can see how hiding the body of St Francis and incurring the Pope's and the friars' wrath could have helped Elias in the realization of his ideas. The explanation hinted by the author of the *Speculum Vitae* who says that Elias acted "*humano timore ductus*" seems to suggest that Elias feared for the safety of the body of St Francis on account of the immense excited crowd which might have made frenzied attempts to secure relics of the great saint. Deplorable excesses had happened on similar occasions and only one year later, in 1231, a bloody battle was fought in Padua over the body of St Anthony. It has also been suggested that Elias, who at the death of St Francis was the first to announce to the world the miracle of the "*stigmata*," now feared that an examination of the body would fail to corroborate the miracle.

The general Franciscan Chapter which elected Elias to the generalship in 1232, was held according to Eccleston at Rieti, and Mr Hutton agrees with him; but according to the more reliable account of Jordan of Giano, the Chapter gathered in Rome, though it is not impossible that a session of it might have taken place in Rieti, following the Pope in his changes of

residence during that year. The author makes also a rapid excursion into the field of mediaeval philosophy and theology in connection with the intellectual activities of the English Franciscans (Oxford and the Friars, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, Ockham). As it was perhaps inevitable in a work of this character, the treatment of these topics is rather superficial and often lacks in historical precision and scientific accuracy. The closing remark of the chapter on Roger Bacon, in which St Francis and Bacon are brought together as representing in the thirteenth century "the tendency to experimentalism" (St Francis "testing the teaching of the Gospel by experience," Bacon "substituting experience for the authority of Aristotle," p. 147), is more superficially subtle than historically true. The dislike and mistrust of the syllogism of the schools which was shared alike by St Francis and by Bacon was suggested to the former only by moral reasons, and it involved not only the syllogistic method but the science and learning in general which he thought were useful and praiseworthy things in themselves, but very dangerous for those who wished to attain the ideal of perfection set by him to his followers in the practice of these three virtues, poverty, humility and simplicity. St Francis did not object to the admission of learned men into the order, but the only studies that he would allow them were what he used to call "the spiritual studies," a phrase which is explained as follows by a recent apologist of the Franciscan learning:

> Il ne s'agissait pas d'une étude à l'apparat scientifique, d'un cours suivi et méthodique, de la fréquentation des écoles. L'étude spirituelle se trouva fort restreinte et par les conditions très humbles de la prédication des Frères et par les exigences de la pauvreté. Le ministère apostolique des Mineurs était restraint à la prédication de la *pénitence*. . . . Prêcher la *pénitence* s'opposait à prêcher l'*Écriture*. La prédication morale, tel fut le but que Saint François se proposa et la mission qu'il confia à ses disciples. . . . Pour une prédication si simple, il ne fallait pas une grande science, et en conséquence, de grandes études. Il ne fallait qu'un simple lecture attentive de l'Écriture, faite en particulier. L'étude des Frères serait donc réduite à cette lecture et leurs bibliothèques à quelque exemplaire de la Bible et quelques commentaire des Pères. (L. de Carvalho e Castro, *Saint Bonaventure; L'idéal de Saint François et l'œuvre de Saint Bonaventure à l'égarde de la science.* Paris: Beauchesne, 1923, pp. 25 ff.)

The scientific development in the Franciscan order was an innovation, an inevitable and justified innovation, but no less in opposition to the ideals of St Francis. Bacon's experimentalism had nothing in common with St Francis, who never thought of testing the truth of the Gospel, but only of realizing literally the ideal of moral perfection of the evangelical counsels, in his own and his disciples' life. Mr Hutton is rather unduly fond of impressive rapprochements and generalizations which at a close range appear without foundation. To call the Black Death "the real barrier

between the mediaeval and the modern world" may be a good poetical phrase, but a very poor historical definition. And the reader is not convinced by the evidence in favor of such an assumption which Mr Hutton finds in the change of architectural style when (after the epidemic was over) "men turned again to the sombre and insular gravity of the Perpendicular, in which lies hid all scepticism of the Renaissance and the modern world" (p. 179).

It is rather disappointing to notice how little space is given by Mr Hutton to the important topic of the influence of the Franciscan friars upon the spiritual religious and social life of the English people. To know something about it, is at least as important as to know how many donors contributed to the building of a church or of a convent. But the author has in part atoned with a good chapter on "Langland, Chaucer, Wyclif and the Friars," and in part by sending back his reader to the valuable treatment of this subject in A. G. Little's *Studies in English Franciscan History*, Manchester: University Press, 1917.[1]

Mr Hutton, who is a man of letters and a writer well-known to the public, especially for his delightful books on Italy, shows throughout this book his remarkable literary qualities, even when he deals with mere chronicles and dry lists. There are many pages in which the vividness of style lends a picturesque color to the narrative, others which delight in warm enthusiasm for the Franciscan spiritual epic, and others which burst with indignation against those who did not understand or who betrayed, or even crushed the Franciscan message to the world. Such is the chapter, "The Royal Supremacy," in which the stout resistance and the sufferings of those friars who refused to bow before the tyrannical wishes of Henry VIII are forcefully described. Mr Hutton is very severe, and rightly so, upon King Henry. To affirm, however, that "the foundations of the Reformation in England and the cradle of the Anglican Church" are to be found merely in the "adultery of the king" (p. 240) is to formulate an historical judgment which is, to say the least, very superficial. Mr Hutton, who is well acquainted with English history, knows well that no king of England would have succeeded in turning the English clergy and people away from their allegiance to Rome if the unwise attempts of Rome to interfere in, or

[1] It is unfortunate that several serious misprints were overlooked in the Latin quotations, as, for instance: "*entia non sunt multiplicas* (sic) *sine necessitate*" (p. 163), or "*ante pestam*" (pp. 177 and 178). It would have been advisable to use Eccleston's text according to the critical edition of Little (*Collection d'études et de documents sur l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du M. A.*, Paris: Fishbacher, 1909) which the author evidently knows, rather than according to the old edition of Brewer (Monum. Franciscana, I, Longman, 1885); the more so since the English translation made by Fr Cuthbert (of which the author has often availed himself), even in the second revised edition (St. Louis, 1909), is from the old text.

even to direct, the political affairs of England, made in the preceding centuries, and the ever-increasing demands for contributions and tributes, and the fiscal method of exacting money, and, last but not least, the system of pontifical reservation of ecclesiastical benefices and their grant to foreign exploiters, had not alienated altogether the sympathies of the English clergy and of the people from Rome. Long before King Henry was born, Wyclif had outlined the program of the Reformation. The open polygamistic propensities of Henry VIII were only incidental causes which determined the external character of the outburst already prepared and made inevitable by other and more serious motives. But Mr Hutton is not unmindful of the Christian precept of forgiveness and with a pious thought has offered his book to St Francis "for the repose of the soul of Henry VIII, King of England."

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Henrici Septimellensis Elegia. Scriptores Latini Medii Ævi Italici I. Recensuit, præfatus est, glossarium atque indices adiecit Aristides Marigo. Padua: A. Draghi, 1926. Pp. 75. It. lib. 20.

This volume "editum auctoritate et sumptibus R. Academiæ Patavinæ," will be followed by others of a similar sort if it wins the approval of scholars. Any one familiar with Professor Marigo's capacity for dealing with mediaeval Latin, as shown, for example, in a recent article on the text of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (*Giornale Storico*, LXXXVI, 1925, 289–338), will approach his edition of the *Elegia* with high expectations, and will not be disappointed. If merit determines the reception that this volume receives, there can, I believe, be no doubt of the continuance of the series.

In the preface the editor discusses the manuscripts of the *Elegy*. Though the work was widely circulated in Europe, he has used only Italian manuscripts, believing that he would thus furnish an edition perhaps not ultimate, but certainly valuable; the poem was composed in Italy, and Italian manuscripts of a century after its composition furnish a reliable text. Fifteen codices have been considered, all of which are described. Five have been assigned to the first class and made the foundation of the text. A stemma shows their relation to the original and to the codices of classes two and three. In the light of the manuscripts, none of the printed editions are satisfactory.

The next section of the volume, *De carmine eiusque scriptore testimonia*, gives quotations relating to the life of Henricus from some of the codices and from Villani. Professor Marigo takes the complaints of Henricus less seriously than do most of his predecessors, and believes that the poem is the work of a teacher of the liberal arts who composed it as a vehicle of instruction.

The text itself is given in large, clear type. In the footnotes appear not merely variants but also a selection of the glosses found in some of the manuscripts. Professor Marigo thinks that these, though not always to be considered correct, will show how schoolmasters in the Middle Ages taught their pupils and explained the *Elegy*. A considerable number of changes from the usual texts are found. I have compared the new text especially with that in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (CCIV, 841–67), the text most generally accessible in America, though that edited by Manni in 1730 is found in some American libraries. The text of Migne is that published by Leyser in 1721. In collating with this text about half the *Elegy* in the new edition, I have found on the average in every fourth line one variation of some importance, such as a different word or grammatical form or a change in order; I have not counted changes in spelling, though these are partly at least traceable to the manuscripts. Professor Marigo's punctuation is also quite unlike that in the text of Migne. To illustrate some improvements — in line 758 Migne gives the peculiar form *decaplatisse*, while Professor Marigo finds in the codices *decuplat*, a verb found in Augustine (e.g. *Serm.* 267, 1) and comparable writers. In line 276 all the editors read *quamve Megera ferit*, which is essentially a repetition of *quam ferit Alecto* from the preceding line. Professor Marigo gives *quave Megera furit*, a reading which shows that Henricus cared more for variety than is suggested by the older texts.

Following the text are a glossary and indices. The glossary explains words taken from the poets or not sanctioned by the best Latinity. In addition it refers to the classical poet or mediaeval writer whose authority may be invoked to justify the usage of Henricus. Among the latter is Uguccione, whose *Magnae Derivationes* Professor Marigo has already effectively used in his studies of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. His references are to the manuscript in the library of the University of Padua.

An *Index Grammaticus* lists passages in which there is some peculiarity in grammar or prosody. For example, there is a list of adjectives of neuter gender, singular number, used as substantives, something possible but infrequent in classical Latin. There is also a list of words in which "quantitas a recepta prosodia recedit"; eight instances are given of *ergo* with short *o*, as rarely in Ovid and post-Augustan poets. This section gives convenient materials for a grammar of late twelfth-century Latin.

The third index is one of names and subjects, and the last gives references to passages in the Bible and in classical writers which Henricus quotes or echoes. The *Elegy* is sometimes called an imitation of Boëthius, whom it once mentions, yet Professor Marigo has detected his influence in but five passages. Ovid, Horace, and Virgil appear most frequently.

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HENRY L. SAVAGE, ed., *St Erkenwald, A Middle English Poem* (Yale Studies in English, LXXII), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926. Pp. lxxix + 92.

THE Poet of *Pearl* is coming to his own. Counting Morris, there are now three editions of *Pearl*, *Patience*, and *Clannesse;* counting Madden, three of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight;* and now, counting Horstmann's *Legenden*, three editions of *St Erkenwald*, a poem often attributed to the same poet. The last edition of the last poem consists of an Introduction (pp. i–lxxix), the Text (pp. 1–20, 17 pages of Text proper), Notes (pp. 21–51), Glossary (pp. 52–84), and an excellent Bibliography (pp. 85–92).

The Introduction deals laboriously, somewhat unnecessarily so perhaps, with the manuscript, sources, dialect, metre and alliteration, authorship, date. It is considerably longer than that of Gollancz's edition (13 pages longer), and still longer than Menner's Introduction to the much longer poem, *Clannesse* (*Purity*). It also lacks such a valuable treatment of the Language as that of Tolkien in his *Sir Gawain*. Otherwise it shows independent judgment about moot-points, and is generally commendable.

Especially to be commended is the printing of the text with the modern differentiation of *i-j*, *u-v*, and the expanding of ordinary abbreviations without italics, as in Menner's *Purity* and Tolkien's *Sir Gawain*. The editor might well have adopted the latter's practice of introducing emendations of the text without parentheses, explaining in footnotes. Excellent explanatory notes at the foot of the page indicate MS. peculiarities, and MS. readings when necessary. The printing of the text in quatrains, following Gollancz in some of the other poems also, seems to me less to be commended and not warranted by the sense of the lines. Savage has also followed Gollancz in the rather absurd claim that printing in quatrains — not always observed by either editor as we shall see — makes the poem "altogether more vivid and lighter in structure." Of course all that can be meant by such an expression is that the page appears "lighter" to the eye. Nor can any poem be made "more vivid" by any kind of printing but only by the subject matter and its treatment by the poet. The proper division of such a blank verse poem is into paragraphs, as by Menner in his *Purity* (*Clannesse*). To my discussion of the quatrain division in relation to *Patience* in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXI (1916), 2–4, may now be added some brief notes on this poem, and especially on the "logical pauses" emphasized by Mr Savage (p. xlvii). Twice in the first 170 lines both Gollancz and Savage print five lines together, and once a couplet, because the "logical pauses" will admit of no other divisions, least of all the quatrain structure. Both editors show by their punctuation that vv. 73–84, 207–16, 309–20 belong together logically and syntactically, or could be broken up into smaller divisions without regard to quatrains. After so-called quat-

rains are often placed periods which might just as well be semicolons or even commas. An example of the first is at the end of v. 20, and of the second at the end of v. 52. Similar examples might be cited in any fifty lines of the poem.

The Notes seem well conceived and painstakingly worked out. On the Glossary some criticisms might be passed, as in that of Menner in my review of his *Purity* (*Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XX, 1921, 229, specifically p. 237). In spite of the fact that the late MS. has many a final *-e* not organically a part of the word, the words in such a Glossary should be printed in their usual Middle-English forms, with the inorganic *e* in parenthesis perhaps. Here the failure to indicate datives of nouns and adjectives, or weak and plural forms of the latter, has led to the incorrect glossing of many words. I note, for example, in a single column of one page (55) *blode* for *blod*, the citations being of datives; *bodeworde* for *bodeword; bolde* for *bold*, the citations being weak forms; *bone* 'bone' for *bon*, the citation being plural. Similar examples might be found on almost any page of the Glossary. In meaning and etymology, on the other hand, care has been taken and the results are excellent.

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The Editors of Speculum regret to announce the death of Professor Emerson on March 13th, 1927.

C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob (edd.), *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Pp. xii, 549. 42 plates. $3.50.

This book contains an introduction by C. G. Crump, formerly of the Public Record Office, and the following essays: F. M. Powicke, The Christian Life; W. R. Lethaby, Mediaeval Architecture; Paul Vitry, Mediaeval Sculpture; Marcel Aubert, Decoration and Industrial Arts; Claude Jenkins, Some Aspects of Mediaeval Latin Literature; Cesare Foligno, Vernacular Literature: E. A. Lowe, Handwriting; C. R. S. Harris, Philosophy; J. W. Adamson, Education; the late Sir Paul Vinogradoff, Customary Law; Gabriel le Bras, Canon Law; Edouard Meynial, Roman Law; Eileen Power, The Position of Women; N. S. B. Gras, The Economic Activity of Towns; Charles Johnson, Royal Power and Administration; E. F. Jacob, Political Thought.

Since the close of the war there has been a tendency to write books designed to show how deeply the roots of modern civilization go down into the past, e.g., the series of small books under the general title, *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, published by Marshall Jones Company of Boston, and *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilization: a series of lectures delivered*

at King's College University of London, edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1922. The present volume is the third of a series published by the Clarendon Press, of which *The Legacy of Greece* appeared in 1922 and *The Legacy of Rome* in 1923. Each succeeding volume in this series has improved in the quality of paper and in the beauty of the illustrations, although the binding of *The Legacy of the Middle Ages* is weaker, apparently due to the stout paper of the fine plates. *The Legacy of Rome* contained list of books recommended for further reading. We miss this convenience in the present volume, but welcome an index.

These essays are addressed to persons well-read not only in mediaeval history but in general literature as well. Only a few of them are especially suited for the general courses in mediaeval history ordinarily given in American universities. The field covered is western Latin Christendom, exclusive of Spain and the Scandinavian countries. The natural sciences are to be treated in a succeeding volume.

It is a sign of health in twentieth-century scholarship that the Middle Ages are no longer overlooked in general surveys of human culture. There is ample proof on every page of this book that no aspect of mediaeval life can be neglected with impunity by the student who wishes to understand modern civilization. So completely do the Middle Ages form natural links between ancient and modern times that the reader often wonders whether the theme of the book is the legacy which the Middle Ages received from the past or the legacy which they left to us.

Although all the essays of this volume were carefully prepared by specialists and are well edited they vary greatly in value and in the method of approach. Most of the writers pay attention to the title of the book, an attempt to link the present with the past, but some of them give little heed to that general plan. This is particularly true of the essay on royal power and administration. The introduction to the volume is furnished not so much by the "Introduction" as by Professor Powicke, who writes with feeling and with deep understanding about the roots and the nature of mediaeval Christianity. The chapters on art and literature, although written by competent specialists, do not leave many clear-cut impressions. Readers who have not seen mediaeval works of art *in situ*, and who have not read widely in mediaeval literature, will inevitably flounder in portions of these compressed surveys. It was very wise to give disproportionately large space and many plates to E. A. Lowe, who has written the best sketch on Latin palaeography to be found anywhere and has at the same time shown clearly how mediaeval handwriting developed and what influence it has had on modern writing and printing. Philosophy and education are such vast subjects that the authors of those articles could not sustain throughout the standard of excellence which is reached in the treatment of John Scotus

Eriugena in the first essay and of primary and secondary education in the second. The essay on customary law is a precious relic because it is the very last work of Vinogradoff who, a few weeks before his death, was honored by the University of Paris as one of the world's greatest scholars. Those on canon law and Roman law are welcome additions to an important field of mediaeval learning in which we have very little readable material in English. The sketch on the position of women is delightful. It was fortunate that the editors were able to find for the inarticulate women of the Middle Ages a modern spokeswoman who can write with grace as well as with skill and erudition. We fear that Miss Power will be obliged to admit that even the love-letters of Héloise were not written by a mediaeval woman but were the vain imaginings of a very vain man. Professor Gras, the only American contributor to this volume, has made a valuable addition to the scanty literature on mediaeval towns and has demonstrated what must seem startling to many modern readers that even mediaeval business life has had its effects on our own. The volume concludes with an excellent essay on mediaeval political thought by one of the editors.

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Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Aeui Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis. Digessit Ellen Jørgensen. Copenhagen, 1926. Pp. 536.

At last there is available a complete and adequate catalogue of the eight hundred Latin codices of the Royal Library at Copenhagen. This rich collection has naturally not remained unknown, and there have been accounts of its illuminated manuscripts and of many individual volumes; but we now have the first comprehensive catalogue, giving full references to previous descriptions, and executed with the high scholarly competence which we should expect from the author's previous work as a mediaevalist. This library has been built up by gift and purchase over a long series of years, including the period since 1919, and it comprises a surprising number of codices from France and Italy, besides those of northern origin. The central period of the Middle Ages is well represented, notably the twelfth century. Rather more than half of the volume is given over to "Codices theologici," broadly interpreted, but the classical manuscripts are uncommonly numerous, and there is something for the gleaner in many mediaeval fields. I have noted, for example, three early treatises on the *ars dictaminis*.

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Edward C. Armstrong, *The Authorship of the Vengement Alixandre and of the Venjance Alixandre* (Elliott Monographs, No. 19), Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926. Pp. xii + 55.

Bateman Edwards, *A Classification of the Manuscripts of Gui de Cambrai's Vengement Alixandre* (Elliott Monographs, No. 20) Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926. Pp. vi + 51.

Students of Old-French literature and of the Alexander Legend will welcome the two most recent numbers of the Elliott Monographs, dedicated to the famous 'revenge' continuations of the Old-French *Roman d'Alexandre*. Interdependent, these studies can scarcely be considered separately.

Mr Armstrong's investigations reach two important conclusions: (1) That Gui de Cambrai, author of the *Barlaam and Josaphat*, and Gui de Cambrai, author of the *Vengement Alixandre*, are identical (p. 25), and that the author was in all probability an inmate of the monastery of Saint-Nicholas d'Arrouaise. In passing, Mr Armstrong shows (pp. 6 ff.) that the *Barlaam* was probably dedicated to Gilles I of Marquais († 1202), not Gilles II, as he, following Paul Meyer, had earlier thought. (2) That the author of the 'revenge' continuation *not* by Gui de Cambrai was Jean le Névelon (Johannes Nevelonis), second son of Névelon, Royal Marshal and *bailli* of Arras; that this same Jean was archdeacon of Arras in 1181; and that, not long before the death of his patron Count Henry I of Champagne (le Libéral, † 1181), he composed the *Venjance Alixandre*, dedicated to Count Henry and quite possibly inspired by knowledge of the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Châtillon, then secretary to Archbishop Guillaume aux Blanches Mains, Count Henry's brother (pp. 44–51). The date 1288–1302, long championed by Paul Meyer, will now find few supporters; while the name 'Venelais' 'Nevelois,' shown (pp. 29–32) to be the result of a scribal blunder, or rather a series of scribal blunders, bids fair to disappear into the realm of ghost-names. Mr Armstrong has set forth his arguments convincingly, and summons to his aid all available resources of linguistics, literary criticism, and especially diplomatics.

In the second essay under review, Mr Edwards offers the hitherto most complete examination of the MSS of the *Vengement Alixandre* (before 1191) by Gui de Cambrai. The title adopted is evidently that intended by the French author (see p. v), and MS. *H*, to be used by Mr Edwards in a forthcoming edition, is shown to be far and away the most reliable and desirable as a basic text. Of especial interest to students of the Alexander Legend is a detailed analysis (pp. 4–12) of MS. *Parma 1206* (*saec.* xiv) of the *Roman* with the attendant discovery that the 'revenge' continuation contained therein is nothing more nor less than a very thorough amalgamation of the *Vengement* and the *Venjance*. (What a satisfaction at last to have distinct titles for distinct works!)

Both of these admirable Princeton studies reflect the growing interest among American mediaevalists in that great cycle of romance, of which detailed modern knowledge has been up to now almost exclusively due to the researches of Ausfeld (†), Hilka, Kroll, Pfister, and their students.

F. P. Magoun, Jr

R. Priebsch, *The Heliand Manuscript Cotton Caligula A. VII in the British Museum. A Study.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. Pp. vi + 49. 5 plates.

In the present monograph Professor Priebsch has made a significant contribution to a chapter in literary-historical relations, important no less for the student of Old-English and Old-Saxon philology and paleography than for the student of international cultural history in the tenth century.

The centre of interest lies in the script of those folios of MS. *Cott. Caligula A.VII* which contain *Heliand C* — basically Carolingian minuscular, modified by tenth-century 'reformed' Insular. Minute study of the writing (single letters, pp. 13–21, and especially the ligature for s + t, pp. 23–27), of the illuminated letters, and of the 'numbered sections' (see p. 46, fn. — less full than one might wish) leads to the conservatively stated conclusion (pp. 28–29) that the scribe of *Heliand C* was either (1) an Anglo-Saxon whose calligraphy had been influenced by a Continental *Studienreise*, or (2) a Continental Saxon whose hand (and perhaps language) had been modified by a sojourn in England. In conclusion, Professor Priebsch inclines to the view that the scribe may well have been the Saxon B——, author of the first *uita* of St Dunstan and probably of certain well-known letters; that he would have resided in England (not unlikely Canterbury, p. 41); and that his exemplar may have contained the original of the OE. *Genesis B* as well as the archetype of *Heliand C*.

This monograph is further noteworthy for the emphasis which it places upon "the inadequacy of our present knowledge of the handwriting prevalent in the various *scriptoria* of southern England during the 10th and 11th centuries." Here, by a study of many of the MS. treasures of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, Professor Priebsch has sharpened up the findings of Wolfgang Keller and pointed the way to future investigators.

The reviewer does not feel that the discussion (p. 31) of the band-ornamentation and of the zoömorphic and foliate elements in the colored initials is exhausted with a hint of Byzantine origin and note of their prevalence in Southern MSS of the tenth and eleventh centuries; for the line of tradition, rough and broken though it be, may well reach back to eighth-century Northumbria. But the relation of this to the ornamentation of, say, the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, lately discussed by Mr Eric Millar, would naturally be examined in a separate study.

Incidentally we are given an up-to-date description (pp. 9–11) of the whole MS. — a *Sammelband* of four items, bound together by Sir Robert Bruce Cotton.

The plates, admirable in reproducing in natural-size generous specimens of the script under discussion, enhance the worth of a brochure invaluable to all who are interested in the matters which it examines or broaches.

F. P. Magoun, Jr

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CORPORATION OF THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

IN ACCORDANCE with the provisions of the By-Laws, the Second Annual Meeting of the Corporation of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA was held on Saturday, April 30, 1927, at 10 A.M., at the building of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

After attending to such routine business as the approval of the minutes of the First Annual Meeting and the appointment of a nominating committee, the meeting listened to the Clerk's report of the work of the Council of the ACADEMY during the year:

On the resignation of President Rand in July, before his departure for a year's study in Europe, the Council, with the power granted it by the By-Laws, appointed Charles Homer Haskins President of the ACADEMY until the Annual Meeting of the Corporation; subsequently James Field Willard, then Third Vice-President, was appointed Second Vice-President, to fill the vacancy created by the appointment of Mr Haskins, and Charles Rufus Morey was appointed Third Vice-President.

On January 29, 1927, the ACADEMY was admitted to membership in the American Council of Learned Societies, application having been duly made in accordance with the vote of the Council. The Council at its meeting of April 29, 1927, appointed as delegates of the ACADEMY to the American Council of Learned Societies, John

Strong Perry Tatlock for a term of four years, and Charles Henry Beeson for a term of two years.

In July, 1926, the ACADEMY received from an anonymous donor the sum of five thousand dollars for the establishment of a publication fund. In November gifts of six hundred dollars were received for the purpose of paying to Dom Wilmart the subvention of one hundred dollars already reported, and a further subvention of five hundred dollars to assist him in the completion of his studies of the Script of the School of Autun.

The Council of the ACADEMY has been occupied in drawing up a program of definite projects for consideration by possible donors. Among the ACADEMY'S more immediate plans are the publication in the near future of a Concordance to the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and the Theological Tractates of Boethius by Professor Lane Cooper of Cornell University, made possible through a grant to Mr Cooper from the Heckscher Fund; and, somewhat later, the publication of a work now nearing completion by Professor Edward Kennard Rand of Harvard University on the Script of the School of Tours.

Finally the Clerk announced the establishment, for a period of three years, through the generosity of Professor John Daniel Logan of Marquette University, of an annual prize of $200 to be known as "The Edward Kennard Rand Prize in Mediaeval Studies"; the rules governing the award of this prize will be found following this report.

The report of the Treasurer, besides accounting for the current finances of the ACADEMY, announced that the Endowment Fund was now $16,794.70. Interesting reports were also heard from Mr J. F. Willard as Editor of the *Progress of Mediaeval Studies in the United States of America*, and Mr F. P. Magoun, Jr as Managing Editor of SPECULUM. Mr Willard announced that Bulletin Number 5 was now in the process of preparation. Mr Magoun brought to the attention of the Corporation the fact that the entire range of the ACADEMY'S interest had not yet been represented by articles published in SPECULUM, and hoped that articles might be submitted in the near future on subjects in the fields of mediaeval philosophy, music, science, Byzantine studies, or other phases of mediaeval civilization deserving attention.

Following a report from the Committee on Local Chapters, it was voted that the present policy of the ACADEMY toward the Local Chapter at Philadelphia be continued for the current year, but without prejudging the policy of the ACADEMY toward the formation of any other local chapters.

After the report of the Nominating Committee had been heard and the nominations duly declared closed, the following officers were unanimously elected: President for three years, Edward Kennard Rand; Second Vice-President for one year, James Field Willard; Third Vice-President for three years, Charles Rufus Morey; Councillors each for three years, to succeed the Councillors whose terms had expired, Carleton Brown, Charles Homer Haskins, William Witherle Lawrence, and William Albert Nitze.

The meeting then heard the presidential address,[1] "The Latin Literature of Sport." The meeting then heard an address, illustrated by lantern slides, on "Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," by Professor Charles Diehl of the University of Paris, a Corresponding Fellow of the ACADEMY.

The meeting adjourned at twelve-fifteen.

By an election begun at the meeting of the Fellows of the ACADEMY that afternoon, and subsequently concluded by mail, the following were elected Fellows of the ACADEMY:

EDWARD COOKE ARMSTRONG
THOMAS FREDERICK CRANE
EPHRAIM EMERTON
JEREMIAH DENNIS MATTHIAS FORD
KUNO FRANCKE
WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE
WILLIAM EDWARD LUNT
ALEXANDER MARX
WILLIAM ALBERT NITZE
DAVID EUGENE SMITH
GEORGE EDWARD WOODBINE

and the following Corresponding Fellows of the ACADEMY:

JOSEPH BÉDIER
GEORGE GORDON COULTON
ETIENNE GILSON
ALFRED JEANROY
CHARLES VICTOR LANGLOIS
ANDREW GEORGE LITTLE
EMILE MÂLE
MAX MANITIUS
HENRI PIRENNE
JOSEP PUIG I CADAFALCH
LUIGI SCHIAPARELLI
RUDOLF THURNEYSEN
THOMAS FREDERICK TOUT.

[1] Published pp. 235–252 below.

RULES GOVERNING THE AWARD OF THE EDWARD KENNARD RAND PRIZE IN MEDIAEVAL STUDIES [1]

1. The Edward Kennard Rand Prize in Mediaeval Studies, of Two Hundred Dollars, established by the generosity of Mr John Daniel Logan, shall be awarded for 1928, 1929, 1930 by the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA for an essay of high distinction on a subject connected with Mediaeval Latin Literature or Mediaeval Philosophy.

2. Essays submitted in competition for this prize may be written in English, French, German, or Latin. They should not be less than five thousand words in length. They should ordinarily embody the results of original investigation, but the judges may also consider essays which involve a new and significant synthesis of the results of earlier investigation.

3. Essays in competition for this prize shall be submitted to the Executive Secretary of the ACADEMY on or before the first day of January, and announcement of the award shall be made at the annual meeting of the ACADEMY the following April.

4. The Executive Committee of the ACADEMY shall appoint each year as judges for this prize two scholars, one of whom shall be an expert in Mediaeval Latin Literature, and the other in Mediaeval Latin Philosophy. These two judges shall have authority to add a third judge in the event that they find such action desirable.

5. For the year 1927–28, an essay already published may be admitted in competition, provided that the date of such publication is not earlier than January 1, 1926. After the year 1927–28 only unpublished essays may be entered in competition.

6. The ACADEMY reserves the right to make no award in any year when no essay of sufficient merit is submitted.

[1] Copies of the rules governing this prize may be obtained by applying to the Executive Secretary of the ACADEMY.

THE LATIN LITERATURE OF SPORT[1]

By CHARLES HOMER HASKINS

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA, by the terms of its organization, is interested in every phase of mediaeval civilization. Literature, language, art, archaeology, history, philosophy, science, religion, folklore, economic and social conditions and matters of daily life — nothing is foreign to us. The whole breadth of the Middle Ages is ours, the only limits are chronological. While, however, the ACADEMY has thus staked out a large field for itself, it has no desire to dislodge or interfere with previous cultivators. Its purpose is rather to break new ground where possible, to supplement existing agencies, and to serve as a clearing-house and meeting-point for investigators. Especially does it seek to promote combined and coördinated effort in the study of those aspects of the Middle Ages which need the united forces of historians, philologists, archaeologists, students of art, literature, and philosophy. It welcomes new material, new attacks on old problems, new points of view, new syntheses.

Inevitably one of the major concerns of the ACADEMY is Mediaeval Latin. Not only is the ACADEMY itself the outgrowth of a Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies, but nothing can better express and illustrate its interest in a many-sided approach to mediaeval culture. Without Latin no understanding of the Middle Ages is possible. The international language of the epoch, it was the speech of treaties and formal international intercourse, of the international Church in all its relations, and of religious observance in the several countries of the Occident. Men prayed in Latin, sang in Latin, preached in Latin throughout Western Christendom. It was the language of education, as reflected in textbooks and lectures, in student conversation, and in the intercourse of educated men. Learned early, it was in such constant use that there was little likelihood of its being forgotten. It was the language of philosophy and theology and seri-

[1] Presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA, April 30, 1927.

ous literature in general. Down into the thirteenth century it was the almost exclusive language of history and also of law, both in the form of legislation and of current record, the language of administration in charter and writ and fiscal account, whether on the part of royal treasurers or of local bailiffs. If it was the language of science, it was also a language of *belles lettres*, of poetry and parody, of tales and stories, of drama and romance. Though it ultimately yielded these more popular themes to the vulgar tongues, Latin literature long ran parallel to the vernacular, which in many fields it had preceded. There is no aspect of mediaeval life which does not leave its traces in Latin.

Nevertheless, so enormous is the amount of serious literature in Latin, theological, philosophical, religious, legal, and didactic, that its mere bulk creates the danger of taking the period too soberly, if not too sadly, and of falling into that gloom from which our President sought to release us in his address of last year.[1] I cannot hope to vie with Professor Rand as a dispeller of gloom, but I may perhaps reënforce his point by an example drawn from a different field, the literature of sport. We shall understand the Middle Ages better if from time to time we glance at their lighter side, and we shall likewise understand the significance of Latin better if we recall that even in their gayer moments men did not shake off their Roman inheritance. If they played in Latin as well as prayed in Latin, we ought to know it, prepared for the worst. And if my theme appear trivial to the sober-minded, I can further plead in extenuation that it is now April, Chaucer's April, and Saturday.

Tempus instat floridum,
Cantus crescit avium,

sang the Goliardi, likewise in Latin.

In the long perspective of the literature of sport, from the victors' odes and systematic treatises of the Greeks to the contemporary glorifications of big game and big games, a place must be found for what was written in Latin, since no international language could remain untouched by so universal a human interest. Curiously

[1] E. K. Rand, "Mediaeval Gloom and Mediaeval Uniformity," Speculum, I (1926), 253-268.

enough, this phase of Latin literature is mediaeval, and not Roman. The Romans had spectacles rather than sport; they took their exercise vicariously on the side-lines, applauding the professional gladiators and charioteers who existed for their amusement. Under such circumstances it was natural that they should produce no Pindaric odes, none of those works on hunting and fishing which the Greeks turned out naturally, not even any important translations of these. Hunting, a servile occupation according to Sallust but popular among the provincials of the Empire, inspired nothing beyond the meagre verse of obscure writers like Grattius and Nemesianus. The 'mule medicine' of the later Empire served agriculture not sport, and sport has no place in agricultural literature, whether in prose or verse. Thus Varro's chapter on wild boars is occupied merely with fattening them in captivity, and leads up to a chapter on fattening snails! The Romans had no books on racing; inveterate gamblers, they did not even write on betting. The arm-chair sportsman who went beyond such works as Pliny's *Natural History* was forced to read Greek.

Even the circuses and spectacles which were so important in the life of mediaeval Constantinople disappeared from the West. The Western Church set its face against them as works of the Devil, and their literary memory was preserved chiefly in Isidore's *Etymologies* and the flaming denunciation of Tertullian *On Spectacles*. The arenas became ruins or castles, and men went to church. The sports of the Middle Ages spring up anew out of combat, out of hunting and hawking, and out of various minor forms of amusement, sports of the nobility rather than of the populace and reflected for it in the new courtly literature of the time. They leave little record from the earlier Middle Ages,[1] but by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they have begun to create a literature of their own, and first of all in the chief language of the period, Latin. In general these Latin writings antedate the better-known vernacular works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but there is much overlapping and translation back and forth between the several idioms. Still, back of the English period and the French period in the literature of sport

[1] See G. W. Pfändler, "Die Vergnügungen der Angelsachsen," in *Anglia*, XXIX (1906), 417–524; and for Old French the monographs listed by Ch. V. Langlois, *La vie en France au moyen âge* (Paris, Hachette, 1924), appendice bibliographique, nos. 18, 19, 103, 195, 201.

lies a Latin period. We must not, however, infer from this that Latin had a place in the actual language of sport analogous to that held by English in recent times and, somewhat earlier and to a more limited extent, by French. Those who knew Latin best, the clergy, were debarred from most forms of sport, and the knights who made up the sporting class rarely knew Latin. If men wrote on sport in Latin, they commonly hunted and fought in the vernacular. The Latin treatise usually codified vernacular practice. And when one who knows both Latin and sport comes along in the person of the scholar-emperor Frederick II, he complains that he cannot find suitable Latin equivalents for the technical terms of falconry. So the more classically minded, who derived tournaments (*Troiana agmina*) from Troy via the games described in the *Aeneid*, would have found serious gaps in the Virgilian vocabulary.

The major sport of the Middle Ages was war, with its adjuncts the tournament, the joust, and the judicial duel. War had its open and closed seasons dependent upon conditions of climate and upon the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Ascension, even its attempts at quiet week-ends in the Truce of God, and the right of private war was the most valued of the sporting privileges of the mediaeval barons; but war was after all grim business rather than sport, the vocation rather than the avocation of the military classes, dominating their life and giving color to their amusements. Business or sport, war produced no special literature beyond that recording deeds of valor and military prowess. Vegetius was copied in the monasteries but not imitated, and no mediaeval works on military science arose in his place, whether in Latin or in the western vernaculars, to parallel the great Byzantine works on tactics. Just as description of feudalism began when feudalism was declining, so treatises on tournaments meet us only when the institution is about to disappear, the best example being the *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournoi* of that patron of the Renaissance, good King René of Provence. Appropriately enough for what was peculiarly a French sport (*ludi gallici*), this was written in French.[1]

[1] See J. J. Jusserand, *Les sports et jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France* (2d ed., Paris, 1901), pp. 73 ff.

The judicial duel, on the other hand, that crowning illustration of the sporting theory of justice, did produce a Latin literature, for it early fell into the hands of the lawyers, who wrote in Latin. This ancient institution not only canalized into legal channels something of the fighting instincts of the epoch, but it gave wide scope to those technicians of sport who have been in all ages concerned with the qualifications, equipment, and handicaps of contestants, particularly after the introduction of hired champions raised complicated questions of eligibility and professionalism. So in that age of *summae*, the thirteenth century, the eminent civilian Roffredo of Benevento composed a *Summa de pugna*, where he discusses the cases to which the wager of battle is applicable and the cases in which champions are allowed to take the place of those handicapped by youth, old age, illness, sex, servile rank, or ecclesiastical disabilities. The defects of the duel as a form of sport appear in his uncertainty as to the proper procedure when one of the contestants loses his weapons (c. 9):

> Some say that if the weapons are broken others should be given, since the battle must legally be fought with clubs, but that if the weapons fall to the ground others shall not be supplied, and he who has dropped his arms must blame himself and his evil fortune. For if arms are given back to a man when he is losing, this would really be lifting him up and starting him a second time, which would be unjust. Others say that arms are not to be given back whether they break or fall. In this matter we declare that the custom of the place should be observed and if there is no custom then what seems most just and equitable to the judge shall prevail.[1]

Already the judicial duel has begun to decline; Roffredo's contemporary and one-time master, the sporting emperor Frederick II, found it to be only "a sort of divination, out of harmony with natural reason, common law, and equity." [2]

Next to war came the chase, that sport of all times and places, which was considered the special delight of kings and princes. The

[1] Edited in F. Patetta, *Le ordalie* (Turin, 1890), pp. 478–492. Cf. the Scottish examples in G. Neilson, *Trial by Combat* (London, 1890), cc. 65, 66, 73, 74; and B. Prost, *Traités du duel judiciaire* (Paris, 1872).

[2] Constitutions of 1231, ii, 33, ed. J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi* (Paris, 1859 ff.), IV, 105.

vernacular literature of the chase is well known, at least from the fourteenth century: the *Livre du Roi Modus et de la Reine Ratio;* the *Ars de venerie* of William Twici, master huntsman of Edward II; the *Roman des déduis* of Gace de la Buigne; and the famous *Livre de chasse* of that mighty hunter and master of six hundred well-loved dogs, Froissart's patron, Gaston Phébus, count of Foix.[1] The Latin literature is earlier, going back apparently to the eleventh century, and clearly antedating the great cyclopaedias of the thirteenth century in which it is cited. Severely practical throughout, it is concerned in the first instance with the animals which aid in the chase, horses, dogs, hawks, and falcons, and especially with the diseases of these and their remedies. It would be rash to deny any connection between this and the veterinary medicine of antiquity, but for the most part it shows a humbler origin, its precepts drawn rather from the popular cures and leechdoms of current practice. All kinds of ailments are included, even parasites receiving careful attention to a degree which reminds one of the course on "Domestic Entomology" announced by an American agricultural college. Those who practise this art, says Adelard of Bath,[2] not only must be sober, patient, and chaste, alert and of sweet breath, but must avoid those from whom hawks might become infested with vermin, for which special remedies are prescribed. These treatises, chiefly relating to falcons, claim an ancient origin under such titles as the letters "of Aquila and Symmachus and Theodotion to King Ptolemy" and "of Girosius the Spaniard to the Emperor Theodosius," and they have parallels in Byzantine literature. Those who derive falconry from the East would doubtless trace them all to the Orient, but in these days of multiple hypotheses it is not necessary to assume a common origin for the Norway falcons supplied annually to King Henry II of England and the hawking which Marco Polo describes at the court of the Great Khan. Certainly the treatise which Adelard of Bath in the early twelfth century compiled from 'King Harold's

[1] See H. Werth, "Altfranzösische Jagdlehrbücher," in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XII (1888), especially pp. 383–415. D. H. Madden, *A Chapter of Mediaeval History: The Fathers of the Literature of Field Sport and Horses* (London, 1924), is a popular account, devoted almost entirely to vernacular writers.

[2] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII (1922), 399.

books' and his own experience shows no indebtedness to the East,[1] and the same is apparently true of the work of one Grimaldus, 'Count of the Sacred Palace,' which meets us in an eleventh-century manuscript at Poitiers.[2] By the thirteenth century we have translations from the Arabic, notably the work of Moamin on the diseases of falcons and hawks turned into Latin *ca.* 1240 by Theodore, court philosopher of Frederick II, and the similar work of a certain Yatrib. Another popular Latin treatise goes under the name of an imaginary King Dancus but cites the precepts of William, falconer of King Roger of Sicily, one of the earliest authorities on this art. In spite of its brief account of the different species of hawks and falcons, this is still a work on diseases rather than on sport proper, and the same can be said of the earliest mediaeval book on horses, compiled in Latin by Giordano Ruffo of Calabria for Frederick II and soon translated into Italian and other languages.[3] So their contemporary, Albertus Magnus, while devoting most space to horses and hawks in his great treatise *On Animals*, concerns himself only with their diseases.[4]

The sport of falconry first comes fully to its own in the *De arte venandi cum avibus* of the Emperor Frederick II. Of Frederick as a man of science I have written elsewhere[5] — his spirit of free inquiry, his keen interest in animals, his tireless observation and experiment on birds, his wide-ranging activity as a collector, his extraordinary menagerie of beasts from other climes. In another age he might have stalked big game in Africa or explored the fauna of the Upper Amazon with the energy of a Theodore Roosevelt, but without sharing the Rooseveltian certainties or zeal for the betterment of his fellow men. In any event he was one of the great sportsmen of the Middle Ages and indeed of any age, a tireless devotee of hunting who delighted in the wings of a bird as well as in the strength

[1] See my *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (2d ed., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), ch. 17.

[2] *MS. 184*, ff. 70–73: "Incipit opusculum Grimaldus baiuli et comitis sacri palacii ad Karulum regem de dieta ciborum et nutritura ancipitrum."

[3] *Mediaeval Science*, p. 256.

[4] *De animalibus*, ed. H. Stadler (Münster, 1916–20), xxii, 2, 1, cc. 52–93, xxiii, 1, cc. 1–24, pp. 1377–1400, 1453–1493.

[5] *Mediaeval Science*, chs. 12, 14.

of a horse and the legs of a man. A man of the open air, his sporting life can be followed in fragments of his administrative correspondence, but best of all in his own treatise on falconry to which he devoted the leisure of thirty years. This art, he tells us, "we have always loved and practised," and his high standard of sport stands out in his description of the ideal falconer:

Whosoever desires to learn and practise the art of hunting with birds, so as to be competent in feeding, keeping, taming, carrying, and teaching them to hunt other birds, in hunting with them, and if necessary in curing their diseases, should have with him the science of this book, both what is now said and what follows, and when he has this in sufficient measure from one worthier he may receive the title and name of falconer. [Of medium stature and medium weight] he must not weary of the art or the necessary labor, but should love it and persevere in it so that even in old age he will be no less devoted to it, all of which will come from the love which he has for the art. For since the art is long and many new things happen in its pursuit, one should never desist from its practice but keep it up throughout life in order to attain greater perfection therein. The falconer should have great natural intelligence, since, although he will learn much concerning birds from the experts in this art, he will still need to discover and devise many things out of his own head as occasion arises. For it would be impossible and it would in any case be tiresome to write down everything and consider all possible eventualities, both good and bad, in dealing with individual birds of prey of different temperaments, so let each man supply what is needed from his own mind and from the art of this book. . . . Of those who follow this art there are some who practise it neither to satisfy appetite nor for the sake of gain nor even for the joy of the eye, but only for the sake of having the best birds of prey which shall bring them surpassing fame and honor, and who take their delight in this that they have good birds.[1]

[1] "Quicunque itaque vult discere et exercere artem venationis cum avibus ad hoc quod possit esse sufficiens in nutriendo, etiam custodiendo mansuefaciendo portando docendo ipsas ut venentur alias aves, in utendo eis in venationibus et in curando eas si opus fuerit, oportet ut in se habeat ea que dicentur iam et postea scientiam huius libri, que omnia cum sufficienter habuerit a digniori nomen accipiens falconarius poterit merito nuncupari. Qui sit mediocris stature ne propter magnitudinem superfluam plus lassus et minus agilis habeatur neque propter parvitatem nimiam sit minus agilis tam equester quam pedester. Sit mediocris habitudinis ne propter extenuatam maciem deficiat sustinere laborem aut frigus neque propter corpulentiam et pinguedinem nimiam fastidiat laborem et calorem et pigrior et tardior habeatur quam convenit huic arti. Non fastidiat artem neque laborem sed diligat et perseveret in ipsa in tantum quod etiam quando devenerit ad senectutem non minus intendat arti, quod totum procedit ex amore quem habebit in arte. Cum enim ars longa sit et plura in usu

Frederick's *De arte* has not reached us in its original form, which included material on hawks and on diseases of falcons which is absent from the surviving manuscripts, perhaps also books on other forms of hunting which he promises "if life permit." A book of his on hawks and dogs was captured at the great defeat before Parma in 1248, and was in the hands of a certain William Bottatus of Milan in 1264; this *de luxe* copy then disappears, and King Manfred had access only to an incomplete text and scattered notes of his father's which he used in his revision of the first two books. Manfred's revision is the basis of the printed editions, although they lack the beautiful illuminations with their extraordinarily faithful depiction of birds which have come down to us in the Vatican manuscript. Four other books as yet unpublished are preserved in a different family of manuscripts, but we must repeat that we have not the work as Frederick planned it, perhaps not as he executed it.[1]

The first complete treatise on the subject of falconry, as its author tells us, the *De arte* is a big book, five hundred and eighty-nine pages in the Mazarine manuscript, and a detailed book. It is a scientific book, approaching the subject from Aristotle but based closely on observation and experiment throughout. *Divisivus et inquisitivus*, in the words of the preface, it is at the same time a scholastic book, minute and almost mechanical in its divisions and subdivisions. It is also a rigidly practical, even a technical book, written by a falconer for falconers and condensing a long experience

secundum eam noviter incidant, nunquam debet homo desistere ab exercitio huius artis sed perseverare quamdiu vixerit ut ipsam artem perfectius consequatur. Debet esse perfecti ingenii, ut, quamvis didicerit plura et a doctis huius artis circa ea que sunt necessaria avibus, tamen ex suo naturali ingenio sciat invenire et excogitare que necessaria fuerint incidenter. Non enim esset possibile scribere singula et noviter emergentia in operationibus bonis et malis avium rapacium, nam cum diversorum sint morum longe durum esset scribere omnia, pro qua re singulis (singulus?) ex suo ingenio et ex arte huius libri quicquid erit expediens ministrare tenetur . . . Alii intendunt in hoc neque causa gule neque causa lucri alterius neque etiam causa delectamenti visus sui, sed tantum ut habeant suas aves rapaces bonas et meliores quam ceteri ex quo adquirant sibi famam et honorem pre ceteris, et in hoc habent magnum delectamentum, scilicet quod habent bonas aves." *Vatican, MS. Pal. Lat. 1071*, foll. 68r–69v; *Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 3716*, pp. 173–177; *Reliqua librorum Frederici II Imperatoris de arte venandi cum avibus*, ed. J. G. Schneider (Leipzig, 1788–89), I, 107–109.

[1] I have discussed the manuscripts and editions of the *De arte* in my *Mediaeval Science*, ch. 14. The preparation of a critical edition has at last been undertaken by Professor J. Strohl of Zurich.

into systematic form for the use of others. To the great regret of the modern reader, it is not discursive or narrative, for there are few specific references to time or place and no hunting stories. Only between the lines can we see the emperor rising betimes for a morning's sport beside Apulian watercourses, writing respecting the homes and haunts of herons in Sicily, ranging the country about Gubbio under a winter sky for those fat cranes which he describes in a letter to one of his falconers in the South.[1] Everywhere it is the work of a sportsman.

After a preface exalting the art of falconry, the first book is devoted to zoölogy, and very good zoölogy it is, treating of the structure and habits of birds in general and then of birds of prey in particular. Book Two then takes up the rearing, feeding, and seeling of falcons, and the implements of the art, including the hood which the emperor borrowed from the Arabs on his Crusade and improved for western use. Book Three is concerned with various kinds of lures and their use, especially those made of crane's wings for that noblest of birds the gerfalcon, and the special training of the swift-footed dogs necessary to aid the falcon against large birds. In Book Four we reach the climax, the pursuit of cranes with gerfalcons, for "cranes are the most famous of all birds which birds of prey are taught to hunt, and the gerfalcon is the noblest of birds of prey and the bird which captures cranes better than other falcons and best goes after them." [2]

When a falconer goes out to hunt cranes with the gerfalcon his garments should be short, for the sake of greater agility, and of a single color, preferably grey or an earthen hue such as farmers wear, for such clothing best stands exposure to changes of place and weather. If he wears fine and many-colored raiment with striking colors, his prey will more quickly fly away. He should have on his head a broad hat, so as to conceal his face from the cranes and frighten them as little as possible, and, if need be, to shelter the falcon from sun, wind, and rain. He will also need heavy leggings as a protection against water and brambles. His horse should be

[1] Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, V, 510, 698.

[2] "Sed quoniam grues sunt famosiores inter omnes aves non rapaces ad quas docentur capiendas aves rapaces et girofalcus nobilior est avibus rapacibus et est avis que melius capit grues quam alii falcones, et que melius volat ad ipsas." *Mazarine MS. 3716*, p. 282.

gentle and quiet, running only at the rider's will and not quickening his pace if the reins are thrown on his neck when that hand is busy with the falcon, obedient and swift-footed and quick to turn to right or left when there is need. He should not be frightened by sudden or strange sounds nor should he whinny easily, for this scares the birds. He must not be hard in the mouth or difficult to curb, lest he injure the falcon in hastening to its aid, and there should be no bells on bridle or breastpiece, which would also frighten the birds.[1]

The habits of cranes are taken up in detail, their feeding according to climate, season, and time of day, the advantages and disadvantages of the various sorts of ground, the means employed to separate one or two or three cranes from the flock, the various methods of attack, the six reasons why a gerfalcon may be driven back by a crane. There is a concluding comparison of the gerfalcon with other falcons. The treatment in the two remaining books is closely parallel, dealing with the hunting of herons with the sacred falcon and of river birds with the peregrine falcon. Thus it is said that against herons, which nest in cane-brakes and in trees near the water, the best time to train falcons is the nesting season, which is early; the best terrain for hunting them is low, open places and small, tortuous rivers. They feed especially on fish, lizards, and young frogs ("worms with a large head and a small tail which are said to

[1] "Falconarius quando exire debet foras ad exercendum venationem cum girofalcis ad grues habeat pannos vestimentorum suorum curtos, ut agil[i]or sit cum eis, et si[n]t unius coloris qui color sit bisus aut similis coloris terre quali panno utuntur coloni, tales enim panni exponuntur convenientius oportunitatibus temporum et locorum. Si vero vestes haberet splendidas et variorum colorum per quos colores panni essent melius discernibiles, quando indutus talibus pannis exiret foras ad venandum aves quas capere intendunt cum falconibus, minus expectarent et facile aufugerent. Habeat pileum amplum super caput, ut per ipsum minus appareat facies eius gruibus et per hoc minus pavescant, et sub ipso defendat falconem a pluvia vento et sole si necesse fuerit. Habeat ocreas crossas in cruribus suis que sint tutamen tibiarum et pedum contra aquam cardos et spinas et cetera nocumenta. Equus vero quem equitare debebit sit mitis stans quiete qui non currat nisi ad voluntatem equitantis et si dimittantur habene sibi super collum causa faciendi aliquid circa falconem cum alia manu, ipse equus non acceleret propter hoc passum suum sed sit obediens et agilis ad girandum se de[x]trorsum et sinistrorsum ubi necesse fuerit et velox ad currendum. Non sit ad improvisa aut insueta pavescens neque hyniat libenter, nam aves ad auditum hinitus aufugerent. Non sit effrenis neque dure boce, quoniam quando curreretur ad succurrendum falconi posset de facili pesundari falconem. Non habeat frenum aut pectorale cum nolis seu campanellis quarum sonitu possent deterr[er]i aves." *Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 3716*, pp. 373 f.; *Rennes, MS. 227*, p. 248.

become frogs when they grow up"),[1] and move southward as the water-courses freeze over toward winter, though a few remain in the North about warm springs. Their migrations are discussed according to the seasons, and it is noted that they are most abundant in Egypt. All this is preliminary to a detailed discussion of the actual pursuit of herons, which closes again with a comparison of the characteristics of the sacred falcon with other birds.

The thirteenth century, which saw the climax of the Latin literature of sport in the *De arte*, also saw its disappearance before the vernacular, unless we make a place for some Latin verse of the Cinquecento.[2] The beginning of the century produced the Provençal *Romans dels auzels cassadors* of Daude de Pradas, which probably had predecessors in the vernacular, and Frederick II's son Enzio was the patron of the translator of Moamin and Yatrib into French. Before the end of the century Frederick's *De arte* has been turned into French, and brief works in French and Italian prefigure the more ambitious treatises of the fourteenth century.[3]

Likewise, it would seem, of the thirteenth century is a brief unpublished treatise on hunting the stag, *De arte bersandi*, which goes under the name of Guicennas, "most excellent hunter by the testimony of the princes of Germany and especially of the hunters of Emperor Frederick." It begins:[4]

Si quis scire desiderat de arte bersandi, in hoc tractatu cognoscere poterit magistratum. Huius autem artis liber vocatur Guicennas et rationabiliter vocatur Guicennas nomine cuiusdam militis Theutonici qui appellabatur Guicennas qui huius artis et libri materiam prebuit. Iste vero dominus Guicennas Theutonicus fuit magister in omni venacione et insuper summus omnium venatorum et specialiter in arte bersandi, sicut testificabantur magni barones et principes Alamanie et maxime venatores excellentis viri domini Frederici Romanorum imperatoris. Dixitque ergo hic dominus

[1] "Vermium crossi capitis et pectoris subtilis caude de quibus dicitur quod fiunt rane quando crescunt." *Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 3716*, pp. 423 f.

[2] See J. E. Harting, *Bibliotheca Accipitraria* (London, 1891), pp. 163–167.

[3] *Mediaeval Science*, ch. 17. See now Gunnar Tilander, "Etude sur les traductions en vieux français du traité de fauconnerie de l'Empereur Frédéric II," in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XLVI (1926), 211–290.

[4] *Vatican, MS. Reg. Lat. 1227* (*saec. xv*), foll. 66v–70r; *MS. Vat. Lat. 5366* (*ca.* 1300), foll. 75v–78v: "Incipit liber Guicennatis de arte bersandi."

Guicennas quod qui vult scire et esse perfectus in arte ista primo debet apponere cor et etiam voluntatem, et debet esse levis et non piger. Debet etenim cogitare ad occidendum bestiam quam venatur.

Audiatis ergo de ista venacione que quasi domina omnium venacionum reputatur. Primum oportet quod bersator sciat bene trahere et bene menare bestias, et cum istis continetur bene multe alie, ut videlicet quod bersator debet scire aptare brachetum ad sanguinem, et sciat bene stare ad arborem et habeat bonam memoriam rememorandi ubi posuit archarios, et hec est res que magis convenit bersatori quam alii venatori. . . .

After further description of the qualifications of the hunter we are told that he should also know how to make an arrow and a leash as well as how to sound his horn and dress a stag. His equipment should contain among other things cord and flint (*petra focalis*) and hammer and nails for shoeing his horse in case of necessity. After several chapters on the training of brachets to follow the deer, the author ends with this account of an actual pursuit, even to such details as the disposition of the archers and the patting of the dog's head:

Postquam vero bersatores viderint bestias, illi qui debent menare debent equitare quasi ante faciem bestiarum et debent facere similitudinem quasi non videant eas, et postea circum eas, si bestie expectant, pone archatorem quasi contra primam spalam bestiarum et alium archatorem quasi ad pectus et tercium archatorem quasi ad alteram spalam sive ad pulmonem, et taliter sint ordinati quod unus non possit ferire alterum cum archabunt ad bestias. Si vero unus archator esset qui libentius trahat aliis, pone illum retro pectus bestie. Si vero recedunt bestie et fugerent multum a longe et non videres illas et velles ire retro illas, tunc pone brachetum in terra et reinvenies eas cum bracheto, et quando videbis eas surgere brachetum attira retro te et frica caput leviter cum manu et monstra ei bonam voluntatem, et istud est quare brachetus multum se letificat. Postea equita circumgirando bestias sicut superius diximus archatoribus ordinatis, et si bestie sunt bone pone archatores deprope et fac trahere taliter ut bestie non videant eos, quia si bestie viderent eos ipse irent tam solitarie quod non posses taliter facere alia vice quod ipse bestie non viderent te. Item debes equitare cum bestiis quamdiu potes, quia quanto cum illis equitabis tanto meliores erunt et quando equitabis post bonas bestias. Explicit liber Guicennatis de arte bersandi.

Fishing, on the other hand, has left no similar literary remains from our period, for it was not a recognized sport of the upper classes.

There was, of course, the example of St Peter — did not the Popes seal their breves *sub annulo piscatoris?*—and fish were a necessity during Lent, but neither the castle and monastery fish ponds nor the great herring fleets of the North tempted a mediaeval Izaak Walton to discourse upon angling as a fine art. Nor did the Middle Ages take kindly to other forms of aqueous diversion. No one wrote on swimming, although the chroniclers recount such exploits as the feats of Lady Petronilla in the fish pond at Guines [1] or of a diver known as Nicholas the Fish who explored the watery fastnesses of Scylla and Charybdis at the behest of Frederick II.[2] There is a literature on bathing, notably verse on the baths of Pozzuoli,[3] but this is medicine not sport. A bath in the Middle Ages was a serious affair!

Serious, too, is the treatment of hawking, hunting, and fishing in the manual of country life by Petrus de Crescentiis, whose *Ruralium commodorum libri XII* was written *ca.* 1300 and went through many printed editions both Latin and vernacular. Serious, but hardly sporting, for to him wild beasts are either food, or nuisances to be exterminated after taking them as best one can. What shall we say of a man who catches fish with nets, with quick lime, and — horror of horrors! — with a baited hook? Somehow we do not visualize this sober Bolognese agriculturist as taking a day off with the patient anglers by the banks of Seine, nor yet as registering Viscount Grey's self-denying vow not to fish the trout streams in imagination before the first of January. Still, his book has a traditional place in the lists of collectors' books on sport, and it is germane to our present purpose in reminding us that the oldest mediaeval treatises on agriculture are written in Latin, like their models Varro and Palladius.

Of all indoor games, chess easily took the lead in the Middle Ages. Indeed we are told that "especially from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century chess attained to a popularity in Western

[1] Lambert of Ardres, ed. J. Heller, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXIV, 629.

[2] Salimbene, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *M.G.H., SS.*, XXXII, 250 f.

[3] See Ries, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXXII (1911), 576 ff., and the literature there cited.

Europe which has never been excelled and probably never equalled at any later date." [1] As the favorite pastime of lords and ladies chess leaves its trail throughout the mediaeval chronicles and at greater length in the feudal romances, while it develops a considerable literature of its own, and this largely in Latin. As an excellent survey of these texts exists in Mr H. J. R. Murray's *History of Chess*, we shall confine ourselves to brief extracts by way of illustration. There are three principal types of these treatises: "didactic works, generally in verse, which are intended to teach beginners the moves and the most elementary principles of play, or to give a rapid description of the game"; moralizing works; and collections of chess problems.[2] The first and third of these have a modern sound, although Alexander Neckam in a Latin chapter on the rules of chess, *ca.* 1200, finds it necessary to begin with the statement that the game was invented by Ulysses, and in closing to illustrate the passionate devotion of the players by reference to the romance of *Renaud de Montauban:* "How many thousands of souls were sent to hell in consequence of that game in which Reginald the son of Eymund, while playing with a noble knight in the palace of Charles the Great, slew his opponent with one of the chessmen." [3] Even so did Homer sing of the many valiant souls of heroes which Achilles had sent to Hades before their time.

The 'moralities' are more characteristically mediaeval. An age which allegorized everything from the Bible to the spots on dice was not likely to neglect the opportunity presented by a popular game which suggested on the very surface the course of battle, the classes of society, and the vanity of all things earthly. Thus we read in the so-called *Innocent Morality*, which is obviously of English origin:

> The world resembles a chessboard which is chequered white and black, the colors showing the two conditions of life and death, or praise and blame. The chessmen are men of this world who have a common birth, occupy different stations and hold different titles in this life, who contend together,

[1] H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913), p. 428.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 418.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 501, 512, 741. See Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, ed. T. Wright (Rolls Series), pp. 324–326.

and finally have a common fate which levels all ranks. The King often lies under the other pieces in the bag.

The King's move and powers of capture are in all directions, because the King's will is law.

The Queen's move is aslant only, because women are so greedy that they will take nothing except by rapine and injustice.

The Rook stands for the itinerant justices who travel over the whole realm, and their move is always straight, because the judge must deal justly. . . .

The Pawns are poor men. Their move is straight except when they take anything; so also the poor man does well so long as he keeps from ambition. . . .

In this game the Devil says 'Check!' when a man falls into sin; and unless he quickly cover the check by turning to repentance, the Devil says, 'Mate!' and carries him off to hell, whence is no escape. For the Devil has as many kinds of temptations to catch different types of man, as the hunter has dogs to catch different types of animals.[1]

Much more elaborate is the enormously popular work of the Lombard Dominican, Jacopo da Cessole, of which we have perhaps a hundred manuscripts in Latin, not to mention early editions and vernacular versions, including an English one by Caxton. When we learn that these twenty-four chapters are really an expanded sermon, we are prepared to find that its chess is secondary to its moral teaching and that it is better described by its sub-title *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium.* It begins and ends with Babylon, the large, square city of Jeremiah, for the betterment of whose king Evil-Merodach chess was originally devised, and its description of the various classes of society is full of second-hand illustrations, chiefly out of John of Salisbury and the Bible. Thus the knights serve as a text for the military and knightly virtues, with quotations from Paul the Deacon and many gentile writers, and mention of Alexander, David, and Codrus, Sulla, Damon and Pythias, and the laws of Lycurgus. The knight's victorious progress across the board shows that he who humbleth himself shall be exalted.

Finally it must be remembered that the game of chess was supposed, in England at least, to have another application, namely to

[1] Murray, p. 530.

the reckoning of the king's Exchequer, the name of the Arabic chessboard having reached the royal treasury long before the Arabic numerals. The Exchequer unquestionably drew its name from the checkered table or chessboard (*scaccarium*) about which the royal reckoning took place, and it was easy to find a parallel with this royal game in which the king was never mated. Thus the *Dialogue on the Exchequer* says:

> For just as, in a game of chess, there are certain grades of combatants and they proceed or stand still by certain laws or limitations, some presiding and others advancing: so, in this, some preside, some assist by reason of their office, and no one is free to exceed the fixed laws; as will be manifest from what is to follow. Moreover, as in chess the battle is fought between kings, so in this it is chiefly between two that the conflict takes place and the war is waged, — the treasurer, namely, and the sheriff who sits there to render account; the others sitting by as judges, to see and to judge.[1]

To quote the *Dialogue* (1178-79) is to remind ourselves that the Exchequer also had a Latin literature of its own, the earliest detailed description of fiscal operations of any western government of the Middle Ages, and a very remarkable description for the twelfth or any other century. Later the Exchequer even inspired poetry, of a very mediocre sort, in the lines which describe the functions and the corruption of its members, *ca.* 1400:

> O scacci camera, locus est mirabilis ille;
> Ut dicam vera, tortores sunt ibi mille.
> . . . . . .
> Dici miranda scacci domus ergo valebit,
> In qua si danda desint *chekmat*que patebit.[2]

When Latin verse reaches this point, it is time to stop, checkmated.

This paper makes no claim to have exhausted the Latin literature of sport, even in its systematic forms, while of course there is much to glean from scattered references in the Latin chronicles, stories,

[1] i, 1, as translated in E. F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (London, 1892), p. 24.

[2] Printed in full by Mrs M. D. George and C. H. Haskins in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI (1921), 58–67.

and poetry of the epoch. I trust, however, that enough has been said to establish my main contention that there is a considerable body of such material in Latin, and that account must always be taken of Latin sources for the lighter as well as for the more serious sides of mediaeval life. *Omnia tempus habent*, said a Book much read in the Middle Ages, and a *tempus ridendi* and a *tempus saltandi* are included in the Preacher's ensuing enumeration. There was a time for play in Latin as well as in the vernacular, as the copyists remind us:

Explicit expliceat, ludere scriptor eat.

Harvard University.

BISHOP CUTHWINI OF LEICESTER (680–691), AMATEUR OF ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS

By ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK

IN 1902, Traube published (*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 27.277–8 [1]) the following passage from MS. Paris Lat. 12,940, of the 9th century:

IN EPISTULA AD CORINT. SECUNDA.[2] *A Iudæis quinquies quadragenas una minus accepi.* Quinque vicibus tricenas et novenas quasi transgressor legis accepit. Quod dicit 'a Iudæis quinquies quadragenas una minus accepi', significat se a Iudæis quinquies flagellatum, ita tamen, ut numquam XL. sed una minus feriretur. Præceptum namque erat legis, ut qui delinquentem verberarent, ita modum vindictæ temperarent, ut plagarum modus quadragenarium numerum minime transcenderet. Quod ita ab antiquis intellectum *testatur etiam pictura* [3] *eiusdem libri, quem reverentissimus vir Chuduini, orientalium Anglorum antistes, veniens a Roma, secum Britanniam detulit,*[4] in quo videlicet libro omnes pæne ipsius apostoli passiones sive labores per loca oportuna erant depicta. Ubi hic locus ita depictus est, quasi denudatus iaceret apostolus laceratus lacrimisque perfusus, super asstaret et tortor quadrifidum habens flagellum in manu, sed unam e fidibus in manu sua retentam, tres vero reliquas solum ad feriendum habens exertas. Ubi pictoris sensus facillime patet, quod ei ternis fidibus eum fecit verberari, ut undequadragenarium plagarum numerum compleret. Si enim quaternis fidibus percuteret decies percutiens, quadraginta plagas faceret. Si vero ternis tredecies feriens, undequadraginta plagas impleret.

[1] The whole article, pp. 276–8 (alluded to in *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.* 1. 79), was reproduced (1920) in Traube's *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* 3. 239–241, the passage in question being found on pp. 240–1.

[2] 2 Cor. 11. 24.

[3] In the light of Lehmann's attribution of this paragraph to Bede (see below), it is suggestive to compare the sentence (Migne 93.459) from Bede's Quæstio VI, quoted by Lehmann on his p. 6, contrasting, as it does, the hue of the African with that of the Saxon, and so reminding us of Gregory's "angelicam habent faciem," and of Bede's "niger Aethiops et Saxo candidus" (*Opera*, ed. Giles 8. 29): "Sicut autem in pictura parietum, neque obscurum Aethiopem candido, neque candidi corporis sive capilli [see Plummer, ed. *Bædæ Opera Historica* 1. 80, line 1] Saxonem atro decet colore depingi, ita in retributione meritorum juxta suum quisque opus recipiet, et qualis erit actu, talis etiam parebit vultu in judicio; neque omnino ad rem quid quisque figurarit, sed quid egerit pertinebit."

[4] See p. 256, note 1.

Traube was also interested in a Cuthwini whose name he found on fol. 68′ of MS. 126 (probably 10th century) of the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp, containing, among other things, some of which pointed to England, the *Carmen Paschale* of Sedulius, with illustrations; and this Cuthwini he believed to designate the owner of an antecedent manuscript from which the Antwerp codex had been derived. Accordingly, he promptly identified him with the one mentioned in the passage quoted above, in these terms (*ibid.*, p. 277):

> Einen Cuðwini aber kennen wir als Bibliophilen, der hier recht eigentlich hinpassen würde. Es ist der Bischof von Dunwich, um 750.

Incidentally, Traube pointed out that a considerable part of the quoted passage had been published as early as 1836, in Victor Cousin's appendix (p. 622) to his *Ouvrages Inédits d'Abélard*, adding that in the meantime he was not aware that any one had paid the slightest attention to it.

Here the matter rested until 1919, when Paul Lehmann[1] made the discovery that the same passage, with a few slight variants, occurred as Quæstio II of *Aliquot Quæstionum Liber*, in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* 93.455 (reproduced from Vol. 7, pp. 390–1 of the Basel edition of Bede's works, published in 1563), but among the *Dubia et Spuria*. If the passage were to be regarded as dubious or spurious, matters would remain as they were, and the pilgrim from Rome might have continued to be identified with the Bishop of Dunwich; but Lehmann proceeded to bring forward proofs that Bede was really the author of the passage, and perhaps of the whole Book of Questions. The summation of these proofs is as follows (p. 16):

> Gegen Oudin und seine Nachtreter spricht für Herkunft von einem Angelsachsen des 8. Jahrhunderts, spricht für Beda
>
> 1. dass man in karolingischer Zeit (Smaragd, Claudius, Hrabanus, Haimo) in Beda den Verfasser gesehen hat;
>
> 2. dass zweimal einzigartige Angaben über angelsächsische Bischöfe des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts, und an einer anderen Stelle ausdrücklich von einem *Saxo*, d. h. einem Angelsachsen, die Rede ist;

[1] *Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-Phil. und der Hist. Klasse der Bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Abhandlung 4.

3. dass der Inhalt und vor allem die Form der oder, vorsichtig gesagt, mehrerer Quæstiones vorzüglich zu Beda passen.

And again Lehmann says (p. 21):

Einstweilen ist so viel sicher, dass zum mindesten die näher behandelten "Quæstiones Biblicæ" geschrieben sein können, und so viel sehr wahrscheinlich, dass sie tatsächlich geschrieben sind von Beda.

In an extended discussion, Lehmann tried to show (pp. 16–20) that Cuthwini may be placed between 716 and 731 as Bishop of Dunwich. His argument is too long to follow here; but Stubbs (*Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 2d ed., p. 9) makes Æscwulf (whom Bede, 5.23, names Aldberct: cf. Plummer 2.341; *Dict. Chr. Biog.* 1.76) the incumbent between 675 and 731; and Bright (*E. E. Church Hist.*, 1878, p. 449), retaining Bede's "Al(d)ber(c)t," assigns this same period, though he adds: "The date of his accession is unknown. He may have been bishop in 709." Moreover, Stubbs said in 1877 (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* 1.732) of Cuthwini: "His date falls about the middle of the 8th century, but is not exactly determined"; and this he seems to confirm by the position he assigns to him in 1897 (*Registrum*, p. 230). Accordingly, I cannot follow Lehmann when he says (p. 20):

Damit ist für die Regierung Cuthvines, dessen Vorkommen im "Liber Quæstionum" die Kirchenhistoriker bisher übersehen haben, ein Spielraum in der Zeit zwischen 716 und 731 gewonnen. Wir dürfen annehmen dass er um 720 gewirkt hat: *Cuthvine war Zeitgenosse Bedas.*

If, now, we cast about for a Cuthwini who will fulfil all the conditions, we shall find him, I believe, in the Bishop of Leicester to whom Stubbs (*Registrum*, p. 224; cf. p. 6) assigns the period 680–691. Elsewhere Stubbs calls him (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* 1.732)

the first bishop of Leicester, who was appointed in 679 by Archbishop Theodore when the Mercian dioceses were divided. He is not mentioned by Bede; and Florence of Worcester makes him bishop of Lichfield (*M.H.B.* 622), but the ancient lists of bishops place him at Leicester. Nothing else is known about him.[1]

[1] Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* 3. 129, note d; Bright, pp. 310, 450; Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 396.

The bishopric of Leicester was that of the Middle Angles, concerning whose extent we are told by Oman (p. 231):

> In Bede's time the whole of the region from the borders of Essex as far as Leicester was known as the land of the Middle Angles. . . . This would include the modern shires of Cambridge (minus the Isle of Ely), Huntingdon, Bedford, Northampton, Leicester.

It seems the more reasonable to attribute to this Cuthwini an interest in illustrated manuscripts because it is precisely during the period of his incumbency that Benedict Biscop, by his importation of paintings into England, must have stimulated the curiosity and interest of at least the higher clergy throughout the land. These pictures were brought in on his return from his last two journeys to Rome (he died early in 690), in 680 and 686 respectively. Bede's accounts are classic (*Hist. Abb.* 6 and 9: Plummer 1. 369–370, 373):

> Picturas imaginum sanctarum quas ad ornandum æcclesiam beati Petri apostoli, quam construxerat, detulit;[1] imaginem videlicet beatæ Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariæ, simul et duodecim apostolorum, quibus mediam eiusdem æcclesiæ testudinem, ducto a pariete ad parietem tabulato præcingeret; imagines evangelicæ historiæ quibus australem æcclesiæ parietem decoraret; imagines visionum apocalipsis beati Iohannis, quibus septentrionalem æque parietem ornaret, quatinus intrantes æcclesiam omnes etiam litterarum ignari, quaquaversum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi sanctorumque eius, quamvis in imagine, contemplarentur aspectum; vel Dominicæ incarnationis gratiam vigilantiore mente recolerent; vel extremi discrimen examinis, quasi coram oculis habentes, districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent.
>
> . . . Magna quidem copia voluminum sacrorum; sed non minori, sicut et prius, sanctarum imaginum munere ditatus. Nam et tunc Dominicæ historiæ picturas quibus totam beatæ Dei genetricis, quam in monasterio maiore fecerat, æcclesiam in gyro coronaret, adtulit; imagines quoque ad ornandum monasterium æcclesiamque beati Pauli apostoli de concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti summa ratione conpositas exibuit: verbi gratia, Isaac ligna quibus immolaretur portantem, et Dominum crucem in qua pateretur æque portantem, proxima super invicem regione, pictura coniunxit. Item serpenti in heremo a Moyse exaltato, Filium hominis in cruce exaltatum conparavit.[2]

[1] Earlier in this chapter, when speaking of books, relics, etc., Bede had used the verbs *adportavit, advexit, adduceret, adtulit.*

For the love of books displayed by Ceolfrith (*d.* 716), Benedict Biscop's successor as

It may be objected that Bede refers to Cuthwini as Bishop of the East Angles, whereas he must in reality have held for eleven years the see of the Middle Angles. To this it may be replied:

(1) of the bishops of East Anglia, Bede, writing in 731, gives no account between 673 (*Eccl. Hist.* 4.5) and then, which would seem to argue that, for whatever reason, he lacked information concerning them;

(2) The see of Leicester never had but the one regularly ordained bishop, Cuthwini (680–691), since it was next administered by Wilfrith until 705, and in that year was joined to Lichfield until 737, two years after Bede's death (Stubbs, *Registrum*, p. 224);

(3) As Bede does not mention the *Aliquot Quæstionum Liber* in the list of his works at the end of the *Ecclesiastical History* (731), he may have composed it in the last four years (731–5) of his life (so Lehmann, p. 20), between the ages of 59 and 63, at a time when he had perhaps grown somewhat forgetful. It is then possible, seeing that he had failed in his history to note Cuthwini's occupancy of the Middle Anglian see, that he may have confused this see with that or rather with those (Dunwich and Elmham) of East Anglia, only whose first incumbents he had mentioned (4.5) until finally he came to the two (Aldberct and Hadulac) who were ruling when he finished his history (5.23).

abbot, see my article, *The Old English Andreas and Bishop Acca of Hexham* (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 26 (1924). 313–5); by King Aldfrith of Northumbria (*d.* 705), Bede, *Hist. Abb.* 15 (Plummer 1.380); by Bishop Wilfrith (*d.* 709), my cited article, pp. 315–6; by Bishop Aldhelm of Sherborne (*d.* 709), William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Hamilton, pp. 376–8; by Bishops Eadfrith (*d.* 721) and Æthilwald (*d.* 740) of Lindisfarne, *Dict. Chr. Biog.* 2. 7, 229–230; my cited article, pp. 312–3, 315–6.

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A BRIEF STUDY OF THE LATINITY OF THE *DIPLOMATA* ISSUED BY THE MEROVINGIAN KINGS

By HENRY MILLER MARTIN

THE Latin documents written at the Merovingian court in the seventh century would have been barely intelligible to a purist of Cicero's age. Weakening or complete loss of terminations, confusion of function and a transformed vowel and consonant system have strangely altered the language of the man of Arpinum. Analogy has also played its freaks. Some of the secretaries, Christians if not clerics, were very familiar with the Vulgate, and through this channel Grecisms found their way into barbarity. Above all, directness tends to displace circumlocution. A few of the more striking phenomena observed in a field so rich are here presented for consideration.[1]

Forms

I. *Irregularities in declension:*

1. *Nouns.*

(*a*) *Second and fourth declensions.* In the interchange that took place between nouns of different gender, the neuters tend to become masculine:[2] *beneficius*, 74, 52; *templus*, 83, 13; *bonarios*, 101, 10; *privilegius*, 83, 5; *vinus*, 63, 7. *Fredum* is once declined in the plural as masculine: *fredos*, 17, 40; but also by a natural confusion the neuter plural has passed bodily into the first declension: *fretas concessas*, 79, 53. Very infrequently masculines become neuter: *locella*, 55, 27, is certainly traceable to the influence of *loca*. Parallel with *fructus* (*de omnes fructus terre*, 24, 43) is seen the neuter plural *fructa: illa fructa, hoc est vinus*, etc., 63, 7; *tam illa fructa de illa alia medietate*, 74, 22. Such alternative forms may be first collective;[3]

[1] The material here examined comprises the 121 *diplomata* of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, published in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *Diplomatum imperii*, I (Hannover, 1872).

[2] Max Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890), p. 345.

[3] Cf. *grada*, J. Pirson, *La Langue des Inscriptions Latines de la Gaule* (Brussels, 1901), p. 155; *thyrsa*, *Archiv für Lat. Lex.*, XII, 130; A. J. Carnoy, *Le Latin d'Espagne d'après les Inscriptions* (2d rev. ed., Brussels, 1906), p. 227; M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *La Déclinaison*

in the next stage they are treated as feminine singular. This has evidently happened to *fructa: Et quicquid de fructa aut paecunia vel reliqua rem, quod*, etc., 59, 20. *Patronus* shows in one example the genitive singular *patronis: de baselica peculiaris patronis nostri*, 74, 3. It is likely that the juxtaposition of *peculiaris* facilitated transfer of its ending to the word immediately following, and that the change had no foundation in usage.

(*b*) *Third declension:* A few masculine and feminine nouns terminating in *-is*, e.g., *pulvis, cinis*, show in Vulgar Latin a form in *-us* as well, and hence reversion to neuter is supposedly marked.[1] In the cartularies *comus* once stands for *comes: Bertoaldus, comus palati nostri*, 68, 6. In this isolated example it seems evident that *-us* was loosely taken over from the preceding word.[2]

The popular tendency to make over the nominative of imparisyllabics on the genitive, when no shift in accent was involved, became operative in Vulgar Latin in any case.[3] Hence we find *paludis = palus: qui paludis esse videtur*, 32, 6 and *optimatis = optimas: ut dum inluster vir Ermenricus, optimatis noster*, 61, 16. *Optimatis* is also dative and ablative plural as a result of possible correspondence with *optimus: (cum) Agnerico, Antenero . . . optematis*, 62, 32. *Pondus* is peculiar in a double sense. First, the accusative singular is used where the plural is required:[4] *argenti pondus tres*, 96, 40. Secondly, the plural *ponda* is found: *carne ponda vegente*, 76, 41. The writer was led astray by the monoptote *pondo*, which he supposed to be the ablative of *pondus*. *Ponda* is therefore a compromise between *pondo* and *pondera*. *Frater* has apparently passed into the second declension: *pro oportunetate ipsius basilice vel necessetate fratrorum*, 46, 28. No other examples occur, and the Latin, also, is corrupt. Inscriptions, however, yield the dative and ablative forms *benemerentis, C. I. L.*, III., 14535; *manis, C. I. L.*, III, 14217; *castoris*,

Latine en Gaule (Paris, 1872), p. 56; C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston: Heath, 1908), p. 147, § 351; Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[1] Grandgent, *op. cit.*, p. 155, § 370.

[2] Jubainville (*op. cit.*, p. 79), considered this a change of declension; cf. *dolum = dolorem, C. I.L.*, XII, 2033.

[3] Grandgent (*op. cit.*, p. 153, §367 *ult.*) cites *heredis;* Jubainville, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[4] Fr. Neue, *Formenlehre der Lateinischen Sprache* (3d ed., Leipzig, 1892–1905), I, 867–869.

C.I.L., XII, 2999, while frequently *dolus* = *dolor* (*C.I.L.*, XII, 2033). The nominative plurals *patri, homini, pedi*, together with *parentorum* are cited as of a very late period.[1]

2. *Adjectives.* The form *alicus* as nominative singular occurs:[2] *homo alicus, nomine Friulfus*, 74, 3. The ending *-us*, for *-is*, is probably the borrowed accusative form, i.e., *alicus* = *aliquos;* cf. *ad alecus de suis propinquis*, 14, 3; *mansellus alicus . . . visi fuemus concessisse*, 43, 44. *Plus*, defective at all periods, tends to keep only *pluris* for all cases and genders in the plural: (*cum*) *reliquis quampluris nostris fedilebus*, 58, 42. The partial declension of adjectives[3] is abundantly attested by other adjectives as well. Especially was the termination *-ibus* avoided in declining present participles: *a Deo timentis hominebus*, 37, 37; 62, 4; *apendiciis ad se pertenentis*, 74, 17; *loca nuncupantes Scancia et Cambrione*, 109, 6, 7 and 8; *de caduces rebus*, 72, 15. In proper names, where the two elements virtually fused into one, and occasionally in common nouns also, *vetus* resisted declension[4]: *in fisco nostro Vetus Clippiaco*, 77, 33; (*habeat*) *Vetus Vineas . . . Tilerias, Beriam*, 40, 20; *ad vetus viam quae venit*, etc., 4, 43; cf. *Tyro vetere*, Justin., 11, 10, 11.

II. *Irregularities in conjugation:*

Like *pono, censeo* shows the perfect *censivi: hoc ibidem cinsiverunt*, 60, 24; but *censiut* corresponding to *posiut*[5] in inscriptions is not found. *Dego* influenced by *tenui* and *habui* gives *degui*[6] for *degi: sub qua sancta Caesaria deguit*, 9, 12. Similarly *possideo* shows *possiduit.* It will be noticed that its model, *tenuit*, closely precedes: *ibidem tenuit, vel . . . possiduit*, 66, 44. Here, then, are additions to the relatively small class[7] which made analogical perfects in *-ui.* Irregular verbs are conjugated regularly in certain parts: *recepire*

[1] Grandgent, *op. cit.*, p. 154, § 368; Kr. Nyrop, *Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française* (Copenhagen, 1903), II, 178, § 239, 2.

[2] Grandgent, *op. cit.*, § 226 and § 254; Pirson, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 230; H. Schuchardt, *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, II (Leipzig, 1867), 482 f.

[3] Arbois de Jubainville, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 125.

[4] M. Petschenig (*Archiv f. Lat. Lexikog. u. Gramm.*, X, 1898, 532) mentions only *Urbemvetus.*

[5] Pirson, *op. cit.*, p. 151; Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

[6] Neue (*op. cit.*, III, 413) gives one example from Ennodius.

[7] Grandgent, *op. cit.*, p. 180, § 428.

vellibat, 33, 38; 84, 25; *inferrire*, 54, 52. *Possum*[1] shows regular forms conjugated on the stem *pot(d)*: *potibat*, 62, 53; *non podibat*, 31, 20; *potibu<nt>*,[2] 64, 21. *Minuo* is regularly found in the first conjugation: *auferre aut menoare . . . non debeat*, 20, 23; 5, 11.

Syntax

I. *Concord of the demonstrative and relative:*

The neuter singular of the demonstrative *hic* is used with a freedom far exceeding that of the comic poets[3] to represent plurality, referring indifferently to a series of nouns or to one noun in the plural. The nouns usually designate property, and *hoc* is therefore, roughly speaking, 'this stuff' or 'this tax': *oleo . . . , garo . . . , pipere*, etc., *ad ipsus missus, qui hoc exigeri ambularent*, 76, 39; *ubicumque telleneus, portatecus . . . vel aliquas reddebucionis . . . qui hoc inferrire vidintur*, 54, 44; *de carra eorum qui hoc inferre vedintur*, 73, 28; *inter ceteras peticiones illud, quae pro salute adscribetur*,[4] 19, 44. In the same way *quod* may refer to a masculine, feminine, or a plural noun.[5] Bonnet denominates *quod*, as thus misused by Gregory of Tours, a mere relative sign or even a conjunction.[6] The concord in some cases, however, is not totally faulty, because the writer was thinking in terms of mass or quantity, and the nouns are not the true antecedents: *seu reliqua, facultatem vel villas illas, quod . . .*

[1] Grandgent, *op. cit.*, p. 168, § 403.

[2] A few deponents become active and *vice versa*: *officium fungire*, 62, 10; *debiat in augmentis profeciscere*, 62, 12; *Condecet . . . prosequere*, 15, 12; cf. *debeatur*, 25, 4; 24, 41; *ut haec auctoretas firmiorem obteniatur vigorem*, 44, 7; (*generare*) *penitus non praesumatur*, 60, 14; 30, 43; 46, 31; *quantum . . . ad fiscos nostros pertinetur*, 25, 2.

[3] R. Kühner, *Ausführl. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.* (Hannover: Hahn, 1912), II, i, 57, 3 a; A. A. Draeger, *Histor. Syntax der Lat. Spr.* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1878), I, § 112; R. Klotz, *Handbuch der Lat. Stilistik* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 91. In the same way *ea* may in Arnobius Afer refer to *res*, E. Löfstedt, *Arnobiana* (Årsskrift Lunds Universitets, Afd. 1, Bd. 12, Nr 5, 1917), p. 83.

[4] Examples of a slightly different kind occur in abundance illustrative of agreement found even in Cicero: *cuius petitione(m) mercedem aeternam . . . adquirere cupientes, nos id praestitisse*, 40, 15; *omnis emunaetas de villa prefate sancti baselice fuit concessa, . . . et hoc usque nunc inviolabiliter adserit esse conservatum*, 72, 22; cf. Klotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 f.; Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 62, 2.

[5] Draeger, *op. cit.*, I, 189.

[6] Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 509; Jubainville, *op. cit.*, p. 154. *Quod* referring to a determinate antecedent persisted in Old French; cf. Ferd. Brunot, *Histoire de la Langue Française*, I (Paris: Colin, 1905), 344.

nuscuntur pervenisse, 14, 34; *qualibet redebicione quod exinde fiscus noster sperare potest*, 46, 38; *vaccas cento soldaris, quod . . . sperabatur*, 74, 47.

A situation of some uncertainty to the clerks arose in the case of the two adjacent monasteries, Malmédy and Stavelot. In mentioning them the writers sometimes said *monasteria*, other times *monasterium*,[1] yet the relative or attribute is always plural. A variant reading *monasteria* on *monasterium* (26, 37) points to an attempt by a later hand to perfect the concord: *monasteria Malmundarium, sive Stabulaus cognominata . . . quae vir . . . construxit*, 23, 34; 87, 38; 28, 26; *ad monasterium Stabulaus et Malmundarium, quae ipse princeps . . . construxit*, 26, 37; *abba de monasterio Stablau et Malmunderio, quae sunt in honore*, 48, 3.

II. *Case syntax:*

(*a*) *Genitive.* A noun of material normally sustains to its corresponding noun expressing measure or weight a partitive relation. Its case is the genitive in the literature [2] (cf. *omnia genera avium*, Petron. *Cena Trimal.*, 69; *omne genus poma, ibid.*, 71). In the charters, on the contrary, the two are often independent, each being separately object of the verb. The popular mode of expression, common in commercial language of all nations and times, restores the freshness of the original transaction and reproduces the items as they might be read from the ledger: (*dare*) *carne ponda vegente . . . piper uncia* 1, *cimina uncias* 2, *sal*, etc., 76, 41; *argento liberas dece . . . dare debirit*, 54, 9; *vino bono modios cento*, 54, 2. The following curious reversal [3] should then be noticed: *vineas non minimae quantitatis*, 40, 25. A few lines farther on the writer corrected himself: *vinearum non modicam quantitatem*, 40, 29.

After *de parte* the genitive is strictly correct (*de parti aecclisiae suae*, 59, 49), but rarely used. Curiously enough the clerks thought

[1] Kühner (*op. cit.*, p. 55, 2) partially treats the case. The inference seems to be that a substantive in apposition with two others should be plural; cf. *provincias Siciliam atque Africam*, Caesar, *B.C.*, ii, 32, 2.

[2] Neue, *op. cit.*, I, 867–869; F. Kaulen, *Handbuch zur Biblischen Vulgata* (Mainz, 1870; Freiburg, 1904), p. 221, par. 146.

[3] *Sex dies . . . spatii*, Caesar, *B.C.*, i, 3, 6; Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 429, 3 a, Anm. 7. Note that in Spanish *veinte minutos de parada* is correct and normal.

of *de parte* as a single preposition, the equivalent of *de*, and requiring the ablative. Many examples occur: *de parte Bertino abbate*, 36, 36; *de parte domno Mummoleno*, 36, 34; *de parte genetore suo*, 84, 15; *de parti genetrici sua*, 45, 13.

(*b*) *Dative.* The dative *nobis* stands at the same time as the object of *facere* and subject of a dependent infinitive. An accidental resemblance to a well-known French construction then ensues: *Dum et nobis Dominus in solio parentum nostrorum fecit sedere*, 35, 49; *Dum et nobis divina pietas ad legitema etate fecit pervenire*, 51, 22. Since other examples, though not so certain, occur, it seems clear that these writers regarded *facere* [1] as a verb of ordering; [2] in general these, including *iubere*, may govern the dative in the *diplomata: vobis omnino iobemmus*, 54, 47.

Analogy, it would seem, also plays a prime rôle in causing the use of the dative after certain purely transitive verbs. The starting point is with *obaudire*, rightly construed with the dative: *Si petitionibus servorum vel ancillarum Dei . . . libenter obaudimus*, 45, 39. Then the dative may stand with any verb of similar meaning. Examples are plentiful enough to debar accident or mere confusion of endings: (*debet*) *praecipue petitionibus sacerdotum . . . benigno animo suscipere* 49, 35; 29, 36; 28, 24; *si oportunitatibus ecclesiarum . . . perducimus ad effectum*, 27, 35; cf. *Si petitiones sacerdotum . . . perducimus ad effectum*, 47, 50. With *audio* the dative of a thing,[3] familiar in the expression *audiens dicto sum*, is extended to other nouns: *petitionibus sacerdotum . . . libenter audimus*, 56, 14.

The dative of the person after verbs of asking is familiar in the Latin of Gregory of Tours.[4] In the *diplomata* it is the favored construction. The accusative and the ablative with a preposition also occur, if seldom (*petiit a nobis*, 41, 9). The very diversity is indicative of the uncertainty felt about the case regimen of *rogo* and com-

[1] Ph. Thielmann, "*Facere* mit dem Infinitiv," *Archiv f. Lat. Lexikog. u. Gramm.*, III (1886), 177 f.; Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 673; Heinrich Hoppe, *Syntax und Stil des Tertullian* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 51.

[2] Thielmann (*art. cit.*, pp. 191 f.), mentions the circumstance; but the dative is not found in the examples cited by him; Arbois de Jubainville, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

[3] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 312 c: *audio* ("*Vorklass. zweifelh., nachklass.*").

[4] Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 543; Kaulen, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

panion verbs: *nobis petierunt*, 109, 24; *in quo nostris auribus recte poposcerint*, 47, 51; *petiit . . . abba celsitudini nostrae*, 52, 43; *clementiae regni nostri expetiit*, 12, 36. *Interrogo* regularly governs the dative: *interrogatum fuit ei*, 61, 9. But when the clerk attempted to use it in the passive with a noun subject, he failed, halting between the personal and impersonal constructions: *interrogatum fuit ipsius Wulframnus, an* etc., 98, 16.

Deviations from correct usage are observed with a few impersonal verbs. With *delectat*, occasionally impersonal in Late Latin, e. g., Boethius, the dative supplants the accusative by confusion with *placet: (ut) delectet ipsis monachis*, 18, 1; *et ipsis servis Dei . . . delectit*, 52, 1. A further advance is then marked by the employment of the accusative with *ad*. The preposition is, of course, a mere sign of the dative: *et ad ipsa congrigacione delictit . . . deprecare*, 62, 13. *Licet* correctly stands with either the dative or accusative; but the secretaries nodded when they wrote the attribute in the accusative closely following the substantive in the dative. In Classical Latin, this occurred rarely,[1] and then only when the adjective was in the predicate. *Illud etiam nobis . . . virorum pensantes merita, placuit addendum*, 17, 34; cf. *Sed liceat eis sub sermone nostrae tuitionis . . . quietos vivere*, 12, 43.

(*c*) *Accusative. Anhelare* shows the irregularity of taking its object in the accusative with *ad: quem . . . videmus iugiter ad caelestem patriam anhelare*, 15, 21. The influence of the Vulgate is here manifest.[2] The verb, never popular, entered Romance late and without the preposition; cf. Spanish *anhelar (por) un bien*, and the obsolete French *anhéler*. The accusative of the person freely appears with *peto* in accordance with a usage directly biblical, although ultimately Greek:[3] *(monachus) petiit mansuetudinem nostram ut hoc nostrum praeceptum . . . plenius confirmare deberemus*, 32, 11; *abba petiit celsitudinem nostri, ut . . . judex . . . ingressum habire non deberit*, 61, 43.

[1] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 679, par. 125, 5 c.

[2] *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum: ita desiderat anima mea ad te, Deus. Sitivit anima mea ad Deum fortem vivum, Ps.*, 41, 1 and 2.

[3] H. Rönsch (*Itala und Vulgata*, 2d ed., Marburg, 1875, p. 441), considered this a Grecism. *Peto* may properly take a second accusative only with a neuter pronoun. Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 301 (§ 73, 6).

Placet and its compounds admit the accusative of a pronoun which cannot be construed as subject of the following infinitive or clause: *ideo nos . . . placuit propalare*, 17, 8; *Ideo nos . . . conplacuit*, 44, 35. By evident corruption *suggero* [1] allows the accusative instead of the required dative (*abba clementie regni nostri sugessit, eo quod . . . rex . . . villam . . . contradidit*, 26, 36; 32, 3) in a single example while still retaining its original force: (*Papolenus*) *clementiam regni nostri suggessit, eo quod domnus noster et avunculus . . . locella aliqua commutassent*, 55, 24. Decidedly peculiar is *superstes esse* converted into a transitive verb. No doubt, the construction of *super* was vivid in the writer's mind at the moment of composition: *et si nepus . . . illum superstis fuerit*, 102, 31. An analogous case is *intersum*, which is often transitive in inscriptions of Gaul.[2]

(*d*) *Ablative.* In one instance *utor*, in popular speech frequently transitive, is followed by the ablative with *de*. The preposition is not the partitive sign, but serves to mark more precisely the instrumental ablative: *quatinus ipsi de predictis villis utentes . . . exorent*, 18, 29. The usage seems to have survived in French *user de* and Spanish *usar de*.

III. *Verb syntax:*

1. *Tense.* The future infinitive is found after *volo* [3] where the present would suffice. The writer felt that increased precision was thereby gained. The type was *credo* (*puto*) *id futurum esse*, e.g., *quod futurum esse non credimus*, 99, 19. The way then lay open for *volo id futurum esse: volomos esse mansurum*, 46, 32; 51, 37; *quod in perpetuum volemus esse mansurum*, 44, 1; 49, 14.

The perfect is freely employed to express contemporaneous action after other verbs than *volo* and its synonyms.[4] This may be said to be a legal and poetic convention. First its unique use after *videor* in its proper sense in Gregory of Tours [5] is here duplicated: *hoc . . .*

[1] J. Durel, *Commodien* (Paris, 1912), p. 301.

[2] Pirson, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[3] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 715, 11, *Anm.* 5, 6; Draeger, *op. cit.*, II, 401 and 407.

[4] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Meyer-Lübke in G. Gröber's *Grundriss d. Roman. Philol.*, I, 489; Bayard, *Le Latin de Saint Cyprien* (Paris, 1902), p. 266; Hoppe, *op. cit.*, p. 52, 8; Rönsch, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

[5] Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 638.

visi fuimus concessisse, 29, 41; 83, 41; but the perfect in this sense also occurs after *consisto*, *possum*, and *sollicito: consteti decrevisse*, 32, 45; 70, 8; *sicut ad cellario fisce potuerant esse exactati*, 73, 21; *sollicetum fuit ipsi* [*Aigathe*]*o a nobis . . . interrogasse*, 65, 6. The perfect may be coupled with the present as its coequal: *et hoc ad praesens pars . . . possedisse vel dominari videtur*, 42, 35.

2. *Gerund and gerundive:* The distinction between these two is lost (*ad causas audiendum vel fridda exigendum*, 62, 6) and their sphere is widely extended.[1] They may stand after practically any verb, when the intent is to express futurity or doubt. Therefore they may replace: (*a*) the infinitive or the subjunctive with *ut* of classic prose: *et illud nobis placuit inserendum*, 94, 8; *et illud viro . . . placuit inserendi*, 83, 33; *nec rotaticum . . . extorquendum, nec . . . redibutiones exactare praesumatur*, 50, 6; (*b*) the future passive participle: *Gengulfus omnes causas ipsius monasterii ad prosequendum et redintegrandum deberet recipere*, 41, 6; *hoc dibiat recipere ad possedendum*, 44, 6. A real advance, however, is marked in its use to express purpose after verbs of motion: *de eius villas tam ambolandum quam revertendum perrexirent*, 46, 36; *seu cellario fuerint egressi mercandum*, 35, 18. Sporadic examples occur also in Lucifer of Cagliari, and perhaps several in Venantius Fortunatus.[2]

3. *Mood.* (*a*) *Infinitive:* The infinitive in the so-called Greek construction [3] serves to express purpose, as it does in other writers subject to Christian influence: *qui hoc exigeri ambularent*, 76, 38. It is further freely extended, as universally in the late period,[4] to verbs which in classic prose did not allow an infinitive or were preferably followed by a substantive clause:

dignor: [5] *non minima miracola virtute Christi per ipsus dignabatur, operari*, 82, 45.

[1] H. Goelzer, *Etude Lex. et Gram. de la Latinité de St.-Jérôme* (Paris, 1884), p. 387; Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 655; W. Hartel, *Archiv f. Lat. Lexikog. u. Gramm.*, III (1886), 48; Bechtel *Univ. of Chicago Studies in Class. Philol.*, IV, 125 (*Peregrinatio*).

[2] W. Hartel, *Archiv f. Lat. Lexikog. u. Gramm.*, III (1886), 41 (*iste homo dei qui a deo objurgandum Hieroboam regem fuerat missus*).

[3] Rönsch, *op. cit.*, p. 447; Goelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

[4] F. Gabarrou, *Le Latin d'Arnobe* (Paris: Champion, 1921), p. 136 f.; Goelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 363 f.; Hoppe, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[5] Draeger, *op. cit.*, p. 332; Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 674 b.

mereor:[1] *ex hoc habyre meriamur in aeterna tabernacola*, 72, 18; 82, 43; 83, 1.

pertimesco:[2] *et nullam refragationem . . . habere non pertimescant*, 87, 12.

peto:[3] *episcopus abba eorum una cum ipsis monachis nobis exinde confirmationem . . . petierunt adfirmare*, 28, 36; *eam nostra regali auctoritate confirmari petiit*, 27, 5.

procuro: (*quam*) *ad missus . . . dare et adimplere procuretis*, 77, 7.

rogo:[4] *et ipsa vindicione fiere et firmare rogasit*, 84, 24; *precariam ob hoc fieri rogassit*, 57, 27.

sollicito:[5] *Relecta ipsa strumenta, sollicetum fuit ipsi* [*Aigathe*]*o a nobis vel a proceribus nostris interrogasse*, 65, 6.

The infinitive preceded by *ipsum* and dependent on *dono*[6] corresponds to the Greek articular infinitive, of which it is a transcription. The writer was without doubt a priest: *qui eis donavit ipsum vivere vel regnare*, 10, 16.

(*b*) *Subjunctive:* The pluperfect subjunctive occurs in direct dependence on *videor* and on verbs of saying as well, taking the place of the perfect infinitive. This peculiarity is observed in other collections of charters, and is variously attributed to loss of final *-t*, *-nt* in pronunciation or to confusion between two constructions, *quod subj.* and the perfect infinitive:[7] *testimuniavit ligibus visus fuit adimplissit*, 45, 26; *placitum eorum vise sunt custudissent*, 54, 14; *ipsi nec vinissit ad placitum . . . nec nulla sonia nunciassit adfirmat*, 54, 15; 59, 9.

[1] Goelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 367; Draeger, *op. cit.*, p. 331 (par. 420).

[2] Goelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 368, 10; one example is cited by Draeger (*op. cit.*, p. 667): Afran. *com.* 270.

[3] Goelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 371; Draeger, *op. cit.*, p. 321 (par. 417).

[4] Draeger, *op. cit.*, p. 321 (par. 417, 1); *ibid.*, p. 408, 6 a.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 328 e.

[6] Kühner, *op. cit.*, p. 681 b; Goelzer (*Gram. in Sulp. Severum Observationes*, Paris, 1883, p. 65) cites from Severus: *quibus donaverit habere Martinum, Dial.*, III, 17, 6.

[7] J. Pirson, "Le Latin des Formules Mérovingiennes et Carolingiennes," *Roman. Forsch.*, XXVI (1909), 898; L. Beszard, *La Langue des Formules de Sens* (Paris: Champion, 1910), p. 57.

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WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY AND THE IRISH

By CLARK HARRIS SLOVER

IN the imaginative literature of mediaeval England, especially in the material dealing with King Arthur and his knights, there are numerous stories and motifs which find close parallels in the Celtic literature of Wales and Ireland. How far we are justified in accepting such parallels as evidence of Celtic origin, however, is a matter of controversy. As the controversy proceeds, it becomes increasingly apparent that the attempt to make a just estimate of the influence of Celtic literature on the literature of mediaeval England is seriously hampered by lack of information about the channels available for the transmission of Celtic culture to English literary consciousness. Celtic ideas, to be sure, could have been communicated by the Welsh to their Norman conquerors, but, unfortunately, the scantiness of early Welsh imaginative literature makes it difficult to find out just what literary ideas the Welsh had to communicate. As we turn hopefully to the generous supply of Celtic literary material represented by the literature of early Ireland, we are confronted by the question, what channels were available for the transmission of Irish literature and literary ideas from Ireland to England before and during the period in which the literature of romance in England took its rise?

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to consider the part played in this transmission by William of Malmesbury, the distinguished twelfth-century historian, during his period of service as a writer of advertising propaganda for the great publicity campaign at Glastonbury Abbey.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the power and influence of Glastonbury were seriously impaired by the growing reputation of Canterbury and Wells. The Glastonbury monks, in order to enlist public support for their abbey, embarked upon a comprehensive scheme of advertising. Their procedure consisted largely of gathering up various ecclesiastical and secular traditions — British,

Saxon, and Irish — and reshaping them in such a way as to reflect honor and glory upon Glastonbury.

The significance of this process for the history of mediaeval English literature lies principally in the fact that one set of traditions thus utilized were those dealing with King Arthur. According to Glastonbury propaganda, Arthur granted lands and immunities to the abbey out of gratitude to St Gildas, who rescued Guinevere from an abductor;[1] he endowed a choir of twenty-four monks to pray for the soul of his nephew Ider, who died there from his wounds after fighting against three giants;[2] and finally both he and Guinevere were buried at Glastonbury.[3] The most interesting achievement, perhaps, was the Arthurian romance, *Perlesvaus*, which consists of a combination of Arthurian and Glastonbury traditions.[4]

William's intimate connection with a movement which was so largely concerned with the collection and dissemination of romantic material gives special importance to his interest in Irish culture and his use of Irish documents. It should prove profitable, therefore, to make rather careful inquiry into the following details of his career: (1) his contact with Irish tradition before he came to Glastonbury; (2) his contact with Irish tradition at Glastonbury; (3) his use of Irish material at Glastonbury; and (4) his position as an intermediary between Ireland and the English literary world of the twelfth century.

William was educated at Malmesbury Abbey, a place which preserved for many years a strong tradition of Irish influence. The Abbey was said to have been founded by an Irish cleric, Maidulphus (Maelduibh).[5] Aldhelm, the famous Bishop of Sherborne, received

[1] See the *Vita Gildae* ascribed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auct. Ant., Chronica Minora*, iii, 109, 110.

[2] *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, by William of Malmesbury, in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXIX, col. 1701.

[3] *Giraldis Cambrensis Speculum Ecclesiae*, ii, 8–10, in *Opera*, IV, ed. J. S. Brewer, London, 1873 (Rolls Ser., No. 21).

[4] The Glastonbury connections of this romance have been treated in a series of articles by W. A. Nitze, *Modern Philology*, I (1903–04), 1 ff., 255 ff.; *Studies in Philology* (University of North Carolina), XV (1918), 7 ff.; *Mod. Phil.*, XVII (1919–20), 151 ff., 605 ff.

[5] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, edited by W. Stubbs, London, 1887–89 (Rolls Ser., No. 90), p. 30. The statement here presented is based on a letter ascribed to Pope Sergius I (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant.*, XV, 513), in which the

part of his education there under an Irishman,[1] possibly Maelduibh himself. In subsequent years he corresponded with friends in Ireland[2] and with Irish on the Continent.[3] If we may trust the tradition mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis,[4] he engaged in an exaggerated form of asceticism very similar to that ascribed to certain Irish monks.[5]

It is also worthy of note that during the twelfth century Malmesbury Abbey seems to have had rather close relations with Abingdon, another monastery which fostered a tradition of foundation by the Irish.[6] The chief connecting link between the two monasteries was Faricius († 1117), the biographer of Aldhelm, who was at first cellarer of Malmesbury and later abbot of Abingdon. His interest in Malmesbury must certainly have been preserved and intensified by his labors in compiling the *Vita Sancti Aldhelmi*.[7]

When William went to Glastonbury, therefore, he must have been well acquainted with Irish tradition. At Glastonbury, moreover, he

name of the founder is given as Meldum. On the form of the name, see the note by Charles Plummer in his *Venerabilis Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (Oxford, 1896), II, 310.

[1] See the letter written to him by an Irish cleric who wished to become his pupil in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant.*, XV, 494.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 486–494.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 494, note 1. It is through the correspondence of Aldhelm that we learn of the increasing popularity of Irish learning among the Saxons. In spite of his Irish training, Aldhelm seemed deeply concerned over the numbers of English who left home to take scholastic training in Ireland (*Ibid.*, pp. 492, 493).

[4] *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, in *Opera*, II, edited by J. S. Brewer, London, 1862 (Rolls Ser.), pp. 236, 237.

[5] *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé. The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. W. Stokes (Henry Bradshaw Soc., London, 1905), pp. 40, 41.

[6] See the story of the foundation as preserved in MS. *Cott. Claud. C. ix*, an early thirteenth-century document probably based on an earlier report (*Historia Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, London, 1858 (Rolls Ser., No. 2), I, 23. The story goes that Abban, an Irish monk who came to preach in Britain, was granted land in Berkshire for the erection of a monastery. This monastery was called Abbendun, which, according to the account, was a name based either upon the Irish word *dun* plus the name of the founder, or upon the Saxon name for *mons Abenni*. Here Abban placed three hundred monks, ruled over them for some time, and then returned to Ireland. This resembles the account given by the Hiberno-Latin *Vita Sancti Abbani*, which tells of the foundation of "Abbaindun vel Dun Abbain" in Britain by the well-known Munster saint. (See the text as edited by Charles Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1910, I, 11, 12.) The similarity of the two accounts and the reference to the Irish name in the English story would lead us to conclude that the *Vita Sancti Abbani* was known in England.

[7] See the edition, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXIX, coll. 63 ff.

found himself in contact with even stronger Irish associations than those he had encountered at Malmesbury. Not only was the abbey situated in Celtic territory which had long been populated by people in close touch with Irish culture,[1] but it was apparently a gathering-point for direct Irish influence.

The first [2] reliable mention of Irish at Glastonbury occurs in a tenth-century anonymous *Life* of St Dunstan. The passage is as follows:

> Porro Hiberniensium peregrini locum, quem dixi, Glastoniae sicut et ceterae fidelium turbae, magno colebant affectu, et maxime ob B. Patricii junioris honorem qui faustus ibidem in Domino quievisse narratur. Horum etiam libros rectae fidei tramitem philosophantes, diligenter [Dunstanus] excoluit.[3]

Perhaps the most striking detail of this statement is the reference to Glastonbury as the burial place of St Patrick *junior*. Although

[1] See my discussion of the secular contact between the Irish and the Celtic Britons during the early Middle Ages, *Studies in English* (University of Texas), No. 6 (1926), pp. 5 ff.; a study of the ecclesiastical relations will appear shortly.

[2] This is offered as the first reliable evidence for the presence of Irish at Glastonbury even in the face of the statement, so often quoted from the Irish *Glossary* of Cormac († 908), in which Glastonbury is referred to as Glastonbury of the Irish. The passage in the *Glossary* which contains this reference is as follows:

> "Inde dicitur Dind Tra-dui .i. dun tredui .i. tredue Crimthain
> Mair maic fidaig ríg Héirenn 7 Alban co Muir nIcht.
> 7 inde est Glassdimbir (na nGaoidel) .i. cell for brû Mara hIcht."

(The foregoing text is that of R. Thurneysen, "Zu Cormac's Glossar," in *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 23 ff.)

"Hence is said Dind Tradui, i.e. Dun Tredui, i.e. triple-fossed fort of Crimthann the Great, son of Fidach king of Ireland and Alba to the Ictian Sea [English Channel].

"And hence is [said] Glassdimbir (of the Irish), i.e. a cell on the shores of the Ictian Sea."

Waiving for the present the doubts aroused by the equation of Glassdimbir with Glastonbury and by the situation of the cell referred to on the English Channel, let us observe that Thurneysen's study of the text shows that all the existing texts of the *Glossary* go back to three main recensions. Next we may notice that the phrase "*na-nGaoidel*" does not appear in the texts which, according to Thurneysen, most faithfully reproduce the original. In fact it appears only in certain manuscripts of one recension, represented by the *Yellow Book of Lecan* text and two other texts descended from a cognate of *YBL*. We may observe, furthermore, that Thurneysen finds the *YBL* text valuable for word-forms, but unreliable as regards content, because of the unusual number of additions. It hardly seems safe, therefore, to accept this passage as evidence that Glastonbury in the late ninth or early tenth century bore the name "Glastonbury of the Irish."

[3] *AASS* (Boll.), May, IV, 347.

we may not be accustomed to the conception of a St Patrick the younger (which, of course, presupposes a St Patrick the elder), the idea of two Patricks was quite familiar to both Irish and English ecclesiastical writers of the Middle Ages. Patrick the younger was the great apostle of Ireland. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the writer of the *Life* of St Dunstan was attempting to meet an assertion that it was not the younger but the elder St Patrick who was buried at Glastonbury. The tradition which assigns to Glastonbury the elder Patrick, or Sen-Patrick, was well known in Ireland. The commentaries on the eighth-century *Félire* of Oengus contain the following statement of the tradition:

Sen-Patrick .i. ic.Rosdela i Maig lacha ata Senpatraicc. Nó hí nGlostimbir na nGoedel atá Senpatraic .i. cathair sin fil a ndescert Saxan et Scoti (ibi) habitabant.

Another commentary reads:

Senphatraicc o Ross dela im-maig locha, sed uerius est commad hi ṅGlastiṅgibercc na nGóidel i ndescuirt Sachsan atá Senphatraicc. Scotti enim prius in peregrinatione ibi habitabant.[1]

A similar statement appears in the commentaries on a *Hymn to St Patrick* ascribed to Fiacc of Sletty, a sixth-century disciple of Patrick. This statement explains that Patrick mac Calpuirn (the apostle of Ireland) promised Sen-Patrick that they should go to heaven together, and that he waited for Sen-Patrick from the sixteenth of March until the first month of Autumn.[2] The statements of the Glastonbury writer and the Irish commentators, therefore, are contradictory. If we knew something of when this difference of opinion arose, we might be able to fix at least an approximate date for the beginning of the Patrick tradition at Glastonbury.

[1] Ed. W. Stokes, p. 188. Stokes' translation is as follows: "*Patrick Senior*, i.e., at Ross dela in Mag locha is Patrick Senior. Or Patrick Senior is in Glastonbury of the Gaels, that is a monastery in the south of England, and the Scott [Irish] used to dwell there." The second passage differs little from the first except in that the Latin clause mentions the fact that the Irish who dwelt in Glastonbury were pilgrims. This statement, of course, recalls the pilgrims mentioned in the passage quoted from the *Life* of St Dunstan.

[2] *The Tripartite Life of St Patrick*, ed. W. Stokes, London, 1887 (Rolls Ser.), p. 247. Sen-Patrick's day is August 24.

The Glastonbury statement that Patrick the younger was buried at Glastonbury is certainly not the beginning; for it bears clear indications of being a denial of a previous statement that it was some other Patrick that was buried there. The Irish statement, of which the Glastonbury statement seems to be a denial, occurs in the commentaries on the *Félire*, a body of material that is still undated. We may infer, however, that some of it is of very early date; for there is a passage in these commentaries which refers to the "commentary on the martyrology which from the time of the saints is in Armagh." [1] We may therefore conclude that although the commentaries in their present form can hardly be dated earlier than the eleventh century, certain parts of them must depend on a body of material at least as old as the ninth century, the end of the so-called "age of the saints." It seems fairly certain, moreover, that the statement made by the commentators on the *Félire*, that it was Sen-Patrick who was buried at Glastonbury, is the one which the Glastonbury writer was attempting to controvert. The controversy, then, if such we may call it, must have been started before the compilation of the tenth century *Life* of St Dunstan, and may go back to the beginning of the ninth century. Let us observe, furthermore, that Sen-Patrick, who seems clearly to be an invention, is always associated with Glastonbury. This fact, taken in connection with the disagreement as to the identity of the Patrick who was buried at Glastonbury, affords a strong presumption that Sen-Patrick owes his existence to an attempt on the part of Irish clerics to account for two contradictory traditions regarding the burial place of Patrick. This again leads us to the ninth century; for a passage in a treatise on the *Cáin Adamnáin* (*Law of Adamnan*), composed during that period, includes in a list of saints 'the two Patricks.' [2]

On the basis of the foregoing facts we may assume, tentatively at least, that Glastonbury's claim to be the burial place of St Patrick was in existence as early as the ninth century.

[1] *Félire Óengusso*, p. 152: "... *ar is ed fil issin trachtad ind Felire atá o remus no nóem a n-Ardmacha.*"

[2] *Cáin Adamnáin. An Old-Irish Treatise on the Law of Adamnan*, ed. K. Meyer, Oxford, 1905 (Anecdota Oxoniensia), p. 12.

In the later biographies of Dunstan, composed by Osbern of Canterbury and William of Malmesbury, there is evidence of the continuance of Irish sentiment at Glastonbury. Osbern emphasized the importance of Irish clerics at Glastonbury [1] more than did his anonymous predecessor, and William takes special pains to compliment the skill and erudition of Irish teachers.[2]

One is inclined, moreover, to see special significance in the close relations between Glastonbury and Abingdon, the Irish connections of which have already been noticed.[3] Aethelwald, abbot of Abingdon (955–984), had been a pupil of Dunstan at Glastonbury.[4] When he went to Abingdon, he took with him three other Glastonbury monks, Osgar, Foldbricht, and Frithgar.[5] Osgar succeeded Aethelwald as abbot in 984, but died in the same year.[6] From 1034 to 1044 Abingdon was ruled by another Glastonbury monk, Siward.[7] In view of these close relations we are inclined to suspect that the Irish foundation-legend which gained currency at Abingdon may have been due to Glastonbury influence.

As we turn again to the work of William of Malmesbury, we are not surprised to find that a writer, brought into contact with Irish influence as it prevailed at Malmesbury and Glastonbury, should give Irish material a prominent place in his work.

William composed *Lives* of the Irish saints, Benignus, Indract, and Patrick.[8] All of these *Lives* were unquestionably based on Hiberno-Latin materials. He included a considerable amount of Irish material also in his advertising tract, *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* (*DA*). This material includes a short sketch of the life of

[1] In *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, London, 1874 (Rolls Ser., No. 63), p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 257.

[3] See above, p. 270, note 6.

[4] See his *Life* by Aelfric († 1006) in *Hist. Mon. de Ab.*, II, 257.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 124; II, 258.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, 261.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 443, 444.

[8] *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, in Adam of Domerham's *Historia de Rebus Gestis Glastoniensibus* (ed. T. Hearne, Oxford, 1727), I, 3. I offer the reader my humble apologies for referring to two different editions of the *De Antiquitate*. When I began this study I had access to the comparatively good edition of Hearne; later I found it necessary to fill in certain references from Migne's reprint of Gale's edition.

St Patrick, a spurious charter which claims St Patrick as the founder of monastic life at Glastonbury, accounts of the martyrdom of St Indract, of the ministry and abbacy of St Benignus, successor to St Patrick, of the visit of St Columba, whom William calls by his Irish name, Columkille, and of the visit of St Brigit.[1] This material, like the *Lives*, must have been based ultimately on documents from Ireland. In addition to this purely ecclesiastical material, there is, in the description of the secular beginnings of Glastonbury, a tale in which some are inclined to see a reflection of the Irish story of Glass mac Caiss, the swineherd.[2]

Before we may ascribe this material directly to William, however, there are certain questions to be settled. It is fairly well established that *DA* underwent rather extensive interpolations after William had finished it. W. W. Newell, the last writer to discuss the text of *DA*,[3] includes among the interpolations the very passages to which we have just referred. It is necessary, therefore, to examine his argument.

Newell's chief weapon in his attack against the authenticity of the extant text is a series of excerpts in one of William's later works, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* (*GR*).[4] These excerpts, according to the testimony of the author himself, are taken from his tract, *De Antiquitate*. Newell regards this material as the only trustworthy reproduction of the original tract and looks with great suspicion on any passage in the extant text of *DA* which does not agree with it. In arguing against the authenticity of the Irish material under consideration he invokes the authority of the *GR* extracts still further. Although most of the *DA* material appears in abbreviated form in *GR*, he will not allow its genuineness because it does not appear in the same place in the narrative. It is difficult to follow this argument. As a matter of fact, when we come upon material in *GR* avowedly taken from *DA* and then find in the extant text of *DA* the same material in somewhat fuller form, we should have every right

[1] *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXIX, coll. 1688–1691; on the abbacy of Benignus, col. 1701, and on the translation of his relics, col. 1729.

[2] *Ibid.*, col. 1687.

[3] *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn*, XVIII (1903), 459 ff.

[4] Ed. W. Stubbs, London, 1887–89 (Rolls Ser., No. 90), pp. 24 ff.

to accept this particular portion of the *DA* text as authentic. William, moreover, when he was composing *GR*, was engaged in a serious and fairly conscientious piece of writing. He was covering a wide field and using many sources. It is therefore not at all strange that when he found it expedient to include certain material relating to Glastonbury he turned to the tract that he had already composed. But it would have been strange indeed if he had felt under obligation to reproduce the original text in the same words and in the same order. The very nature and purpose of *DA* would make its material and arrangement unfit for direct transference to *GR*. Newell, therefore, is hardly justified in branding as an interpolation every passage in the extant text of *DA* which does not occur in *GR*, or which occurs in *GR* in different order.

Another objection to the authenticity of the material under consideration seems to be that its position in the text violates William's promise of chronological arrangement as given in his prologue. Here again the objection is hardly sustained. The promise of chronological arrangement was not by any means sacred or inviolable, and the violation was only trifling, consisting merely of the inclusion of the mention of Gildas before that of Patrick.

On the whole, the arguments against the authenticity of the Irish material in *DA* are not particularly strong. On the other hand, there is ample reason for believing that it was originally included by the author himself. William had long been in contact with Irish tradition and must have formed rather a close acquaintance with Irish hagiographical lore in writing his *Lives* of Patrick, Benignus, and Indracht.[1] In view of the strong Irish influence at Glastonbury, nothing is more natural than that William should have included some of this material in his tract.

Let us now turn to the passage describing the secular beginnings of Glastonbury.[2] According to this passage the founder, Glasteing, was one of twelve brothers, descendants of Cuneda, and had founded Glastonbury as a result of finding there under an apple tree a sow

[1] In addition to the material relating to these three saints, he had read a life of Brigit. See his reference to the "*celeberrimus sermo*," *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXIX, col. 1690.

[2] See above, pp. 271 ff.

and pigs that he had been chasing. In commemoration of his good fortune he called the place *Insula Avalloniae*, or Isle of Apples.[1] This equation of Glastonbury with Avalon, the place to which Arthur was carried to be healed of his wounds, and the similarity between Glasteing and Glais, a character in the *Perlesvaus*,[2] has aroused the interest of a number of students of mediaeval literature.

Baist, in his investigation of this passage,[3] discovered that the source of the names of Glasteing's brothers was a genealogy in a Harleian manuscript of the *Historia Britonum* attributed to Nennius.[4] Baist suggested that the passage, before it came to the notice of William, passed through the hands of an intermediary who altered the successive descendants to brothers. This explanation was satisfactory as far as it went, but it did not explain the origin of the swineherd himself. This deficiency was supplied by Thurneysen,[5] who recalled that Muirchu, an early commentator on the life of St Patrick, tells a story of a certain Cass mac Glaiss, a swineherd who was resurrected and baptized by St Patrick. Here, as may be observed, the name is not Glass, but Cass. A short recapitulation which appears in the ninth-century *Glossary* of Cormac, however, reverses the names, giving Glass mac Caiss, and, still more interesting, localizes the story at Glastonbury.[6]

This was a most interesting discovery, but it did not solve the problem completely. There still remained the difficulty of bridging the gap between Cormac's *Glossary* and *DA*. It was not safe to assume that William had seen Cormac's *Glossary* or that he could have read it if he had seen it; and there seemed to be no other document in which the story could have been accessible. It seemed necessary, therefore, to frame some sort of hypothesis to fit the situation. The hypothesis devised by Thurneysen and his successors may best be expressed in the words of F. Lot:

[1] For the text of this passage see Hearne's edition of *DA*, 1727, pp. 16, 17.

[2] See the discussion by W. A. Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, I (1903–04), 3, 4.

[3] *Zs. f. Roman. Philol.*, XIX (1895), 326–347.

[4] One of the Welsh genealogies attached to the ninth-century *Annales Cambriae*. See the edition by E. Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, IX (1888), 180.

[5] *Zs. f. Roman. Philol.*, XX (1896), 316–321.

[6] For the text see Thurneysen's "Zu Cormac's Glossar," in *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, pp. 23 ff.

. . . le conte du porcher, localisé à Glastonbury dès la fin du IXe siècle ou le début du Xe siècle, parvint à la connaissance d'un moine de l'abbaye dans le courant du XIe. Il y rattacha, par des légends étymologiques de sa fabrication, la typonomie des environs du couvent. C'est un manuscript de la famille harleyenne ainsi interpolé que Guillaume de Malmesbury a eu sous les yeux vers 1135 et auquel il se réfère.

Nous sommes donc fixés sur la première partie du chapitre. C'est l'œuvre d'un moine de Glastonbury qui a mis à profit un légend ou fabrication indirectement irlandaise et directement galloise ou plutôt due à un clerc gallois.[1]

This hypothesis of an intermediary, though brilliantly conceived, is unsatisfactory because it leaves William himself entirely out of account. Furthermore, a closer examination of the material connected with this question shows that the hypothesis is unnecessary. As we have already seen, William asserted that he had composed a *Life* of St Patrick. Although this *Life* is no longer extant, a rather full summary of it was made in the sixteenth century by John Leland, antiquary to Henry VIII. A detailed comparison of this summary with the biographical material relating to St Patrick shows that William used, as a basis for his work, two Hiberno-Latin *Lives*, one analogous to the *Vita Secunda* and *Vita Quarta* printed by John Colgan[2] and the other corresponding closely to Colgan's *Vita Tertia*.[3] Finally, it has been shown that there was at one time in the possession of the monks of Glastonbury a *Life* of Patrick closely resembling the *Vita Tertia* and containing an interpolation which made Glastonbury the place of Patrick's burial.[4] This *Life*, and all the *Lives* belonging to the same recension, contain the incident of Glass the swineherd. The text is as follows:

Quadam autem die cum ambularet Patricius, in uia inuenit magnum sepulcrum longitudine .xx. pedum, et uidentes hoc fratres cum magno

[1] "Glastonbury et Avalon," *Romania*, XXVII (1898), 534.

[2] *Triadis Thaumaturgae seu Diversorum Patricii Columbae et Brigidae, trium veteris et maioris Scotiae seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae, communium patronorum, acta*, etc., Louvain, 1647, pp. 11 ff., 35 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ff. See my study of these *Lives* as compared with Leland's summary, *Mod. Phil.*, XXIV (1926), 5 ff.

[4] J. B. Bury, "A Life of St. Patrick (Colgan's Tertia Vita)," *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXXII (1903), Sect. C, pp. 199–262.

stupore dicebant: Non credimus quod esset homo huius longitudinis. Dixit eis Patricius: Si volueritis uidebitis eum. Tunc signauit Patricius baculo sepulcrum, et ecce vir magnus surrexit et dixit, Bene sit tibi, uir sancte, quia et in una hora a penis liberasti me. Et fleuit amarissime et dixit ei: Si licet, ambulabo uobiscum. Et respondit Patricius: Non possumus ut ambules nobiscum, quia non possunt homines uidere faciem tuam pro timore tuo. Sed crede Deo celi, et baptismum accipe, et non reuerteris in locum penarum in quo fuisti; et indica nobis quis es. Et respondens dixit: Ego sum Glas, filius Cais, qui fuit porcarius Lugir regis Hirote; et iugulauit me filian maic eom [1] in regno Coipre Niethfer post annos centum.[2]

In view of the fact that William had undoubtedly read this story, the hypothesis of an intermediary becomes unnecessary.

The basis of the story of Glast coming to Glastonbury and founding a town where he discovered his pigs is a tale relating the selection of an ecclesiastical or secular building site by following a sow or boar. This story was readily accessible to William in such Irish and British hagiographical material as he must have used in composing *Lives* of saints and other Glastonbury propaganda.[3] It is interesting to observe, moreover, that Irish secular literature contains a story of a certain Glass, son of Donn Desa, who engaged in a long and arduous chase for a pig.[4] There is another story which combines the essential elements of the Glastonbury legend, namely, the swineherd, his pigs, and a sheltering tree.[5] Although it remains to be demonstrated that William had seen the particular documents in which these tales are preserved, we may easily see from the evidence already presented that he could have heard them from Irish monks at Glastonbury, or could have found them in Irish saints' *Lives*. It is not necessary, therefore, to assume that the story of Glast or any other

[1] The reading in Cormac's *Glossary* is "*do fianib Maic Con* (by the soldiers of Maccon)."

[2] Text according to Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 247, 248.

[3] See the *Vita Cadoci*, MS. *Cott. Vesp. A.*, xiv, fol. 21v; *Vita Dubricii* in *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. J. G. Evans and J. Rhys, Oxford, 1893, pp. 80, 81; *Vita Finniani* in *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensis*, ed. C. De Smedt and J. De Backer, Edinburgh and London, 1888, col. 199; *Vita Mochoemog* in *Vitae Sanct. Hib.*, ed. Plummer, II, 170; *Vita Ruadani, ibid.*, II, 241; *Vita Mocteo* in *AASS Hib.*, col. 909; *Vita Bernaci* in *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, ed. W. J. Rees, Llandovery, 1853, pp. 8, 9.

[4] See the Dindsenchas (place-name stories) in the *Book of Ballymote* (facs.), p. 369a; *Book of Leinster* (facs.), p. 195b16.

[5] "The Dindsenchas of Srutar Mata," *Book of Leinster* (facs.), p. 169a51, and Introduction, p. 45.

material from Irish lore made its way into *DA* through the efforts of anyone but the author.

Let us now turn to the argument for interpolation.

Newell, in his observations on the Glast passage, says: "This passage, referring as it does to the ungenuine initial chapter, evidently proceeds either from the same reviser or more probably from a third hand." [1] The passage mentioned is the introductory phrase, "*Descriptis fundacione, dedicacione, ac post ea invencione huius oratorii....*" The 'ungenuine' initial chapter consists (1) of an account of the foundation of the church of St Mary at Glastonbury by the disciples of Philip the Apostle, and (2) of the restoration of St Mary's by Phaganus and Deruvianus. The reasons for considering it ungenuine as presented by Newell are as follows: (1) the authentic extract in *GR* states that the missionaries were nameless, whereas *DA* asserts that the church was erected by disciples of Philip and restored by Phaganus and Deruvianus; (2) the extract in *GR* gives as an *alternative account* the apostolic origin, and adds, as the author's own conjecture, that the apostle may have been Philip, whereas *DA* gives a detailed account of the foundation by Philip's disciples.[2]

It must be admitted that these accounts do not agree; but they are hardly, as Newell asserts, contradictory. The difference is only that difference which we should naturally expect to find between work done hastily and perhaps unscrupulously for advertising and work done carefully and conservatively for purposes of genuine history. In other words, here Newell's argument again leans too heavily upon the supposition that the extract in *GR* is intended to be a faithful reproduction of the original. Certainly the ungenuineness of the initial chapter under discussion is not sufficiently clear to allow of our assuming that a reference to it is proof of interpolation.

For the present, therefore, there seems no valid reason for withholding from William the credit or the blame for the Glast passage.

As we glance back over the foregoing material, we observe the following significant facts concerning William's contact with Irish culture: (1) he was educated at Malmesbury, a place where Irish traditions were fostered; (2) he went from there to Glastonbury,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 475. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 471.

where connections with the Irish were still stronger; (3) he wrote *Lives* of three Irish saints of Glastonbury and included material dealing with them in his Glastonbury advertising tract; (4) he combined Irish and British traditions to form the tale of the secular foundation of Glastonbury. All these things help to establish William as a channel through which Irish literary ideas could have reached the English literary world.

As we look further into William's career, we find even more interesting facts. When he composed his *De Gestis Pontificum* (*ca.* 1125) he apparently had no special enthusiasm for Glastonbury. He mentions it among the well-known monasteries of the country, but bestows no unusual attention upon it. But by 1129 he had written a tract which had no other purpose than the glorifying of Glastonbury; he had composed the *Lives* of three Irish Glastonbury saints, one of which had for its object the vindication of Patrick's sojourn and death at Glastonbury; and he had compiled at least a part of his *Life* of Dunstan, which was undertaken for the avowed purpose of correcting certain misapprehensions about Glastonbury, arising out of statements made by previous biographers, particularly Osbern of Canterbury.

All this inclines us to the suspicion that William was called to Glastonbury for the special purpose of assisting with the advertising of the great abbey. This suspicion grows stronger as we read William's statement that the monks furnished him with material for the writing of the *Vita Dunstani*,[1] and that he submitted *DA* to them for approval or revision.[2] And when we see the evidences of haste, carelessness, and lack of critical judgment in *DA* and the almost slavish adherence to the structure of his sources in the *Life* of Patrick,[3] the suspicion becomes almost a certainty.

We are inclined to ask ourselves, furthermore, why William should have consented to undertake such work. The answer to this question lies near at hand. Glastonbury in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had other rivals than Canterbury and Wells. As one of the outposts of Norman monasticism it came into conflict with the

[1] *Memorials*, ed. Stubbs, p. 252. [2] *De Ant.*, ed. Hearne, p. 3.
[3] See my study of this *Life*, cited above, p. 278, note 3.

old Celtic foundations of Wales and the border. Under Norman control Welsh lands were appropriated to the use of Norman monasteries, and Welsh churches were transferred to the jurisdiction of Norman bishops. As may well be supposed, the Welsh did not submit tamely to this imposition. They had never been thoroughly conquered and they had unusual talents for making life disagreeable for the border lords. It was highly desirable, therefore, that the Celtic population should be properly impressed not only with the sanctity and antiquity of Norman foundations, but also with the extent of favors shown to them in days of old by Celtic saints and heroes.

Not only was Glastonbury a strategic point for putting into practice tactics intended to propitiate the Celtic population, but it was fortunate in enjoying the favor of the highest Norman powers. One of the abbots was Henry of Blois, brother to King Stephen, and the lord of the territory in which it stood was Robert of Gloucester, son of Henry I. There was every reason, therefore, why it should command the best services available. When we observe, further, that Robert of Gloucester was a direct patron of William,[1] it is not hard to understand why that reputable historian should have undertaken the work of writing advertising material for Glastonbury Abbey. Robert, moreover, must certainly have been interested in both Irish and Welsh history; for his mother was Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Teudwr, king of South Wales,[2] and his wife, Mabel, was a daughter of Robert Fitzhamon, who ruled in Glamorgan.

Now let us see what all this means for the transmission of Irish material to the English literary world. We have observed that William was engaged in the writing of propaganda, that part of his work consisted in the gathering up and publishing of Irish traditions, and that his work was carried on at Glastonbury, where Irish traditions were prevalent and where, be it especially noted, certain legends about King Arthur took shape. It remains now but to notice William's place in the literary world of his day.

[1] See *Gesta Regum*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 355, 518–520, 525.

[2] Rhys ap Teudwr spent a good part of his life in Ireland, and was probably educated there.

William's work was only part of a general movement to write British history in such a way as to show Norman institutions to the Celtic population in a favorable light. The *Brut y Tywysogion* (*Chronicle of the Princes*) ascribed to Caradoc of Llancarvan is another example. The outstanding work in this movement is, of course, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, which presents Arthur, legendary hero of the Welsh, in the complete guise of a twelfth-century Norman monarch. Geoffrey brings the narrative of British history down to the time of Cadwaladr. He then assigns to Caradoc of Llancarvan the task of continuing it down to the present, and allots to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon the history of the Anglo-Saxon kings.[1] Each of these assignments was fulfilled. If anything further is needed to show that William was a member of Geoffrey's literary circle, we may find it in the fact that Geoffrey dedicated his history to Robert of Gloucester, William's patron. It would be strange indeed, then, if William was not fully aware of Geoffrey's intention to write about Arthur, especially since he knew the Welsh traditions about Arthur and had expressed the hope that someone would put them into respectable historical form.[2]

On the basis of the foregoing evidence we may regard the following points as established:

(1) William was interested in Irish material; he had access to Irish documents; and he was actively engaged in the adaptation of Irish material to the needs of Glastonbury Abbey. The Glastonbury advertisers, moreover, used Arthurian material. The work of William, therefore, added to the Irish influence already established at Glastonbury and provided a means of contact between Arthurian romance and Irish tradition.

(2) Contact between Irish tradition and English literature in general was further effected through William's connection with the Norman court and with Arthurian literature in particular through his association with Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[1] *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, xii, 20 (ed. San Marte, p. 176.) [2] *Gesta Regum, ed. cit.*, p. 342.

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RHETORICAL INVENTION IN SOME MEDIAEVAL TRACTATES ON PREACHING [1]

By HARRY CAPLAN

PROFESSOR ETIENNE GILSON has aptly said that no other epoch was so conscious of the ends it pursued and the means required to attain them as the mediaeval period. It had its poetry and its Arts of Poetry, its eloquence and its Arts of Rhetoric. If you seek the key to its art of oratory, you must search in its *Artes Praedicandi*.[2] Now if one sets out to study the sacred rhetoric of the Middle Ages, one does well to note what the great classical rhetoricians selected to emphasize as rhetorical essentials, and to heed what their sense of rhetorical values dictated. We need not belittle the importance of attention to *Elocutio*, which for the literature of the mediaeval period happily has begun to fare well at the hands of scholars,[3] but at present I intend rather to accept the logic which prompted Cicero to adopt the title *De Inventione* as representing the whole field of rhetoric. Invention was to him the most important element of the art.[4] We respect the prominence which the principle of invention has in his *De Oratore*, and we observe that his *Topica* is a tract on inventional method. We note the care the author of the *Ad Herennium* bestows upon invention. Aristotle bases his first two books upon the processes of invention; in fact, some critics [5] believe that his original plan may well have excluded Book III, the book which he devotes to style. The *De Inventione*, Cicero's *Topica*, and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* were well known throughout the Middle Ages. The contributions of Boethius, whose works were also very influential, notably upon St Bonaventure, —

[1] Part of a paper read before the Mediaeval Latin Section of the Modern Language Association, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Dec. 29, 1926.

[2] Etienne Gilson, "Michel Menot et la Technique du Sermon Médiévale," *Revue d'Histoire Franciscaine*, II (1925), 303.

[3] See, e.g., M. B. Ogle, "Some Aspects of Mediaeval Latin Style," SPECULUM, I (1926), 170 ff.

[4] See E. M. Cope and J. E. Sandys, edd. *Rhetoric of Aristotle* (Cambridge, 1877), I, 28.

[5] See J. E. Sandys, Introduction to Jebb's translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (Cambridge, 1909), p. xxi.

his Commentary on the *Topica* of Aristotle, his Commentary on the *Topica* of Cicero, and his own *De Differentiis Topicis* [1] — were likewise in the field of invention. And, finally, we may regard it as highly significant that Augustine gives first place to invention in oratory.[2] In the following pages I purpose, therefore, to subordinate the *quo modo* (*orator dicat*) to the *quid*.

One may confidently assert of classical rhetoric in the mediaeval period that it was by no means neglected. The persistence of the rhetorical discipline as an integral part, however modified, of the school curriculum, is well attested.[3] And R. Cruel [4] and other students of mediaeval preaching do not think to question the influence of classical rules on preaching. Despite the fact that Gregory opposed theatrical preaching, and that Augustine [5] thought it necessary to defend the use of rhetoric by a Christian teacher, the view of St Thomas that eloquence and secular learning could profitably be used by a preacher [6] must be regarded as more generally characteristic of the mediaeval attitude towards pagan rhetoric. If the Fathers did try to check the rhetorical tendency in themselves, it was merely to subordinate eloquence to the main, and high, purpose of preaching. In some cases the classics were directly and consciously, in others, indirectly influential, even though the winning of souls was a different end from the usual ends of deliberative, epideictic, or forensic oratory. The effect of tradition is often too subtle to detect. In any event, preaching had a rhetorical function in the clear exposition of Scripture, with the persuasive purpose of winning souls to God — a function and a purpose germane to the universal uses of rhetoric. With the aid of rhetorical criteria, then, preaching can be studied in the treatises we are now considering. In them we find the character-

[1] Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 207, points out the great debt St Bonaventure's Rhetoric in the *Collationes in Hexaemeron*, iv, 21–25 (*Opera Omnia*, V, 353) owes to Boethius' *Speculatio de Rhetoricae Cognatione* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXIV, 1217 ff.).

[2] *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV, i, 1. See M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), p. 142; A. F. Ozanam, *La Civilisation au Cinquième Siècle* (Paris, 1862), p. 160.

[3] See T. Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 157 ff.

[4] *Geschichte der Deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879), p. 244.

[5] *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV, i and ii.

[6] See J. Walsh, "St. Thomas on Preaching," *Dominicana*, V (1921), 6–14.

istic distrust of the ornaments of rhetoric, but, as well, a live awareness to and regard for classical rhetorical authorities.

William of Auvergne writes: "A simple sermon, unpolished, unadorned, moves and edifies the more." He despises the preacher "who, with ornate words, casts naked truth into the shadow." [1] Humbert de Romans: "They who seek adornment are like those who care more for the beauty of the salver in which food is carried than for the food itself." [2] Alain de Lille: "Preaching ought not to contain scurrilous or puerile words, or rhythmic melodies, or metric consonances. These contribute rather to soothing the ear than to instructing the mind. Such preaching is theatrical, and therefore should be unanimously contemned. . . . Yet though preaching should not shine with purple verbal trappings, neither should it be depressed by bloodless words. Rather a middle course should be pursued." [3]

So much for the attitude toward embellished style; on the attitude to classical rhetoric the following outline of opinions and practice will be informative.

William of Auvergne has modeled his *Divine Rhetoric* upon Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero.[4] Humbert would like the preacher to know pagan history as well as Christian, and makes use of Seneca, Horace, and Cicero. The author-compiler of the 'Aquinas'-tractate quotes Tully in recommending the art of preaching, and approvingly offers William's argument: "Since so many volumes of rhetoric have been written by the band of rhetoricians, is it not more just and worthy that their own art and doctrine should enjoy treatment by the band of preachers, so that they will be divine rhetoricians?" [5] Alain: "It will be possible on occasion to insert the sayings of Gentiles, just as Paul in his *Epistles* inserts philosophers as authorities." [6] Alain has called Rhetoric the daughter of Cicero, and named her Tullia; [7] nor

[1] A. de Poorter, "Un Manuel de Prédication Médiévale," *Revue Néo-scolastique de Philosophie* (1923), p. 202.

[2] *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, ed. M. de la Bigne (Lyons, 1677), XXV, 432.

[3] *De Arte Praedicatoria*, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCX, 112.

[4] A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1886), p. 63.

[5] H. Caplan, "A Late Mediaeval Tractate on Preaching," in *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of J. A. Winans* (New York: Century Company, 1925), p. 71.

[6] *De Arte Praedicatoria*, c. 1.

[7] *Anticlaudianus*, iii, 2, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCX, 513.

in the present tractate does he think it necessary to exclude profane authors — in fact he uses pagan myths, and quotes from Plato, Cicero, Seneca, Lucretius, and Persius. But one need only glance in the works of Cruel [1] and Lecoy [2] at the long list of pagan, Arabic, and Jewish authors used by mediaeval preachers in order to conclude that more than one preacher must have accepted the old saying: "It is no sin to be taught by the enemy, and to enrich the Hebrews with the spoils of the Egyptians." [3]

The secret of rhetorical invention lies in the conscious artistic use of the topics or commonplaces. The τόπος [4] is the head under which arguments fall, the place in the memory where the argument is to be looked for and found, ready for use, the storehouse or thesaurus,[5] the seat,[6] the haunt [7] (as if the argument were the game to be captured), or the vein [8] or mine where arguments should be sought. One recalls how Cicero in his *Topica* applies eleven categories to the establishment of legal proof,[9] and how the author of the *Ad Herennium*, also with a forensic case in mind, uses the following ten commonplaces of amplification [10] — *adaugendi criminis causa:* 1. Consider authority and precedent; remind the jury how weighty this matter has been held to be by our ancestors. 2. Consider to whom the charge appertains; if it affects every one, then the matter is most atrocious. 3. Ask what would happen if the same

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 463.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 472, 473.

[3] E.g. John de Bromyard in the Prologue of his *Summa Praedicantium*, cited by G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Mediaeval England* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 304.

[4] Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, II, 26, 1. See H. H. Hudson, "Can We Modernize the Theory of Invention?" *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education*, VII (1921), 325–334.

[5] Cicero, *De Finibus*, IV, iv, 10; cf. Quintilian, v, 10, 20–22.

[6] Cicero, *Topica*, II, 7: Ut igitur earum rerum quae absconditae sunt demonstrato et notato loco facilis inventio est; sic cum pervestigare argumentum aliquod volumus locos nosse debemus; sic enim appellatae ab Aristotele sunt eae quasi sedes e quibus argumenta promuntur. Itaque licet definire locum esse argumenti sedem.

[7] Cicero, *De Oratore*, II, 34, 147; cf. *De Inventione*, I, vii, where he calls invention the most important of the divisions of rhetoric.

[8] Cicero, *De Oratore*, II, 174. See E. M. Cope, *Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric* (Cambridge and London, 1867), pp. 124 ff.

[9] Relationship; similar derivation; species; similarity; difference; contraries; adjuncts; antecedents, consequents, and contradictories; efficient cause; what has been done; authority.

[10] ii, 30–47.

concessions were made to all; if we neglect this matter, we shall undergo great dangers. 4. Show that, if you indulge this defendant, you will encourage others, to whom his summary punishment would serve as a deterrent from crime. 5. Prove that nothing can remedy this wrong. Other things can be cured by time; this cannot. 6. The crime was premeditated; there can be no just excuse. 7. This is a foul crime, cruel, infamous, tyrannical. From such crimes comes harm to women, from such arise causes for wars that are fought to a finish. 8. This is not a common crime, but a singularly base one, for which vengeance must be quick and drastic. 9. Compare crimes: this is not a pardonable, necessary crime, but one committed through intemperate arrogance. 10. Sharply, incriminatingly, and carefully, review the crime and its consequences. Or, for an example in demonstrative oratory, the rhetor Menander, in his work *On the Epideictic* develops topically twenty-three varieties, including the types used in praise of a sovereign, in praise of a city, the farewell speech to one departing, and others. Or notice in the index to Halm's *Rhetores Latini Minores* the long list (pp. 664, 665) of *loci communes argumentorum* used by the authors he has collected.

The extension of the method from deliberative, forensic, or epideictic rhetoric to sacred rhetoric is not difficult. We shall see how this method functioned in preaching.

In this paper on invention, I regret that I cannot consider sermons nor even '*homiletische Hilfsmittel*' other than treatises on preaching.[1] I do not consider, I mean, the collections of homilies, of text-materials for sermons, of sermons for each day, of commentaries, Biblical glosses in alphabetical order, theme-sentences, concordances, moralities, comparisons, image-books, anecdotes, tracts on vices and virtues, *exempla* and bestiaries, chrestomathies, natural histories, parables, and homiletical lexicons — the preachers' helps and anthologies that were common in European libraries, the preachers' storehouses from which the less competent drew. These

[1] See Cruel, *op. cit.*, pp. 244 ff., 451 ff.; Owst, *op. cit.*, chap. 7; A. Linsenmayer, *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland von Karl dem Grossen bis zum Ausgange des Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1886), pp. 168 ff.; C. V. Langlois, "L'Eloquence Sacrée au Moyen Age," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, CXV (1893), 194 ff.

were, if anything, aids to invention. But on grounds of relative availability, I limit myself to representative tractates on the art of preaching of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to wit: the *Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debeat* [1] of Guibert de Nogent (early twelfth century), the *Summa de Arte Praedicatoria* [2] of Alain de Lille (end of twelfth century), the *De Instructione Praedicatorum* [3] of Humbert de Romans (thirteenth century), a manual of preaching [4] attributed to William of Auvergne (thirteenth century), and a late Dominican tractate [5] professing the influence of St Thomas Aquinas. They appeared at an important juncture in the course of the history of oratory, when both general culture and preaching had reached a high level — the period of the rise of new orders,[6] the spread of mysticism, and the growth of scholasticism. In these tractates we discover a highly developed rhetoric of invention, particularly in the method of applying commonplaces.

The Dominican Humbert's extensive work, *De Eruditione Praedicatorum*, is divided into two books. The first, entitled "*De eruditione religiosorum praedicatorum*," does not especially interest us except for the very instructive chapter (vi) dealing with the difficulty of good preaching. Therein Humbert compares the incompetent preachers who yet disdain to study other, good, preachers, with bad bakers who insist on making bread; and considers as terribly vicious the practice of those who multiply distinctions, authorities, reasons, examples, synonyms, prothemes, and the manifold exposition of words. This is in striking contrast to the inventional procedure of the Auvergne-tractate and the 'Aquinas'-tractate. But it is no

[1] *Prooemium ad Commentarios in Genesim*, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLVI, 21–32.

[2] Migne, *Pat Lat.*, CCX, 110–198.

[3] *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, XXV, 426–567.

[4] See A. de Poorter, "Un Manuel de Prédication Médiévale: Le Ms. 97 de Bruges," *Revue Néo-scolastique de Philosophie* (1923), 192–209.

[5] In a volume of incunabula in the Cornell University Library, press No. 2964 E 51 (Hain No. 1354): Tractatulus solemnis de arte et vero modo predicandi ex diuersis doctorum sacrorum scripturis, et principaliter sacratissimi cristiane ecclesie doctoris Thome de Aquino ex paruo suo quodam tractatulo recollectus, ubi secundum modum et formam materie presentis procedit. Translated by H. Caplan, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–91.

[6] Lecoy, *op. cit.*, p. 201, in enumerating the preachers of the thirteenth century, points out that, of 318, 98 were Dominicans and 53 Franciscans. The preëminence of Dominicans, the *Ordo Praedicatorum*, makes particularly interesting the Dominican 'Aquinas'-tractate.

indication that Humbert generally opposed inventional method, for his second book comprises two treatises with the ambitious titles: (1) *De modo prompte cudendi sermones circa omne hominum genus*, and (2) *De modo prompte cudendi sermones ad omne negotiorum genus*. Humbert industriously goes about this work of supplying ready materials for address to many kinds of men, in every diverse field of the preacher's operations, and in accordance with every variety of seasons and holidays. He says: "Concerning sermon materials, note that it is often much more difficult to invent useful matter out of which to compose a sermon than to weave together a sermon from the material already invented" (p. 457). So in one hundred chapters he tells the preacher what kind of special thing to say: to all men, to all ecclesiastical people, to all the pious of a good life and of a bad life, to every kind of monk, to converts, to all scholars, to the laity, to all nobles, bad and devout, to paupers, boys, lepers, and harlots. The scholar in grammar, for example, should be admonished to remember that letters without a good life do not bring salvation; he should be told: "*multae litterae te faciunt insanire*" (*Acts*, 26, 24). Scholars in philosophy should be warned against seduction by philosophy. And in the second tractate of Book ii, Humbert completes his inventional plan of preparing the preacher for one hundred types of *negotia*, advising him what to say, for example, at councils, synods, elections of secular priests, solemn confirmations, solemn communions, solemn obsequies for the dead, solemn condemnations of heretics.

In the Introduction to his edition of the tractate [1] which he ascribes to William of Auvergne, de Poorter mentions a *De Faciebus* by William, which furnished an inventional list of images and allegories for the preacher to use at his need. Indeed, the manual which de Poorter has edited is also on invention. It employs the usual dialectical commonplaces for Scriptural explication — *quis*, *quibus*, *ubi*, *quando*, *quomodo*, and *quid*, and aims, typically, to adapt the preacher to different classes of hearers — *ad varios status*. But, and most important, in Part II appear twenty paragraphs setting forth repertories of ideas, where the preacher can get themes for artistic

[1] See p. 289, note 4.

development. Thus the author fulfils his purpose of furnishing not only *modum praedicandi* but also *copiam loquendi*. The commonplaces [1] are to be worked out in the usual fashion. If you develop by *contraries*, and are discussing gluttony, contrast it with abstinence. If you seek *exemplification* of various virtues, recall these types: David stands for humility and kindness, Job for patience, Stephen for charity, Susanna for continence and bravery, Anthony for discretion, John the Baptist for sobriety, Katherine for virginity.[2] If you use *division*, discuss the kinds of sin. If you use *derivation*, know that Christ is *Sol* because He shines *solus*. *Monachus* is derived from *monos ischos*, *Dominus* is analyzed into *dans minas*, and, one is astonished to read, *mulier* into *molliens herum*.

Alain de Lille's *Summa* does not contain much theory; it gives general advice, but pursues its inventional aim largely through examples and sermon materials, in the form of forty-seven sketches of homilies on ordinary subjects, varied, again, according to the audience. Both Alain and Humbert had composed separate collections of *sermones ad status*, and Alain had also written both a *Summa quot modis*,[3] a preacher's dictionary, and a *Liber Sententiarum*, a book of aphorisms for preachers. But the *Summa*, although it has undertaken to teach the *qualis*, *quorum*, *quibus*, *quare*, *et ubi* of preaching, succeeds in discussing only the first three. Alain's definition of preaching is the one that is later used by the author of the 'Aquinas'-tractate:[4] "Preaching is open and public instruction in morals and faith, devoted to the informing of men and proceeding from the path of convictions, and from the source of authorities." The preacher's sources are, *par excellence*, the Gospels, the *Psalms*, the Epistles of Paul, and the Books of Solomon. Thirty-seven chapters[5] are devoted to the subjects of preaching: to sermon-sketches against luxury, arrogance, and other vices; and to sketches upon such virtues as peace, mercy, obedience, spiritual joy, and the love of God. Alain's

[1] Resemblances, relative notions, contraries, cause and effect, vices, virtues, Heaven, Hell, exemplification, anecdotes, continuation, definition, distinctions, observation of the issue or end of a thing, setting forth the essential weight of a word, kind, species, interpretation of Hebrew names, etymology, parts of speech.

[2] Cf. Philo's similar practice, discussed by F. W. Farrar, *History of Interpretation* (London, 1886), p. 146. [3] Lecoy, *op. cit.*, p. 496. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 72. [5] Chaps. 2–38.

method can be seen in the plan of Chapter ii, on the subject: *De Mundi Contemptu.* The theme is Vanity of Vanities. The general topic of division is used to set forth vanity in its three aspects, the vanity of change, of curiosity, of falsehood, each with a Biblical authority; further, the dialectical *ubi* is applied in turn to *vanitas, vanitatum vanitas, omnia vanitas.* Next it is explained wherein all three vanities apply to riches, in its fears, suspicions, and greed. The same is done with honors, and with mundane pleasures. Then the ancient Fathers are called to witness as authorities upon the contempt of riches, and a vigorous exhortation ends the homily. The last ten chapters deal with the audience of preaching: soldiers, doctors, prelates, princes, widows, maidens, and others. For example, in *Ad Oratores seu Advocatos* (xli) the orator is eloquently exhorted to seek truth and justice, follow charity and bring aid to the needy, spurn greed and the popular favor, and avoid venality.

The compiler of the 'Aquinas'-tractate points out that the material for all sermons is found in ten topics: God, the Devil, the Heavenly City, the Inferno, the world, the soul, the body, sin, penitence, and virtue. But the author's main contribution to a theory of invention consists in his treatment of sermon-*dilatatio.* If you wish to expand a sermon, you will find nine methods of amplification. (1) Through concordance of authorities. (2) Through discussion of words. On the theme (cf. *Ps.*, xcii, 12): "The righteous shall flourish like the palm-tree in the house of the Lord," ask "why the house?" "why the palm?" "why the Lord?" "why the house of the Lord?" (3) Through the properties of things. "God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows" (*Ps.*, xlv, 7). Grace is conveniently denoted by oil, for oil has a sanative virtue. Thus Grace cures the wounds of the soul by destroying sins. (4) Through a multiplication of senses, in four ways:[1] (*a*) according to the *sensus*

[1] Caplan, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff. Of the other treatises, only Guibert's specifically suggests the employment of this popular mediaeval method of hermeneutics. The quatrain used by Nicolas of Lyra, and probably others before him, no doubt served as a mnemonic aid to invention:

Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.

I reserve for another time fuller treatment of the use in homiletics of the four senses of explication.

historicus or *literalis;* (*b*) the *sensus tropologicus;* (*c*) the *sensus allegoricus;* (*d*) the *sensus anagogicus.* "David rules in Jerusalem," according to the literal sense, is to be explained exactly as the words sound; allegorically, by a "sense other than the literal," it means "Christ reigns in the Church Militant." "Let thy garments be always white" (*Eccles.*, ix, 8) tropologically is explained: "At all times let thy deeds be clean." With the anagogical sense "the minds of the hearers are to be stirred and exhorted to the contemplation of heavenly things." So, "Blessed are they who wash their gowns in the blood of the Lamb that they may have right to the tree of life." (Vulg. *Rev.*, xxii, 14) means "Blessed are they who purify their thoughts so that they may see Jesus Christ." (5) Through analogies and natural truths. It is natural for every creature to love its parents; how much more ought we to love God from Whom it becomes natural for us to love our parents; then *a fortiori,* we should love Him from Whom our parents and we come. (6) Through marking of an opposite, to wit, correction. The Lord God in His goodness is to us like a good father to a son, in that He provides for us, and recalls us to possess eternal life. Therefore the acts of Grace ought to be performed. (7) Through comparisons, when an adjective is used in some authority. "He that delivered me unto thee hath the *greater* sin" (*John*, xix, 11). Continue as follows: Judas was guilty of a sin, because from greed he coveted a great reward; of a greater sin, because he betrayed his master; of the greatest sin, because he despaired of the mercy of God. (8) Through interpretation of a name. If in some authority the name 'Israel' appears, interpret it as man seeing God. (9) Through a multiplication of synonyms. "Man that is born of woman is of few days and full of trouble" (*Job*, xiv, 1). Amplify by synonyms. Man is filled with woes in that he is oppressed by cares, surrounded by worries, irritated by adversity, choked by perils. And the author-compiler leaves the treatment of amplification with the assurance that if you commit these topics to memory, retain them, and resort frequently to them, selecting such as are most convenient to time, place, and audience, you will well use Scripture to teach, to argue, and to arrest injustice, and by instruction you will perfect man in every good work of God.

I include for brief consideration Guibert's work, not because it is actually a homiletical manual in plan or in effect. It has not, like the others, a developed scheme of invention. Guibert does advise the employment of the four senses of exposition, and accepts the moral as the most salutary for his purpose. Indeed, this work is the *Prooemium* to his *Moralium Geneseos*, which was designed to supply the preacher with sermon-material. But his discussion of the senses of explication does not appear in an organized theory of amplification. Yet in his general theoretical observations on the spirit of the preacher, the sermon, and the hearer, he serves clearly to show us that the mediaeval preacher did not confine himself to considerations of sermon-structure only. Guibert is interested largely in the *grandis animi feruor;* and counsels an inner, psychological study as a means to learning the vices and virtues, in order that the preacher may be able to show forth man himself objectively. Conviction and belief are not sufficient; persuasion and action are required.

One is struck by the failure of all the authors, and especially the later ones, to formulate a clear-cut treatment of the *exemplum.* I do not think Alain has in mind *exempla* in the stricter sense when he briefly says: "*In fine vero debet uti exemplis ad probandum quod intendit, quia familiaris est doctrina exemplaris.*" [1] And although Lecoy says [2] that Humbert also recommends the use of *exempla*, I have been unable to discover the reference. In two passages [3] Guibert advises the use of illustrative material, but he does not employ the technical term *exempla.*

In accordance with these treatises, then, the sermon was based on Scripture, the Fathers, and the moral philosophers. The method was to unfold truth for instruction's sake, by expounding the text and developing the sermon from that as a centre. Perhaps partly because it was useful against the failure of inspiration, and certainly because it could be an artistically effective means of invention, ac-

[1] Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCX, 114.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 201, citing *Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr.*, XXV, 433. See T. F. Crane, *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry* (London, 1890), Introd., p. xix.

[3] *Op. cit.*, coll. 23 and 29. See T. F. Crane, "Mediaeval Sermon-Books and Stories and Their Study Since 1883," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LVI (1917), 14, note 11.

credited by the rhetorical theory of centuries, the preachers filled out the analytical design of organization with a topical system of amplification. It is not for us here to judge how banal could be the whole scheme of diversified members, definitions, divisions, dialectical inquiries, or how over-refined and trivial it could be; yet one may affirm that, when allied to talent, it must have been highly effective. As we have seen, invention concerned not only the *quid*, but also the *quibus*. The tractates therefore show a careful study of the psychology of audiences, even as Jacques de Vitry's discourses covered one hundred and twenty categories of hearers. Since these tractates circulated all over Europe, no doubt a great many preachers, through "the sermon of the Lord, the food of the mind," as the 'Aquinas'-author defines it, were successfully taught "how to recall men from error to truth, from vices to virtues, how to change depravity to rectitude, how to provide faith, raise hope, enkindle charity, dislodge the injurious, implant the useful, and foster the honorable."

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TWO DERIVITIVE SONGS BY AIMERIC DE PEGUILHAN

By WILLIAM PIERCE SHEPARD

THE two following songs, never before edited, are good examples of that affected and often absurd figure called by the Latin rhetoricians *adnominatio* and by the mediaeval prosodists of Old Provençal *rims dirivitius*. The writers and theorists of the Middle Ages obtained their definition and examples of this figure from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which defines it as follows: *Adnominatio est, cum ad idem verbum acceditur cum mutatione unius aut plurium litterarum, ut ad res dissimiles similia verba adcommodentur.*[1] This rhetorical figure is recognized and defined by most of the mediaeval writers on grammar and prosody,[2] and is used by many of the poets in Latin and in the vulgar tongues. In Provençal it was employed mainly as a variety of rime. Molinier and the other pedants who in the fourteenth century compiled the *Leys d'Amors* define the *rim dirivitiu* thus: *Si la us (rims) se desshen del autre per mermamen o per ajustamen d'una letra o d'una sillaba o de motas sillabas, adonx son dig rim dirivitiu.*[3] The source of this definition is at once apparent: it comes straight from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. The *rim dirivitiu* of the troubadours is the *adnominatio* of the rhetoricians. It is frequently called 'grammatical rime' by modern prosodists.

This affectation is not very commonly used by the troubadours,[4] many of the better poets avoiding it entirely; but examples are to be found in all the periods of Provençal song.[5] From Provence it

[1] M. Tullii Ciceronis, *Opera*, ed. Baiter and Kayser, Leipzig, 1860, I, 74.

[2] See E. Faral, *Les Arts Poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècles* (Paris: Champion, 1924), pp. 93–97; and also M. B. Ogle, "Some Aspects of Mediaeval Latin Style," Speculum, I (1926), 170–189.

[3] *Las Leys d'Amors*, ed. A. F. Gatien-Arnoult, *Monumens de la Litt. Romane*, I (Toulouse, 1841), 186–189, 274–278; ed. J. Anglade (Toulouse, 1919–20), II, 112–114, 140.

[4] Cf. especially F. Diez, *Die Poesie der Troubadours* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1883), pp. 86–88; A. Jeanroy, "Etudes sur l'Ancienne Poésie Provençale," *Neuphilol. Mitteilungen*, XXVII (1926), 157.

[5] For a good example of a song entirely composed in *rims dirivitius*, see the one beginning *Al prim pres dels breus iorns braus*, by Aimeric de Belenoi, No. 30, printed by C. Appel, *Provenzal. Chrestom.* (4th ed., Leipzig: Reisland, 1912), pp. 71, 72.

spread to the North, where it was used, infrequently, by lyric and narrative poets in French.[1] The same trick of rime is also found in early Italian poets.[2]

The method of *rims dirivitius* followed by Aimeric de Péguilhan in these songs differs in each case. In I each strophe has a separate rime-root, and the final words of each verse ring the grammatical and etymological changes on this root. In strophe I we find the root *franh*, in II the root *pren*, in III the root *man*, in IV the root *trai*, in V–VI the root *ferm*. In II, however, Aimeric arranges his rimes in pairs, alternating the masculine and feminine endings of the same stem. The latter is the more usual form of *rim dirivitiu* in Provençal, and the only one recognized by the *Leys d'Amors*.

The poetical value of such *tours de force* is of course slight. Nevertheless, we cannot deny that in both songs Aimeric displays a certain mental nimbleness, which however often disappears in the translation. It is impossible, in English prose, to juggle with etymological jingles as the troubadour does in Provençal verse. He never quite attains absolute nonsense; and the second song especially is not unpleasing to the ear. Probably that is all that can be expected of such verbal acrobatics.

No. 1: K. Bartsch, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur*, 10, 25.

Manuscripts and reprints:[3] *A* 140 (C. De Lollis, *Studj Romanzi*, III, 1904, 437), *C* 86, *D* 67, *I* 54, *K* 40, *J* 5 (P. Savj-Lopez, *Studj Romanzi*, IX, 1912, 636), *M* 96, (*N*), *Q* 12 (G. Bertoni, *Il canzoniere provenzale della Riccardiana No. 2909*, p. 25), *R* 48, *S* p. 163 (*Sg*), *U* 44 (Grützmacher, Herrig's *Archiv* XXXV, 1864, 393), *c* 53 (M. Pelaez, *Studj Romanzi*, VII, 1911, 335), *f* 7.

[1] See the examples cited by A. Tobler, *Von Franz. Versbau*, (5th ed., Leipzig, 1910), pp. 111 ff. A good example, quite similar in structure to Aimeric's first song, is the *Dis de la Pomme* by Baudouin de Condé in A. Scheler, *Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé* (Brussels, 1866–67), I, 181.

[2] See for a sonnet and a canzone in *rims dirivitius*, *Le Rime de Fra Guittone d'Arezzo*, ed. F. Pellegrini (Bologna, 1901), I, 98, 269–271.

[3] For explanations of these sigla and description of the MSS, see A. Jeanroy, *Bibliographie Sommaire des Chansonniers Provençaux*, Paris, 1916. I have indicated in parentheses the reprint of the MS. when such exists. I have examined and collated myself the MSS *ACDIKMRSf*. For the others I have relied on the diplomatic reprints. I have unfortunately not been able to secure copies of the MSS *N* and *Sg* (Cheltenham and Barcelona); but I doubt if they contain anything to modify the text as established by a comparison of the other MSS.

The order of the strophes in the various MSS is:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 *ADIKJ*
1 2 3 4 5 7 *Qc*
1 2 3 4 5 *f*
1 2 3 4 5 7 6 *S*
1 2 3 4 5 7 *U* (with an additional strophe after 5)
1 2 4 3 5 7 6 *C*
1 2 4 3 5 7 *MR*

This allows a rough classification of the MSS, which is supported in general by the variants. However, there are too many contaminations to permit of the establishment of a family tree. Ordinarily, *ADIKJ* form one group (cf. the variants of vv. 22, 28, 41), *CMR* another (cf. 3, 10, 41), *SUc* another (cf. 7, 30). *Q* and *f* go often with the first group (cf. 10), but

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No. I. — Critical Text

I. En Amor trob alques en que ·m refranh,
Qu'al menhs d'Amor mals o bes no ·m sofranh,
Ni ieu per mal no ·m luenh d'Amor ni ·m franh;
On plus m'auci plus ves Amor m'afranh.
Mas no conosc qu'Amors vas me s'afranha,
Ni ieu non ai d'Amor poder que ·m franha.
Res no ·m sofranh, sol qu'Amors no ·m sofranha,
Quar ses Amor no sai en que ·m refranha.

II. D'Amor no ·m puesc partir, qu'Amors mi pren,
E quan m'en cug emblar plus mi repren
Ab un esguart don mos cors s'escompren,
Que ·m fai venir de lieys en cuy m'enpren.
Mas a son dan no ·us cuidetz que m'enprenda,
Ni per autra mos fis cors s'escomprenda,
Don hom per fals amador mi reprenda,
Qu'en lieys es tot, si ·l platz, que ·m lais o ·m prenda.

III. Aissi suy faigz del tot al sieu coman
Que nulha re no ·n desdic qu'elha ·m man.
Pero d'un be la prec que no ·m desman
Qu'al comensar me promes del deman;

also show some relationship with *CMR* (cf. 28, 45). I have chosen *A* as base, but have adopted the orthography of *C*, which is certainly nearer to Aimeric's native dialect.[1]

Metrical schema: 10 a a a a *b b b b*

The poem consists of five *coblas singulars* of eight verses each, with grammatical rime, and of two *tornadas*, which repeat the rimes of the *cauda* of strophe V. The metrical schema is that of No. 33 of Maus' list.[2] The same arrangement is found in Guillem Anelier 4 and in Guiraut d'Espanha 1, both of whom in all probability imitate Aimeric.

[1] *C* was probably compiled in Toulouse, Aimeric's birthplace.

[2] F. W. Maus, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss Sämmtlicher Strophenform der Provenzalischen Lyrik*, appendix to his *Peire Cardenals Strophenbau in seinem Verhältnisse zu dem anderer Trobadors*, Marburg, 1884.

No. I. — Translation

I. I find in Love somewhat of solace, for at least I lack not ill or good from Love; nor do I, for ill, depart or take myself away from Love. The more he maltreats me, the more I humble myself before him. But I do not see that Love humbles himself before me, and yet I have not the power to depart from him. I lack nought, if I lack not Love, for without Love I know not in what to seek solace.

II. I may not part from Love, since Love seizes me; and when I think to steal away from him, the firmer he seizes me again, by means of a look which fires my heart and which he sends upon me from her who snares me. But think not that I am snared to her hurt, nor that my faithful heart will ever be snared by another woman, for which one might blame me as a false lover. In her, if she will, is all power to take me or to leave me.

III. I am so mindful of her behests that I gainsay nought which she commands me. However, I beg her in her turn not to gainsay a favor she promised me about a question I put to her at the beginning. Hence she commits a sin now in that she does not question

Don fai peccat hueymais quar no ·m demanda
E granz merces savals quar no ·m desmanda;
Mas ieu tenh be per desman si no ·m manda:
Pero assatz qui no ·n desditz comanda.

IV. En lieys son tug li bon ayp qu'om retrai,
Estiers que greu promet e leu retrai,
Per qu'ieu no puesc sufrir lo mal qu'ieu trai
Si qualque be Amors no m'en atrai.
Mas pero be o mal qual qu'ieu n'atraya
Sufrirai tot, que ja per mal qu'ieu traya
No ·m estrairai d'amar, qui que ·s n'estraya,
Ni ja nulh temps no vuelh qu'om m'o retraya.

V. Don', en vos ai mon cor tan fin e ferm
Que ges non ai poder qu'ieu l'en desferm.
Abans vos jur sobre sanhs e ·us aferm
Cum plus m'en cug partir, plus mi referm;
E si Merces que ·ls partimens referma
Per chauzimen en vos plus no s'aferma,
Totz mos afars s'i destrui e ·s desferma,
Qu'autra del mon no vuelh que m'estia ferma.

VI. L'adregz Guilhems Malaspina referma
Don e domnei, si que quasqus aferma
Que de bon pretz no ·s laissa ni ·s desferma,
Per qu'om en luy deu tener prova ferma.

VII. Na Biatritz d'Est, tant etz fin' e ferma
Que ·l vostre sens no ·s camja ni ·s desferma,
Don vostre laus se melhur' e s'aferma;
E pueys mos chans e mos digz o referma.

VARIANTS

I. (*In C the first four verses have been mutilated by the excision of a miniature*) I. Amors *R*; a qem *U*; alges *c.* 2. Cal mens al mal damor bes non sofranh *f*; amors *RS*; mal al be *Q*, ben o mal *R*, mal o ben *SUc*; no *DS*. 3.

me, and at the same time she is very merciful in that she does not gainsay me. I hold it nevertheless to be a gainsaying if she does not send for me. Yet it is evident that whoever does not gainsay commands.

IV. In her are all the good qualities that are told of men, save that she is slow to promise and quick to retract. Therefore I cannot endure the woe I suffer, unless Love bring me some good from it. But whatever of good or ill I may bring upon myself I shall endure all, for never for ill that I endure shall I cease loving, whosoever may cease; nor do I wish that one should ever accuse me of that.

V. Lady, my heart is so faithful and true to you that I have no power in me of taking it from you. Nay, I swear by the saints and I affirm that the more I think to part from you the more I abide. Yet if Pity who heals all divisions abide not in you by your grace, all my cause is ruined and overthrown, since I will not that any other lady in the world save you be constant to me.

VI. The upright William Malaspina abounds in largess and lady-service, so that every one asserts that he does not cease nor desist from seeking good fame. One should find in him therefore a faithful witness.

VII. Lady Beatrice of Este, you are so faithful and constant that your mind wavers not nor is shaken, wherefore your glory grows and abides. My song and my words affirm that ever.

Ni ieu per mal damor nom luenh *CMRS*; Ni *lacking R*; damors *J*, damar *Q*; no 1. ni f. *M*. 4. Com plus mauci ves a. me flaing *c*; On mai ma uei pus ves a. mafranh *f*; Con plus *JMSUc*; amors *JRSU*, amar *Q*. 5. *lacking Q*; E non *JR*; amor *Uc*; sofraigna *c*. 6. Ni ieu damor non ai poder (Nisquieu *J*,

Ni ges *M*) *CIKJMQRSUcf*; damors *JR*, damar *Q*; quem flagna *c*. 7. Re *Q*, Ren *SUcf*; camar *Q*, camor *SUc*; no sofranha *Q*; no sostaigna *D*. 8. Mas *M*; amar *Q*, amors *Rf*; reflagna *c*.

II. 9. Damars *Q*, Damors *R*; camar *Q*, camor *SUc*. 10. Qe qan *S*; cug partir *CMU*, puesc partir *R;* me cug *U*. II. mon cor *QUc*, mos cor *S*, mon cors *f*; si conpren *MU*, sencompren *R*. 12. Qem f. v. celei en c. mespren *Q*; Qem f. v. sela de (en f) cui *Rf*; Qem fai plaizer celei de mi pren *U*. 13. M. al son dan *S*, M. aizo non *U*, M. a so non *c*; non cug ies quelam prenda *C*, non cuides que menprenda *DIK*, non cuges qieu menprenda *JM*; non cug ges qe mesprenda *Qf*, non cug ies qieu menprenda *R*, non cuies qeu mi prenda *Sc*, non cuiez qeu reprenda *U*, 14. Ni ves autra *R*, Ni por a. *S*; mon fin cor *DQUc*; si conprenda *M*. 15. Don ia nulhs fals amadors mi reprenda *C*. 16. *lacking f*; toç *Q*; qeu lais o p. *M*, que lais comprenda *R*, qe illais om p. *U*; o prenda *S*.

III. 17. Caissi *ADIK*; Car ieu soy *f*. R; fait *SUc*; a son c. *IK*. 18. res *R*; noylh d. *CUc*; de dic *Q*; qelan mant *S*, que li man *U*, qil o man *c*, quella man *f*. 19. Mas duna res la p. *R*; Pero lo ben la p. qil non d. *S*; qil non d. *C*; non desman *D*, non desman *Q*, nol d. *U*. 21. Don sol peççat *c*; peccaz *U*; oy mai mai car nom desmanda *f*; qar no mi manda *M*; non demanda *DIKSUc*. 22. *lacking f*; E gran merce *CMRSU*, gran merces *Qc*; daitan quar *R*; que nom *CJMc*; non d. *QSUc*. 23. eus teing *c*; be *lacking R*; sil *U*; sil non desmanda *c*; qi nom manda *MR*. 24. desdi *IKS*; qe *c*; nom desditz *c*.

IV. 25. totz los bos aibs *R*, tot li bons aibs *U*, tot los bons aibs *c*. 27. los mals *R*; qui entrai *IK*, qen trai *Q*. 28. cals qe bes *R*; bes *U*; cal ben *IK*; S. q. b. merces no *CMQRSUcf*; atraia *Q*; non matrai *c*; non men uetrai *f*. 29. *lacking Q*; Perol mal ol ben *Uc*; bes o mals cals qieu traia *R*; qual que matraya *CSc*, cal qieu en traia *AIK*, cal qem natraia *DJM*, qalqe me traia *U*, cal qe zieu traia *f*. 30. *lacking f*; Sofrirai leu *MS*; mals *R*; qien traia *DI* (*inserted on margin I*) *KJMQ*, qem atraia *S*, qem traya *Uc*. 31. Non esterai qi qis nestraia *U*; Non estarai qi qe me ne straia *c*; Nom nestrairai *M*; Nom nestrai *R*; Non estarai *S*; damor *IK*, damors *J*; qi qes estraya *Q*, qui qen estraia *S*, qi quis nestraia *f*. 32. Ni ia nuill teing non uoill como r. *D*; Qe ia n. t. nom v. qom r. (qom me r. *c*) *Uc*; null iorn *M*.

V. 33. Dompna vos ai *Ac*; lo cors *Q*; mon cor fin e ferm *U*; tan fi ferm *f*; e tan ferm *R*. 34. Que res non a p. quel me d. *R*; Qeu *DIK*; qe len desferm *AQ*, qe lem d. *S*; qe lom deferm *Uc*. 35. Enans *CMQRf*; e aferm *M*. 36. On *c*; Que can men *R*; me cug *IKMUc*; plus men referm *Q*. 37. Mai si *f*; E *lacking Uc*; qel partimen *Q*, al partimens *R*, qe partimens *S*, qel partimen *U*, qil pertinença *c*. 38. *I begins* Per chausimenz referma, *then corrects to* P. ch. en vos *etc.*; E chausimentz *M*; chausimenç *Qc*. 39. *lacking c*;

Tot mon afar *CM*; Tot *D*; se destrui *DMQ*; se destruis ses ferma *R*; si desclaus es desferma *f*; e desferma *QSU*. 40. *lacking f*; Quautra mais vos *CDIKJMQRSUc*; que mesteu *A*, quen estia *C*, que mestec *DIK*, mestei *J*, mestes *M*, mistea *U*, me steia *c*, qus hestic *Q*, que sia ferma *R*.
After V, *U adds this strophe:*

Lai on vos es me vao rendre per pres,
Bona donna, c'aisi m'ai enapres
Ab fin' amor qe ·m fai estar ab pres
De ben amar, qe non sia repres.
Ma dieus mi lais viure tro q'eu prenda
Vostre bel cors dedins çambra o reprenda,
Qe semblan m'er, donna, c'ab dieu mi prenda,
Ab qe merces en vostre cors s'aprenda.

VI. *lacking MQRUcf*. 41. Ladreg Guilhem *C*; Conratz Malaspina *A*, Cora *D*, Coral *I*, Coralz *K*, Conrat *S*. 42. chascun *IKS*. 43. non laissi ni d. *S*. 44. *lacking A*; Per qe en lui es ades valor ferma *S*.

VII. *lacking f*. 45. Na B. tant etz de beutat (beutaz *R*, bontat *SUc*) ferma *CRSUc*; de bon prez ferma *M*. 46. Qe vostres prez *MS*; non chania nis d. *SU*, non chania ni disferma *c*; ni desferma *C*; deferma *I*. 47. *lacking M*; Don vostre sen *Q*; D. v. 1. melhura e *R*; De v. 1. anz meilhura e *Uc*; si millor anz saferma *S*. 48. Anz puei ades e mos chantz o r. *M*; E pos mos diç e mos chanç o r. *Q*; E p. mos ditz e mos cors co r. *R*; E p. mos diz en ren no se disferma *S*; E p. mos chanz e mos d. eus (uus *U*) referma *Uc*; mo referma *C*.

Notes

17–24. The sequence of thought in this strophe is confused and paradoxical. It may be paraphrased as follows: Whatever she commands I do. When I first wooed her, she promised to ask me a favor. She has not done so. That's too bad; but not so bad as retracting the promise would be. Not asking is retracting; but yet not retracting is asking.

41. I have preferred here the reading *Guilhems* of *CJ* to *Conratz* of *ADIKS*, because William Malaspina is often mentioned in other songs by Aimeric (for example, in 11, 12, 25, 34, 41), Conrad never (except possibly indirectly in 40). Aimeric's fine elegy (10, 10), *Ara par be que valors se desfai*, is a *planh* for William's death (1220). For the Malaspina family at this time and its relations with the troubadours, see O. Schultz-Gora, *Die Briefe des Trobadors Raimbaut de Vaqueiras an Bonifaz I, Markgrafen von Monferrat* (Halle,1893), pp. 122–132. That the MS. *J*, which goes in general with *ADIK*, here agrees with *C*, is very significant.

45. Beatrice of Este, daughter of Azzo VI, born 1191, took the veil about 1220, died 1226. She is often mentioned by Aimeric, for example in Nos, 2, 3, 12, 15, 16, 33, 34, 41, 45. She was also praised by the Bolognese troubadour Rambertino Buvalelli. See F. Bergert, *Die von den Trobadors genannten oder gefeierten Damen* (Halle, 1913), pp. 81–85.

No. II: Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 10, 47.

A 140 (De Lollis, p. 436), *C* 90, *D* 67, *I* 147, *K* 39, (*N*), *P* 56 (there strophes only; Stengel, Herrig's *Archiv* L, (1872), 264, prints only the first strophe), *Q* 15 (Bertoni, p. 31), *R* 51, *U* 43 (Grützmacher, p. 392), *c* 50 (Pelaez, p. 329).

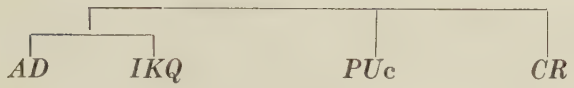
Of these MSS, *CR* form a group by themselves, as the variants of verses 15, 24, 43, show. *PUc* agree with *CR*, as against *ADIKQ*, in verse 9. In the latter group, *AD* go together, in opposition to *IKQ*, as in verse 18. These variants permit a loose classification as follows:

No. II. — Critical Text

I.
Ses mon apleg no vauc ni ses ma lima,
Ab que fabreg motz et aplanh e lim,
Car ieu no veg d'obra suptil ni prima
De nulha leg plus suptil ni plus prim,
Ni plus adreg obrier en cara rima
Ni plus pesseg sos dicz ni mielh los rim.
Mas el destreg d'Amor, tan no m'escrim,
Suy, fe que ·us deg, e no men val escrima.

II.
Si per merce · m fetz Amors apercebre
La belha que mos precs non apercep
Que denhes me per servidor recebre,
Mout feira be, e falh quar no ·m recep.
No sai per que m'auci ni ·m vol decebre,
Que bona fe l'ai on plus mi decep.
Non a en se merce, si no ·n soisep;
Mais erguelh cre, que no ·n li cal soisebre.

III.
Ben es d'amor vuej' e de merce sema.
Las! per que plor? qu'elha m'a de joi sem;
Que no ·m socor, ans se luenh' e s'estrema



I have adopted *A* as base, using the orthography of *C*.

Metrical Schema: 10 *a* b *a* b *a* b b *a*

I have preferred to print these verses as decasyllables, with interior rime, rather than as alternate four- and six-syllables, though I recognize that the latter arrangement is possible. The majority of the MSS favor the former arrangement.

The poem consists of five *coblas singulars* of eight ten-syllabled verses, with interior rime at the fourth syllable of each verse, and of a *tornada* of four verses.

Maus, *loc. cit.*, No. 249, cites no other example of this rime-arrangement in decasyllables.

No. II. — Translation

I. I do not go about without my plane and my file with which I fabricate words and plane and file them; for I see no subtle and delicate work of any sort which is subtler and more delicate than mine, nor a more skillful worker in precious rimes nor anyone who dissects more his words nor who rimes them better than I do. But I am so in the stress of Love that struggling avails me nought, however much I struggle.

II. If of his grace Love should make the Fair One who heeds not my prayers heed me, so that she should deign to accept me as her servant, he would do exceedingly well. She errs since she does not accept me. I know not why she slays me and wishes to deceive me; for I am of good faith toward her when she deceives me most. She has no mercy in her, unless she borrow some; but she trusts in pride, so that she cares not to borrow any.

III. In sooth she is void of love and deprived of mercy. Alas! Why do I weep? Because she has deprived me of joy, in that she helps me not, but on the contrary departs and takes herself away

De mi, qu'aillor vol que ·m mut e m'estrem.
Non a paor, ni tan ni quan no trema
De la dolor don ieu fremisc e trem,
Per qu'ai major mal e ·m par que plus crem,
Quar del ardor que m'art elha non crema.

IV. Tan doussamen mi ve nafrar e ponher
Qu'ieu non o sen, ni no sai ab que ·m ponh;
Pueys ses enguen mi sap guerir et onher
Ab un plazen esguart: ve ·us ab que m'onh;
Que fai mo sen ab ma voluntat jonher
Que d'un talen los truep que ·ls li' e ·ls jonh,
Per qu'ieu corren venc vas lieys don mi lonh,
Tan promet len e fai de lonhor lonher.

V. Senes manjar, dona ·m poiriatz paisser
Ab gen parlar, que ·l cortes digz me pays,
Qu'ab esquivar me tornatz en iraisser,
Per qu'om blasmar no ·m deu si m'en yrays.
Neis l'engraissar en perc; qu'ieu fora graisser.
Per autr' afar no ·m falh la carns ni ·l grays;
E s'ab prejar en vos Merces no nays,
Fora ·m, so ·m par, mielhs que fossetz a naisser.

VI. Ab dous esgar sap sos vezedors paisser
Et ab honrar N'Emilla cui joys pays,
Qu'onor ten car e pretz, qu'ab lieys renays,
E domnejar sofr' e ·l fa renaisser.

VARIANTS

I. I. Ses mos apleitz n. v. e ses ma 1. *R*; Enç mos apselg *c*; ses mal lima *P*; lina *I*, lina *corrected to* lima *K*. 2. plan *P*, aplane e *R*, aplan *U*. 3. Qieu non hi veg *CIKR*, Qieu non vieg *PQ*, Qeu non veg *Uc*; non uieng *D*; 4. tan s. ni tan p. *C*. 5. adrez *Uc*; obrar *CRU*; obrier ni cara r. *Q*. 6. Ni plus speg sos motz *P*; plech *U*, speseg *c*; pesses *R*; ni pus los rim *R*. 7. Mas el destrig tan non es ecrim *c*; damor non nos crim *D*; non nes crim *IK*; ab destreg *P*, al destreg *U*. 8. Son que feus dreg *IK*; Sotz so queus

from me, since she wills that I depart and betake myself otherwhere. She has no fear, neither does she tremble at all from the pain which makes me shudder and tremble; wherefore my woe is greater and I seem to burn the more, because she does not burn at all with the passion which burns me.

IV. So softly she comes to wound and pierce me that I do not feel it, nor do I know with what she pierces me. Then without ointment she can cure and anoint me, with a loving look. Behold with what she anoints me, in such a way that she joins my reason and my will. I find them both animated by one desire which binds and joins them, wherefore I come running toward her from whom I depart. She makes such smooth promises and makes one depart from further away (brings one back from a distance).

V. Without eating, Lady, you could feed me with a gracious speech, since the courteous word feeds me. But by your reserve you turn me to wrath, wherefore no one should blame me even if I am wroth. I even lose my fat on that account, for I should be fatter. Flesh and fat forsake me for no other reason. And if pity be not born in you with my prayer, better were it, methinks, that you were still unborn.

VI. Lady Emilia, whom joy feeds, knows well how to feed the eyes of those who look upon her, with a sweet look and with honorable entreaties, for she holds dear honor and worth, which is reborn with her, and she maintains lady-service and resurrects it when dead.

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deg qel no me val e. *P*; Que fe queus deg res no me v. e. *R*; Per fe qeus dei *U*; que no mi val *CUc*.

II. 9. fezes amors percebre *ADIKQ*; fos amor *P*; merces *U*. 10. apercebr *P*; non percep *R*; non maperceub *U*. 11. doignes *D*; mes *IK* (*with the* s *expunctuated in K*). 12. Molto fera fol qar non receub *U*; be *lacking c*; cor nom recebr *P*, ca nom percep *Q*; non *ADc*. 13. Non sa *U*; mi uol aisi decebre *R*; ni vol *Q*. 14. Que per ma fe *C*; Qi bona fe *Q*; Quen *U*; iai on p. me decebre *P*; ai eu p. me deceub *U*; ai on *c*. 15. Non a merce ab se ni non

soyssep *C*; Non ai *Uc*; si nol i soi sebr *P*; per que no mi soi sep *R*; si non sonrceub *U*, si non sox be *c*. 16. Mos orgoills *D*; cre *lacking D*; len cal *C*; qe no qal qe sen soi sebre *P*; que nol calha *R*; qe no lor (lol *c*) cal so cebre *Uc*.

III. 17. voia de m. *DIKQ*, vogo de m. *c*; Ben es amors v. de m e sema *R*. 18. per queu *IKP*; quel cor ma de ioi sem *CIKQPRUc*; qe ma *D*; mai *U*. 19. non *DU*; Si non socor *IK*; salloing e se screma *P*; anz loing esestrema *U*, anç loing sestrema *c*. 20. que mande mescrem *P*; quen mut *I*; qeu mud *Uc*; e mi strem *c*. 21. no *lacking C*; ni tan non trema *P*. 22. De ma dolor *A*; que yeu f. e t. *R*. 23. e par *C*; par *lacking P*; e pus par que crem *R*; en qer qe plus trem *U*; trem *c*. 24. Qar la dolor qi mor della non trema *U*; Qar de la dolor qi mard ella non trema *c*; quieu ai *CR*.

IV. *lacking P*. 25. me uen afar *Q*; uenc *Uc*. 26. non ai sen *CR*; a qem p. *U*, ab qe p. *c*. 28. *D repeats here* Quar non o sen *and then adds the rest of the verse;* uei ab qe *U*; ab qē ōg *Q*. 29. quem *CR*; ma ley e ma v. j. *R*; e ma v. *Cc* 30. Qi dun t. lo trob qils *U*; *after* los, prec *expunctuated R*; Qu dun t. las trob a qel jung *U*; las trob qels lie noing *c*. 31. vos leis *D*; veing *QU*. 32. T. p. leu e fay del onor 1. *R*; Tan mi p. len e f. de langor logner *U*; Tan mi p. *c*; de loignor loing *Q*.

V. *lacking P*. 33. podiatz *AD*; domna me podes *IK*. 34. dig *CQc*. 35. Qabels chiuar *Q*; en ira issir *D*, en ni ras ier *U*. 36. non deu *DIKQUc*; si mirais *R*, seu men irais *c*. 37. N. lin grassar em perd qeum (qeun *c*) fora g. *Uc*; Neus *DIKQ*; les graissar *Q*; la graysa en *R*; graissier *I*; quem feira g. *C*. 38. non fail *U*; la carn *CRUc*, lan car *Q*; el grais *U*. 39. E sapchatz sien uos merce no nais *R*; preia *I*; merce *CDQU*. 40. Foran son par *D*; son par *I*, so'n par *Q*; queu fossetz *Qc*.

VI. *lacking P*. 41. so foçedors *Q*, los uencedors *R*, senz uenzedor *Uc*. 42. E ab emar ne nulla c. j. p. *Q*; E ab onrat *U*; ma dona cui *C*, la bela cui *R*; joi *Uc*. 43. qu' *lacking R*. 44. Ab bels captiens quen aysa fai r. *R*; E d. sufrer fai mort r. *U*; sa mort enaisser *A*, fa mort enaisser *D*; soste e fai r. *C*; sofrel famor enaisser *Q*; fal *IK*.

Notes

3. d'obra. This construction, partitive *de* after negative verbs, is very rare in Provençal. Cf., however, Bernart de Ventadorn (ed. C. Appel), 31, 45: *non ai de sen per un efan*.

6. The subject of *pesseg* (3 sg. pres. subj. of the verb *pesejar*, "break, crush, tear," here used figuratively, "dissect, analyze"), is the relative *que* understood. For similar paratactic constructions in Provençal see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn*, XXI (1906), 566 ff.

9. Here the rime arrangement forbids the adoption of the reading *fezes amors percebre* of the MSS *ADIKQ*, which is otherwise preferable to the reading adopted in the text. I interpret *fetz* as a shortened by-form of the imperfect subjunctive, equivalent to the later *fes*, found in Amanieu de Sescas, Guiraut Riquier and other late troubadours.

21–22. Appel (in E. Levy, *Provenzal. Supplement-Wörterbuch*, VIII, 426) doubts the existence of a verb *tremar* in Old Provençal. He was apparently unacquainted with this passage, which confirms Jeanroy's interpretation of William of Poitou, 10, 15. The existence of *tremar* (which I would explain as a contamination-form from *tremer* + *tremblar*) must now be recognized.

31–32. The most difficult passage in this song. The reading *de lonhor lonher* seems assured by the agreement of all the MSS except *MR*. I interpret *len*, 32, as adverbial *lene* and believe that Aimeric has coined the verb *lonher* (ordinarily *lonhar*) for the rime's sake. The expression *lonher de lonhor* "go far from farther," I take as a conceit for "come nearer," quite in keeping with the affected taste of the whole piece.

33. Here the sense demands the reading *poiriatz* rather than *podiatz* of *ADIK*.

42. N'Emilla is evidently the lady of like name praised by Aimeric in two other songs, 10, 3, and 10, 53. She was the wife of Count Pietro Traversara, and flourished *ca.* 1220. See Bergert, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77, and *Modern Philology*, XXIII (1925), 23.

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NOTES

THE LANGUAGE OF THE *STRASSBURG OATHS*

In his article published in Speculum, I (1926), 410–438, Mr James Westfall Thompson seeks to show that the French portion of the text of the *Strassburg Oaths* was a tenth-century translation. He asserts that the two passages recited in "*romana lingua*" by Louis and by the army of Charles, according to the sole extant manuscript of Nithard's *Historia*, in which the *Oaths* are contained, were originally in the usual Latin of the ninth century. By "usual Latin" Mr Thompson explains that he means written Mediaeval Latin, not the *lingua vulgaris*. In support of his thesis, he argues: (1) that the ninth-century testimony bearing on the term *romana lingua* is that it invariably means Latin; (2) that, as used of the *Oaths*, *romana lingua* could not mean Old French; for Old French did not exist in the ninth century, no Romance language being at that time sufficiently differentiated from the Latin to possess a separate identity and to be regarded as a national speech; (3) that north Gaul was predominantly German in the ninth century; that the only other language was the Vulgar Latin of the peasantry of Roman ancestry, and this Latin had not yet become Old French; (4) that in the other pacts or treaties of the period the vernacular is not quoted, and that, unless it be in the treaty of Coblenz, no mention is made of its having been employed; (5) that many of the word-forms in the French text of the *Oaths* are of a period later than 842, and that other linguistic evidence in the text suggests that it is a translation from Latin.

Mr Thompson lists as the languages of Latin origin which were written or spoken in ninth-century Gaul: (1) Written Latin (i.e., classical Latin modified by 'low' Latin and by Vulgar Latin), (2) Vulgar Latin, and (3) Ecclesiastical Latin. He then makes two equations: *romana lingua* = Written Latin; and *lingua rustica* or *rustica romana lingua* or *lingua vulgaris* or *lingua inerudita* = Vulgar Latin. His citation from an itinerary [1] of 868–870, where he interprets *omnes . . . linguam loquentes romanam* as meaning 'all those of Latin blood, whether from Gaul, Italy or Spain, among whom Latin was still a common and universal speech,' would seem to indicate that he considers written Mediaeval Latin to have been at that time the colloquial speech of Romania.

The accredited view has been that the *lingua romana* was the language spoken by that portion of the population of the Roman empire which

[1] *Itinerarium Bernardi Monachi Franci.*

used in their intercourse speech of which the basis was Latin but which differed materially from written Latin, and that thus *lingua romana* was the name employed when need was felt to apply a distinguishing term to the colloquial speech. This interpretation makes *lingua romana* the equivalent of *lingua vulgaris* (*vulgaris* meaning 'usual,' 'every-day,' 'common'). To this *lingua romana* or *lingua vulgaris* still other terms could be applied, such as *lingua inerudita*, *sermo cotidianus*, *sermo vivus*, *sermo usualis*. Varieties of the *lingua vulgaris* could, according to circumstances, be embraced in the general term or be specially designated; for example, *lingua rustica*. As between the designations *lingua vulgaris* and *lingua romana*, the first was more particularly appropriate when the contrast was with the *lingua erudita* (i.e., written Latin); the second, when the contrast was with the *lingua barbarae* of the non-Latin-speaking peoples or with some *lingua barbara* such as the *lingua teudisca*. In cases where there was occasion to differentiate between geographical varieties of the *lingua romana*, such terms as *lingua gallica* or *lingua italica* were employed.

For a century evidence has progressively accumulated of the changes differentiating in ever-increasing measure the colloquial language from the general form of all the written Latin we know or have ground to think existed in the corresponding periods: entire disappearance of vowels in certain positions, weakening and alerntations of others, assimilation of consonants, simplification of genders, disappearance of cases and of whole declensions, reductions and confusion of terminations, veritable revolutions in vocabulary, and endless things more. The written language reveals numerous traces of the modifying influence of the colloquial language, and consequently, in degree varying according to epoch and author, it deviated from the classical Latin. The divergence between the written language and the colloquial language must by the ninth century have been vast, all the more so because the revival of letters in Charlemagne's time had brought the written Latin back much nearer to the classical Latin. That the church ritual continued to be recited in Latin doubtless preserved for the ears of the *laici* a certain familiarity with the external form of the ecclesiastical Latin. However, since, as Mr Thompson very justly observes, "languages do not spring, they grow," and since French is unquestionably a continuation of the *lingua vulgaris*, it would be surprising if there is evidence that the book-Latin of Nithard and his contemporaries, or anything approximating it, was a current colloquial medium for any save perhaps the *eruditi* in their intercourse with *eruditi*. It would be even more surprising if there is evidence that the *lingua vulgaris* of north Gaul, which is but an early stage of Old French, is to be differentiated from the *lingua romana* of north Gaul. Such evidence might well have been equally surprising to the writers of the Old-French period itself, who regularly used the term *roman*

when they wished to contrast their *langue vulgaire* with the *langue des clercs*. Let us see then what facts and arguments Mr Thompson brings in support of his claims.

Mr Thompson begins by pointing out the use, during Merovingian times, of *lingua romana* to differentiate Latin from German (*lingua barbara*). He next presents the cases of Saint Mummolinus (seventh century) and Saint Adalhard (ninth century), of whom it is stated that they were versed in three languages, *romana lingua, theutonica*, and Latin. But, he continues, the statements are made in *Vitae* of the tenth and eleventh centuries, at which time "French was the dominant speech of all Gaul." Further, in the case of the *Vita Adalhardi* the eleventh-century writer must have embroidered his facts, since a ninth-century *Vita Adalhardi* mentions only *barbara quam Teutiscam dicunt*, and *latina*. Therefore Mr Thompson draws a conclusion that there is no evidence in the ninth century for the existence of Romance speech. The term *lingua romana*, he says, which in the tenth century meant '*roman*,' was the ninth-century designation for written Mediaeval Latin. The sole evidence brought forth in support of this last statement is two passages, one from Einhard, the other from the already-mentioned *Itinerarium* of the monk Bernard. In the first passage, Einhard speaks of himself as a "barbarian [i.e., a German], and little versed in the Roman tongue (*in romana locutione*)," and as one who imagined that he "could write Latin without offense and usefully (*decenter aut commode latine scribere posse putauerim*)." "Obviously, says Mr Thompson, here *romana locutio* means normal written Mediaeval Latin." But he does not define *latine*. It would seem rather that *latine* means 'in normal written Mediaeval Latin,' and *in romana locutione* means 'in the language of Romania' as distinguished from Einhard's own *lingua barbara*. Let us continue to the second passage, from the *Itinerarium*. As we have already seen, Mr Thompson states that *linguam romanam*, in the phrase *omnes . . . linguam loquentes romanam*, indicates the "common and universal speech" of the Latin inhabitants of Romania, and that none of the Romance languages were as yet sufficiently differentiated from Latin to possess distinct identities as national speeches.[1] Despite Mr Thompson's statement that

[1] Certainly such a statement would have been denied by G. Paris, who writes (*Lecture faite à la réunion des Sociétés savantes*, 1888): "Si on avait demandé, il y a un millier d'années, à un habitant de la Gaule, de l'Espagne, de l'Italie, de la Rhétie, ou de la Mésie: 'Que parles-tu?', il aurait répondu, suivant son pays: 'Romanz, romanzo, romance, roumounsch, roumeuns,' toutes formes variées d'un seul et même mot, l'adverbe *romanice*, qui signifie 'dans la langue des Romains.' "

For more recent discussions of Vulgar Latin in Spain and Gaul, see J. Pirson, "Le Latin des Formules Mérovingiennes et Carolingiennes," *Roman. Forsch.*, XXVI (1909), 834–944, and Menéndez Pidal (*Orígines del Español*, Madrid, 1926).

It must be observed also that Mr Thompson (p. 416, note 3) quotes a passage from the

lingua romana meant written Mediaeval Latin, we hesitate to infer that he believes that the "common and universal speech" was also written Mediaeval Latin. That it was ecclesiastical Latin is out of the question. Mr Thompson is therefore committed to an acceptance of *lingua romana* as a possible designation for the vernacular, namely, Vulgar Latin. However, he continually maintains a distinction between Vulgar Latin and Old French, though he avoids any statement more specific than that in the ninth century Vulgar Latin had not yet become Old French.[1] This latter, he asserts, was designated *lingua gallica*. But this assertion is based on passages in which there is no evidence that the term had any other meaning than "the language of Gaul," which was Vulgar Latin. In one case, where both *lingua gallica* and *lingua romana* are found (p. 416, note 3), he accepts them both as equivalent to Old French. Mr Thompson is clearly at a loss to preserve separate identities for Vulgar Latin and Old French; this is not surprising. So confused is he in fact that near the close of his article (p. 434) he writes, unconsciously abandoning the futile attempt: "French or the Vulgar Latin which passed for it in the ninth century." Mr Thompson has produced no evidence which contradicts the accepted view that Old French of the tenth century, the existence of which he admits, was anything save the direct and sole continuation of the *lingua romana* of Gaul; and he has presented no facts which in any way discredit the equally accepted view that *lingua romana* is the equivalent of Vulgar Latin, of which other equivalents were, according to circumstances, *lingua inerudita*, *sermo cotidianus*, *sermo vivus*, *sermo usualis*, *lingua rustica*, *lingua vulgaris*, *lingua gallica*, *rustica romana lingua*.

Mr Thompson asserts, as further support of his hypothesis, that owing to certain political facts the use of "a '*roman*' form of language" in the *Oaths* would be out of the question in 842. He bases this assertion upon the affirmation that in the ninth century "German was the reigning language all over *northern* Gaul," and says: "Since Charles's adherents were almost wholly drawn from the North and Northeast provinces which, as we have seen, were still strongly German in language, and further, since the language of the court was German, why should a '*roman*' form of language have been resorted to in the *Strassburg Oaths*? For the benefit of Charles's mere handful of supporters from the Midi? One cannot believe

monk of Saint Gall to prove that *lingua gallica* meant Old French in 884, only fourteen years after the time of Bernard's account of the *Itinerarium*.

[1] His inference (p. 429, note 2), from *Hist. Litt.*, VI, 3, that Vulgar Latin, as distinct from Old French, seems still to have persisted in some regions, is not justified by the article in question. Furthermore, the same paragraph from which he draws his inference contains the following illuminating words: "en gaulois du temps, ou langue vulgaire, qu'on nomma depuis romancière."

it." A second and perhaps more pertinent question, which Mr Thompson does not ask, is: If Charles's adherents, with the exception of a "mere handful of supporters from the Midi," were strongly German in language, why was it necessary for Louis to swear in *lingua romana?* For the benefit of the "mere handful from the Midi"? And why did the troops of Charles swear in *lingua romana* instead of in German? The answer to these questions is clearly that *lingua romana* was the prevailing vernacular among the people north of the Loire in 842. It is a matter of common knowledge that German was in the ninth century the reigning language of the court, although we may question the statement which denies to Louis the Pious knowledge of any other idiom and pronounces upon the linguistic preference of Charles the Bald. But there is no evidence that German was the reigning language of the people. The letters of Loup de Ferrières referred to by Mr Thompson show how difficult it was to maintain a knowledge of German even among the nobility, their sons having to be sent to school in German territory that they might acquire it.[1]

Mr Thompson next invokes the testimony of other compacts in which Charles the Bald and his brothers figured, stating that an examination of these will strengthen the hypothesis that the original text of the *Strassburg Oaths* was in Latin. What does result from an examination of them is a realization that the circumstances of the *Strassburg Oaths* are in no way comparable to those of these other pacts, the treaty of Coblenz excepted. These other pacts are treaties, which were subscribed to in an ecclesiastical building and distinguished by the "cautious minuteness" necessary in such documents, and for which Latin would be the normal legal medium. The *Strassburg Oaths*, being sworn to in the open and with the assembled armies as co-jurors, have a particular reason for the use of the vernacular. Written Mediaeval Latin would have been incomprehensible to the mass of the soldiers, and these same soldiers, in pronouncing their reciprocal oaths, must of necessity have employed their respective vernaculars. In contrast to the *Strassburg Oaths*, the treaty of Aachen, in 877, is a diplomatic document, and as such offers an explanation for the use in it of Latin and German, and also for the absence of need for transcripts into the Romance vernacular, even if Fulda's testimony were conclusive that there were none. As for the treaty of Coblenz, the record states: (1) that Louis makes his

[1] Loup, in expressing his gratitude to Marcward of Prüm for teaching German to the three youths who had been sent to Prüm to acquire the language, refers to it as one would to a foreign tongue (*linguae 'vestrae' pueros fecistis participes*). Regarding this *lingua vestra*, Loup says: *cuius usum hoc tempore pernecessarium nemo nisi nimis tardus ignorat*, a statement into which Mr Thompson reads more than it contains, when he interprets it as meaning: "A knowledge of German is still very necessary around Ferrières unless a man would be considered a blockhead."

declaration in *lingua theodisca* (the text thereof being set forth in Latin and in Latin only); (2) that Charles made the same declaration in *romana lingua* (text not quoted) and recapitulated it in *lingua theodisca* (text not quoted); (3) that Louis requested in *lingua romana* a promise of pardon for men of Charles who had adhered to Louis, and that Charles gave this promise in *lingua romana* (the text of request and response being set forth in Latin). The procedure is, as Mr Thompson says, similar to that at Strassburg, care being taken to employ German when those were involved who could understand only German and employ *lingua romana* when those were involved who could understand only *lingua romana.* In the present instance, however, the wording of the declarations in German and in *lingua romana* was not made a matter of record, it being considered adequate to record their content in the written Latin of the annalist.

Before passing to his linguistic argument, Mr Thompson states that historical conditions in the tenth century lend support to his hypothesis that the original form of the *Oaths* was Latin. He argues that the translation of the *Strassburg Oaths* into '*roman*' took place during the reign of Charles the Simple, when the search for precedents for the feudal oath then in process of development "created a keen interest in the *Strassburg Oaths.*" Even if it were possible to prove the interest of the tenth-century legists in the *Strassburg Oaths*, there would be nothing to show that they must have gone back to a Latin original rather than to one in '*roman.*' It is not impossible that Charles the Simple may have known and employed the *Strassburg Oaths* to strengthen his position; it is equally possible that they were wholly unknown to him.

The argument advanced by Mr Thompson as to the part played by the scribes in the deformation of the extant Old-French text of the *Oaths* is not sufficiently clear to admit of analysis. He is misleading in asserting that the German text is remarkably accurate and in assuming that the French is extremely faulty.[1] He seems to be in favor of a German copyist who did not understand French. Faced with the possibility that a later scribe might have been unable to understand the language of a previous generation, he demands: "Why have we so few monuments of so potent and virile a language?" It would seem reasonable that a language will show change much more rapidly when not fixed by writing, and that any attempt at transcribing a speech lacking in written precedent will prove puzzling to those who came afterwards.

From a consideration of the linguistic forms of the *Strassburg Oaths*, Mr Thompson advances arguments to the effect that these forms would have been impossible in the ninth century. The greater part of these argu-

[1] For a discussion of the German text, see J. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, VI, 403, 404.

ments consists of unanswered questions to which the answers would almost invariably be unfavorable to the author's thesis. As regards the forms of the future, there is no testimony in all the north French territory save for the amalgamated forms. The *Deus satisfacere habet*—which would certainly be most surprising in a French text — is not from the *Sainte Eulalie*, as Mr Thompson states, but from a Latin life of Saint Euphrosyne.[1] A bit more than personal doubt would seem necessary to convict *dreit* of anachronism when we find *drictum* in 802. *Dist* is quite probably to be read *dift* (*debet*). Mr Thompson fails to realize that *fazet* and *facet* can represent the same pronunciation, the *z* and *c* being alternative writings for the same sound, *ts*. There is reason why *om* and *pois* should be not only possible in the ninth century, but even very natural. *Ad Ludher* is without value as argument one way or the other, since it merely represents an influence from the South. As for the dialect, for which Mr Thompson suggests a Burgundo-Lotharingian origin in view of the affiliations of Charles the Simple, we feel that the political relations of Charles could have had little effect upon the dialect of Mr Thompson's supposed transcriber.

The sole positive evidence presented by Mr Thompson for a Latin original for the Old-French texts of the *Strassburg Oaths* is certain Latin legal terms preserved in the texts, and the position of two verbs. The preservation of these Latin legal terms need cause no surprise when we consider the large number of similar cases in the English of the present day. Nor does the position of the verbs *dunat* and *conservat* throw any real discredit on the texts. It merely indicates that a scribe, unaccustomed to write any language except Latin, preserved the Latin order in writing a language in which order was far from fixed.

The only written Mediaeval Latin which we know, or for which we have any shade of testimony, is the Latin which has come down to us in the mediaeval manuscripts: a school Latin more or less approximating written Latin of the days of the Roman Empire. This is, so far as we believe, the Latin which every one who could write at all made use of as his means of written communication. Nithard and various authors who had received substantial schooling wrote it reasonably well; others, who had received little, botched it sadly, but they were none the less striving to write the *lingua erudita*, not a standardized form of the colloquial speech of their time. The *romana lingua* of the *Strassburg Oaths* was manifestly not the erudite Latin of the rest of Nithard's *Historia*. What it was we shall best see if we permit Nithard to recount what took place at Strassburg in 842, merely condensing his own words. On February 14, Louis and Charles meet in Strassburg and swear, Louis in *romana lingua* and Charles

[1] See A. Boucherie, "La Vie de Sainte Euphrosyne," *Rev. d. Lang. Rom.*, II (1871), 38.

in *teudisca lingua*, the oaths hereafter noted. But before swearing Louis addresses the commingled plebs in *teudisca lingua*, Charles in *romana lingua*. Louis rises first and begins: *Quotiens Lodharius*, etc. (The text, just stated as being spoken in *teudisca lingua*, is set down in erudite Latin; in this speech Louis recounts the events leading up to this public conference of the two brothers, adding: "And since we believe that you have doubts of the stability of our fraternal feeling, we have decided to exchange an oath in your presence.") Charles then recites these same words in *romana lingua*. (The text is not repeated.) Louis then swears: *Pro Deo amur*, etc. (Being the text of an oath, the very words are reproduced in the *romana lingua* in which they were spoken.) Charles then affirms the same words in *teudisca lingua: In Godes minna*, etc. The oath which each *populus* then swears in its own language runs thus in *romana lingua: Si Lodhuvigs sagrament*, etc.; and thus in *teudisca lingua: Oba Karl*, etc.

It seems clear enough that by *romana lingua* the vernacular is indicated: Old French, or, if one prefers the term, Vulgar Latin. Whether one chooses to call this vernacular in the ninth century Old French or Vulgar Latin is after all a matter of individual preference; but, for convenience, it is necessary to fix upon some moment at which we shall adopt the name Old French. Should any one desire to elect as that moment the tenth century or even the period of the first artistic literary productions in the popular speech which have come down to us, there need be no objection, save the confusion which might be caused by a deviation from the long-accepted usage of most Romance scholars, who prefer the year 842, in which took place the events which have given us the earliest extant specimen of written *lingua romana*, the spoken language of the inhabitants of north Gaul.

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GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S KING ARTHUR

In the January number of Speculum (1927), in an exceedingly well-ordered article, Mr Gerould seeks to do belated justice to Geoffrey of Monmouth's treatment of the romantic figure of King Arthur. His conclusion, stated on page 49, is that "Geoffrey formed Arthur in the image of Charlemagne — for very good and sufficient reasons, as [he has] tried to show." "If Arthur became the centre for the exploits of the knights of the Round Table, but himself took small part in them, it was because his position had been fixed by Geoffrey as a world-conqueror. . . . It is not without significance that Geoffrey listed the Twelve Peers of France among Arthur's lords."

As for Geoffrey's motive in doing this, we may agree with Mr Gerould that it was [in part] political, though it is possible to hold a view, previously advocated, differing somewhat from his. To this we shall return presently.

What concerns us here primarily is the statement made at the outset by Mr Gerould:

> In all the writings about these matters, however, I cannot find that anyone has ever suggested a line of inquiry that seems to me very helpful to an understanding of why and how the Arthurian romances came into being.

Surely, had Mr Gerould followed up his reference to Bruce (footnote, p. 33), he would have found that the late, too quickly forgotten Wendelin Foerster "suggested a line of inquiry," not unlike his own, which is summarized (*Wörterbuch*, Halle, 1914, p. 15*) as follows:

> Ein glühender Patriot, wollte er [Geoffrey] für sein Vaterland einen ähnlichen Ruhmestitel schaffen, wie ihn die Herren seiner Heimat in ihrem Kaiser Karl dem Grossen besassen. . . . Diese Absicht, in Arthur ein Gegenstück gegen Karl zu schaffen, erklärt sein ganzes Werk und sein Vorgehen. . . . Es konnte auch kein Anglo-Normanne und schon gar nicht ein Franzose auf diesen Gedanken kommen, gegen seinen eigenen alten guten Karl einen noch glänzenderen fremden Herrscher als Rivalen zu schaffen.

In fact, Bruce himself tempers this view (anticipating Mr Gerould) by saying (*Arthurian Romance*, I, 23):

> Moreover, it touched the vanity of the Anglo-Norman nobility, who were now *identified with Great Britain* [the italics are mine], that they could claim a hero who was the equal, if not the superior, of Charlemagne, the great hero of their Continental kinsmen.

Compare Mr Gerould's remark (p. 45):

> It is Geoffrey of Monmouth's one clear title to genius, I believe, that he saw the situation as it was: that only from British history could the want be supplied.

Did space permit, it would be interesting to trace the genesis of the above idea in its various phases. But may I point out that as early as 1825 the reviewer of Dunlop's *History of Fiction* (Vienna, *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, XXIX, 103) had said:

> Uebrigens glauben wir im Artus schon zuerst ein Hervortreten der politischen Verhältnisse zu bemerken, welche in den Romanen von Karl dem Grossen den Mittelpunkt bilden.

And the redoubtable Zimmer, on whom Foerster generally relied, is sponsor of the idea (see Gerould, quoted above) that the Round Table was suggested by the model of Charlemagne and the Twelve Peers — however doubtful so simple an explanation may be. Zimmer (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1890, Nr. 20, p. 830) then proceeds as follows:

Dass aber diese Umgestaltung nicht von Chrétien, dem ältesten bekannten französischen Bearbeiter der bretonischen Arthurstoffe, in die Sage gebracht wurde, dafür ist Wace in seiner Uebersetzung von Gottfrieds Historia regum Britanniae . . . ein vollgültiges Zeugnis. . . . Mit dieser Umgestaltung Arthurs nach Charlemagne scheint mir eine weitere in engem Zusammenhang zu stehen;

and Zimmer next develops further more or less useful analogues. See, also, his remarks (*loc. cit.*, pp. 824 ff.) on Geoffrey's use of material recalling the epoch of William the Conqueror.

On the other hand, it was especially Geoffrey's cultural import that Gaston Paris and his followers came to uphold. The third edition of his *Manuel* (1905) reads:

Gaufrei a ainsi réussi à faire accepter les contes bretons comme dignes de l'intérêt général, et a contribué, par sa brillante peinture de la cour d'Arthur, à leur donner un caractère chevaleresque et courtois qui leur était à l'origine absolument étranger.

This courtly side requires no further explanation here, although Mr Gerould, in his otherwise stimulating discussion, does not seem to me to do it entire justice.

If I may be permitted to quote my own words, it was in the spirit of my predecessors in this field that I wrote (*History of French Literature*, New York: Holt, 1922, p. 41): "The fountain-head for the history of King Arthur is the *Historia regum Britanniae*," . . . in which "Arthur appears as the exemplar of chivalry, the *courtois* British counterpart of the French Charlemagne."

Since it is obvious that Mr Gerould's "line of inquiry" is not original, it is equally obvious that he has given it fresh impetus by reinterpreting for us the political aspects of the case. Foerster's idea, reëchoed by other scholars, is that Geoffrey was actuated by patriotic motives (*ein glühender Patriot*): he wanted to exalt the Celts. Mr Gerould, if I follow him correctly, thinks Geoffrey wished to please the ruling British house [see Bruce's statement: "now identified with Great Britain"]. Hence, as Mr Acton Griscom has clearly shown, Geoffrey changed the original dedication of the *Historia* to put Stephen of Blois in the first place, ahead of Robert of Gloucester. The last observation — together with the testimony adduced (see Gerould, pp. 48 ff.) concerning the influence of Geoffrey until the close of Stephen's reign — seems convincing. But the one purpose can hardly be considered as excluding the other (see Gerould, p. 38). If Geoffrey wanted to 'put over' the Celtic idea, he would naturally conciliate the party in power; and if he wished primarily to make propaganda for Stephen by romanticizing England's past his best method was to exalt the Celts (and Romans). The argument works both ways. Let us bear in mind that Geoffrey did *not* erase the name of his real patron, Robert of Gloucester, from his dedication.

Personally, I therefore see no objection to Foerster's essential position, as stated above. On page 37, Mr Gerould interprets the phrase *ex Britannia advexit* of Geoffrey's epilogue as "brought from Wales." This is part of a moot question; but since Mr Gerould omits direct references, see Zimmer, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XII (1890), 255; Brugger, *ibid.*, XX (1898), 79 ff., XXVII (1905), 69 ff.; Lot, *Romania*, XXIV (1895), 497 ff.; XXV (1896), 1 ff., XXVIII (1899), 1 ff., and Bruce, p. 60, who refers to the excellent summary of Annette B. Hopkins, *The Influence of Wace on the Arthurian Romances of Crestien de Troyes*, Menasha, Wis.: Banta, 1913, chap. 4. In any case, Geoffrey (v, 13) states: *regnum Armoricum, quod nunc Britannia dicitur*, and Lot, referring to Brugger, remarks (*Rom.*, XXVIII, 1899, 5):

> Tout d'abord l'auteur a raison quand il soutient que, au XIIe siècle, le mot *Bretagne* ne s'entend jamais du pays de Galles, en particulier.

Since the epilogue itself reads:

> I leave the history of the kings of the people of Wales [*in Gualiis*] . . . to Caradoc of Llancarvan; and that of the kings of the Saxons [*reges vero Saxonum*] to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. But I advise them to be silent about the kings of the Britons, since they have not that book in the British tongue which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Britain [*Britannia*],

it seems clear that Geoffrey here means by Britain, Armorica and not Wales. So, too, to mention but one other item, the location of Arthur's court by Geoffrey at Caerleon-upon-Usk [*Urbs Legionum*] may be due (see Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, p. 114) to a desire to please Robert of Gloucester, but, in so doing, Geoffrey was also pleasing himself. Here was a definite link between his own race and Rome. We now know, thanks to the brilliant study on L. Artorius Castus by Professor Kemp Malone (*Mod. Phil.*, XXII (1925), 367 ff.), that the name Arthur was borne by a Roman military leader of note in Britain, an historical *dux bellorum*. It is significant that Geoffrey joins to his own name that of *Arturus*, which doubtless means that his father was so called (Fletcher, p. 44).

As regards Mr Gerould's literary material, one might add that Manessier, and possibly Wauchier de Denain, continued Crestien's *Conte del graal* for Joan of Flanders; that Eilhart von Oberge composed his redaction of the *Tristan* for Mathilda, daughter of Eleanor and Henry II; that the *Lanzelet* is a translation of a French book brought to Germany by Hugo of Morville, one of the slayers of Thomas à Becket (see Bruce, p. 207); that the *Perlesvaus* is probably a piece of Glastonbury propaganda, in which the Angevins are partly concerned; and that Robert de Boron was more probably a native of the village of Boron, eighteen kilometers north-

east of Montbéliard; that is, "he wrote in an East-French dialect and not in Anglo-Norman" (see *Manly Anniversary Studies*, p. 311). No one doubts that his patron was Gautier de Montbéliard, who went on the Fourth Crusade with the Flemish contingent.

But these are only 'carping' details. The important thing is that Mr Gerould has ably revived and expanded one of Foerster's life-long ideas; his synthesis is, in many respects, — see, particularly, his historical discussion, — a new creation. Geoffrey Vindicatus, Foerster Redivivus!

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PALUS INAMABILIS

Professor Klaeber's recent note on *mistige moras* (*Béowulf*, 162),[1] calling attention as it does to the connection between ideas of hell and the fen districts, gives one an incentive to bring together from classical and mediaeval literature some cases in which the lower world or a part of it is designated as a marsh. One asks, incidentally, whether, in the phrase quoted, *mistige moras*, there may not be another possible Virgilian parallel to add to those enumerated by Mr Klaeber in his well-known study of the *Aeneid* and *Béowulf*.[2] In 1907 Professor A. S. Cook assembled from Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Seneca, and Silius Italicus descriptions of the underworld, and of scenes connected with it, for comparison with the picture of the approach to Grendel's haunt (*Béowulf*, 1408 ff.).[3] In several of these *palus* occurs. Sarrazin, in 1910, pointed out a parallelism between the situation of Grendel's abode and that of the classic Hades, which had to be entered by way of the Avernian marshes.[4] If in the Beowulfian phrase *mor* is the equivalent of *palus*, it at once brings to mind the *tenebrosa palus* of the *Aeneid:*

> Unum oro: quando hic inferni janua regis
> Dicitur et *tenebrosa palus* Acheronte refuso,
> Ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora
> Contingat: doceas iter et sacra ostia pandas.[5]

There are three additional passages in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* in which some part of the lower world is referred to as *palus*.

[1] "Beowulfiana," *Anglia*, L (1926), 113. Cp. Klaeber's note on 1357 ff. in his edition of *Beowulf*.

[2] "Aeneis und Beowulf," Herrig's *Archiv.*, CXXVI (1911), 40–48, 339–359.

[3] "*Beowulf* 1408 ff.," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXII (1907), 146, 147. Cited by Klaeber, *Archiv.*, CXXVI: "Aeneis und Beowulf."

[4] "Neue Beowulfstudien," *Engl. Stud.*, XLII (1910), 14. Cited by Klaeber, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Aen.*, vi, 106–109.

(1) Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles,
Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque *paludem* [1]
(2) Aut tu, si qua via est, si quam tibi diva creatrix
Ostendit (neque enim, credo, sine numine divum
Flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare *paludem*) [2]
(3) Fas obstat, tristique *palus* inamabilis unda
Alligat et noviens Styx interfusa coercet.[3]

In the *Georgics*, also, in the lines recounting the fruitless effort of Orpheus to lead Eurydice back into the world of the living, *palus* occurs twice in this same sense:

(1) Quos circum limus niger, et deformis arundo
Cocyti tardaque, *palus* inamabilis unda
alligat et noviens Styx interfusa coercet [4]
(2) . . . nec portitor Orci
Amplius obiectam passus transire *paludem*. [5]

Ovid, in giving the conversation between Phoebus and Phaeton in which Phoebus reluctantly grants Phaeton permission to drive the chariot of the sun for one day, represents Phoebus as swearing the inviolable oath of the gods. He says:

. . . promisi testis adesto
Dis iuranda *palus*, oculis incognita nostris.[6]

In the *Hercules Furens* of Seneca, one finds,

Palus inertis foeda Cocyti iacet.[7]

The same usage comes out in Dante and in Old French. In the *Inferno* one reads

(1) Une *palude* fa, che ha nome Stige [8]
(2) Questa *palude*, che il gran puzzo spira,
cinge d'intornola citta dolente
u' non potemo entrare omai senz'ira.[9]

As early as the twelfth century one finds in Old French *palu* representing the Styx or the classical underworld. In the *Roman d'Eneas* the Cumaean Sibyl speaks as follows:

Voiz ici la fluve enfernal
et la *palu* que parjurer
n'osent li dé ne trespasser
et la grant gent qui s'i aune
ce sont ames; n'an i a une

[1] *Aen.*, vi., 322, 323. [2] *Ibid.*, 367–369. [3] *Ibid.*, 438, 439.
[4] *Georgics*, iv, 479, 480. This passage is given by Cook in the article cited above.
[5] *Ibid.*, 502, 503. [6] *Met.*, ii, 45, 46. [7] See v. 690. Quoted by Cook, *loc. cit.*
[8] *Inf.*, vii, 106. [9] *Ibid.*, ix, 31–33.

qui ja lo flueve vaiant vont,
devant cent anz n'i passeront.
Celes qui ont bien lor droiture
et dont li cors ont sepulture
celes passe, ne sert d'el faire;
pais ne est conte del repaire,
et quant de la sont trespassees,
d'une *palu* sont abevrees,
des qu'il an ont un po beu
oblie ont et tot perdu
quant qu'il avoient fait lessus:
ne lor an membre puis caus,
d'an arriere n'ont remembrance.
Lethes a nom cest'obliance.[1]

Palu in the second instance may be used without any of its primary significance. But even so the secondary sense of *Styx*, or, by extension, *river*, is clearly derived from the marshy character attributed to the Styx.

The English descendant of the *Roman d'Eneas*, Caxton's *Eneydos* (1490), gives a clear example of the word in question used in its primary sense with reference to the realm of the dead. Dido in her lament after the departure of Aeneas, says:

"But not for that/I desire and wisshe that erste thabysme of thobscure erthe swolowe me/or thegrete fader almighty to plonge and submerge me under the botoms of the depe *palusshe* infernalle.". . . .[2]

The *Roman de la Rose* shows two instances of *palu d'enfer*, both of which seem to refer to the Styx. The first

Encor vous en jur e tesmoing
La *palu d'enfer* a tesmoing [3]

is glossed by Langlois as "le Styx sur lequel juraient les dieux." [4] For the second,[5] is given the Ovidian source in which *Styga* corresponds to *palu d'enfer*.[6]

The examples quoted, although they by no means represent a complete survey, show that there was a distinct classical tradition for designating the lower world, or the Styx as a symbol of the lower world, *palus*, and that this tradition either survived or was brought to light again in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Mr Carleton Brown has suggested that in the association of the fens or marshes with conceptions of hell there is perhaps a combination

[1] Ed. J. J. Salverda de Grave, vol. I (1925), vv. 2484 ff.
[2] Ed. W. T. Culley and F. J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 57, Ch. XI, p. 42.
[3] Ed. E. Langlois, vol. III (1921), vv. 10837, 10838.
[4] *Ibid.*, Notes, p. 307. [5] *Ibid.*, vol. I, v. 13127. [6] *Ibid.*, Notes, p. 272.

of literary and popular tradition. The story of King Radbod which Mr Brown has quoted is an instance in point for the popular side. A devil, having led a Christian deacon and a certain Frisian into '*loca incognita*' shows them a vision of the mansions prepared for the dying King Radbod. The deacon, "*obstupefactus*," says, "*Si a Deo cunctipotente facta sunt ista, perpetuo maneant, si autem diabolo, cito dispereant.*" The devil, who up to this time has had the form of a man, now takes on his true appearance "*et domus aurea est in lutum: remanseruntque biduo simul, Fresio videlicet et diaconus, in medio locorum palustrium quae plena erant longissimus rauseis virgultis.*" . . .[1] This passage, although it does not actually employ the figure of the marsh for hell, yet clearly connects the machinations of demons with marshy places.

To gain an idea of the important part played by lakes, pits, and mire in mediaeval notions of hell, one has only to read Mr Becker's monograph on *Mediaeval Visions of Heaven and Hell.* In at least one of these visions, that of the Monk of Eynsham, the word *palustri* is used in the description of the first purgatory. The passage, usually dated 1196, is as follows:

> Incedabamus igitur per viam planam, recto orientis tramite, quosque pervenimus in regionem quandam nimis spatiosam, visu horrendam, *palustri* situ et luto in duritiem inspissato deformem.[2]

A French bestiary probably written, according to Paul Meyer, at the end of the twelfth or at the beginning of the thirteenth century, shows *palu* clearly used to designate the Christian hell, or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, the Christian purgatory.

> Jhesu Crist qui le monde fit
> Por ce pechie nostre char priest
> Et de la *palu* nos traist fors,
> Plus estoiens soillie que pors.[3]

In the *Miracle de Theophile* of Rutebeuf (thirteenth century), the penitent hero prays thus to the Virgin:

> Dame de charite
> Qui par humilite
> Portas nostre salu,
> Qui toz nous a gete

[1] "The Vernon Disputision between a Cristenemon and a Jew," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXV (1910), 143. Cited by Klaeber, *Anglia*, *loc. cit.*

[2] E. J. Becker, *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Mediaeval Visions of Heaven and Hell* (1899). For the quoted passage, see Roger of Wendover, *The Flowers of History*, ed. H. G. Hewlett, I (1886), 252.

[3] *Le Bestiaire de Gervaise*, ed. P. Meyer, *Romania*, I (1872), 432, vv. 431–434. For this reference I am indebted to Mrs Grace Frank.

De duel et de vilte
Et *d'enferne palu;*
Dame, je te salu![1]

The *Miracle de Saint Panthaleon* (MS. probably of the fifteenth century) shows the same usage:

Sire elles sont plaisans et belles
Car elles sont du doulz Jhesu
Homme et Dieu, qui de l'ort *palu*
D'enfer par sa mort nous retrait
Afin qu'en gloire feussons trait
Avec son pere.[2]

At least two instances of *palu* in this same sense occur in Arnould Greban's *Passion.*

(1) Dieu, mon pere, d'orgueil n'a cure,
car la plus noble creature
qu'en paradis avoit formee
par orgueil est difformee
qu'elle est en *l'eternel palu*
sans james espoir de salu.
(2) En peine et dueil et griefve ardure,
plus ardent que barre de fer,
m'en revois courant en enffer
moy plonger au fond du *palus.*[3]

Whatever may be the conclusion of the whole matter, it will at least accord with mediaeval usage to close this paper with the sentiment expressed in Villon's familiar lines:

Dame du ciel, regente terrienne,
Empriere des *infernaux palus,*
Recevez moy, vostre humble chrestienne,
Que comprinse soye entre vos esleus,
Ce non obstant qu'oncques rien valus.

[1] Ed. Mrs Grace Frank (1925), vv. 468–473.

[2] *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert, vol. III (1878), Miracle 22, vv. 986 ff.

[3] Ed. Gaston Paris and Gaston Raynaud (1878), 16795 ff., 12333 ff. For the second of these references I am again indebted to the kindness of Mrs Frank.

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ALFODHOL AND *ALMADEL:* HITHERTO UNNOTED MEDIAEVAL BOOKS OF MAGIC IN FLORENTINE MANUSCRIPTS

In a manuscript of the Laurentian library at Florence which was written in the fourteenth century [1] is a geomancy in Latin which is ascribed to Alfodhol de Marengi,[2] who is called a Saracen in the first of its two Prohemiums. The name of the translator into Latin is not given. The first Prohemium tells us further that Alfodhol's father, Sedel (probably the same as Zael or Zahel), was from Arabia but his mother from Chaldaea. Alfodhol himself informs us early in the text proper that he studied for a long time at Athens, and in Egypt with the daughter of Ptolemy, Cleopatra, who was extremely proficient in astronomy and astrology. The treatise is well written in large letters, of which some are colored, and covers in all forty-five leaves in double column. As is often the case with such works of divination, it is preceded by a wheel or celestial sphere (*Haec rota caelum est . . .*). Such wheels are sometimes so constructed in the manuscripts that they can be actually rotated. A little later on occurs a picture of Alfodhol seated in a chair reading an open book, while before him is a woman with a child asking him if it will live. Such illustrations, too, are common in these geomancies. The object is the usual one of answering questions by reference to tables by chance selection of a number from one to twelve, or by placing one's finger at random on one of 144 spaces arranged twelve by twelve in checker-board fashion. The basic number, twelve, is supposed to denote the twelve houses or signs and so to lend an astrological support to the lot-casting.

The next treatise to be noted covers only nine leaves of a manuscript of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Laurentian library at Florence,[3] but includes other varieties of divination than geomancy. This work of Almadel, *On the Firmness of Six Sciences*,[4] after an introductory chapter of that title, deals in succession with pyromancy, *auruspicia*, hydromancy, augury, geomancy, and chiromancy. In the twelfth century Hugh of Santalla, in translating a geomancy, promised next to treat of

[1] Laurent. Plut., XXIX, cod. iv: "Liber iudiciorum et consiliorum."

[2] Possibly Alfodhol may be identified with an Aphathol, likewise author of a work on divination, *Liber de Auguriis*, which is listed as Math. 8 in the 1412 A.D. catalogue of the mediaeval library of Amplonius Ratinck, but appears to be no longer contained in that collection as preserved to-day at Erfurt. See W. Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt*, Berlin, 1887.

[3] Laurent. Plut., 89 *supra*, cod. 34.

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 1r: "Incipit Pyromantia Almadel Capitulum primum de firmitate sex scientiarum. Cum ut legitur Peripateticorum in libris."

hydromancy but said that he had failed to find books of aeromancy or pyromancy.[1] In the next century Albertus Magnus spoke in the *Speculum Astronomiae*[2] of "certain experimental books whose names have the same ending as nigromancy"; namely, books in the subjects of geomancy, hydromancy, aerimancy, pyromancy, and chiromancy. To this classification the component chapters of Almadel's work correspond closely, since he defines *auruspicia* as divination from air (*aura*) or weather, so that it may be identified with aerimancy or aeromancy, and since he emphasizes the fact that all these six sciences are based upon experience and are subordinated to nigromancy.[3] It therefore rather seems either that Albert had our treatise before him as he penned the *Speculum Astronomiae*, or that our treatise is a late fabrication suggested by his remark. Almadel might seem an Arabic name, but as our author states that he draws his material from the books of the Arabs,[4] we get the impression that he is not one himself but rather a Latin translator. In the thirteenth century both Albertus Magnus and William of Auvergne referred to a magic book falsely ascribed to Solomon called the *Almandel* or *De Figura Almandel*. But this work appears to have dealt with magic images, figures, and incantations, and so to have been quite unlike our treatise. Perhaps, however, if our treatise is a late fabrication, the name Almadel may have been suggested by this earlier word connected with magic. Yet in the form and content of the work itself I do not detect any indication that it is of the fifteenth century rather than the twelfth or thirteenth. It is followed in the same manuscript by works dating from the thirteenth century, and the fact that its own text grows more illegible towards its close is probably an indication of the work of a hurried copyist.

In any case its author is correct in his assertion that works on the themes of which he treats are rare, and, if for this reason alone, the treatise is valuable in the history of magic. There are plenty of mediaeval geomancies, it is true, and chiromancies are not quite so rare as he would imply. On augury we have a chapter by Michael Scot, but I believe that Almadel's chapters or booklets on Pyromancy, *Auruspicia*, and Hydromancy, are the

[1] C. H. Haskins, "The Translations of Hugo Sanctelliensis," in *Romanic Review*, II (1911), 14.

[2] Cap. 17. The *Speculum* is found in vol. X of Borgnet's edition of Albert's works.

[3] "Qui quidem libri in suis conclusionibus et demonstrationibus nigromantie subalternantur et supponuntur. Et ideo post nostros libros magnos illos libros breves rarissimos ponemus."

[4] In opening he cites the Arabs and later in his introductory chapter employs such expressions as:

"Et ideo ultimo ponemus unum librum apud Arabicos multum rarum quem Cyromantiam intitulamus . . . In quibus quidem nostris libris quos apud Arabes primo invenimus. . . . Ego Almadel prout ex libris Arabum traxi seriatim enodabo."

first favorable accounts and practical manuals of those occult arts of divination that I have encountered in mediaeval manuscripts.[1]

As was customary, these other arts of divination are all based upon astrology and supported by the thesis, represented as Peripatetic, that this inferior world is subject to the rule of superiors.[2] Therefore, since air, water, fire, birds, men, and parts of the human body are all ruled by the stars, we can predict also from observation of these inferior phenomena. Sometimes we see fires in the air or in the earth from which we can predict; this is pyromancy. The air is now serene, now cloudy or windy, hot or cold, and in consequence produces various kinds of natural phenomena and monsters from which we can predict; this is *auruspicia*. Hydromancy is divination from inundations or the kinds of fish found in the water. Sometimes we see unusual birds and flying animals come to our regions and inhabit there a time and then change their homes from natural instinct; on this we base augury. For Almadel geomancy is not the art of answering questions by making dots or drawing lines in the earth or sand, but is divination from such events as earthquakes or the finding of treasure hidden in the ground,[3] or unusual sounds made by terrestrial animals. This last, however, would usually be classed under augury. Finally, chiromancy is defined as usual as divination from the lines in the human body, particularly the hands. Before proceeding to take up each of the six sciences separately, Almadel concludes his general introduction by firmly insisting upon their certitude. "For since a planet by its primordial instinct in which it was formed by Almighty God surely influences inferiors and rules the lower things of earth; since further a planet is directed by an infallible mover which mover rules and informs the same planet as it exerts influence, and it cannot be otherwise than that it should exert influence as it is directed; and since it is directed by an infallible mover, therefore the influx of that planet which is so ruled can in no wise fail to produce its due effect. From which certitude of the influx we can demonstrate the certitude of this science." [4]

[1] In Wilhelm Schum, *op. cit. supra*. I have seen notices of the two following brief treatises or fragments on the art of pyromancy, and hope to examine the texts themselves this summer: (1) Albertus Basiliensis, *Ars Pyromantiae*, MS. Amplon. Quarto 373, *saec. xiii, xiv*, fols. 37, 38; (2) MS. Amplon. Duodecimo 17, *saec. xiii, xiv*, fol. 38v, "Hec est parva pyromancia probata. In ingressu domus dicas ista nomina: Pantasseron, Gabriel, Uriel . . . / . . . et hec de parva pyromantia dicta sufficiant."

[2] "Iste mundus inferior superioribus canonibus est subiectus."

[3] The eleventh of the eighteen signs which he interprets under the heading "*Geomantia*" (Laur. Plut. 89 supra., cod. 34, fols. 6r, 7r) is that if hidden treasure is found in the earth, someone will die in the house that year.

[4] "Cum autem planeta de suo primordiali instinctu in quo a Deo altissimo plasmatus est inferioribus certe influit et inferiora terre regit, cum quidem planeta dirigitur a motore infalli-

Pyromancy is not concerned with the pure elemental fire of the upper spheres, but with the mixed fire which receives impressions and appears in air, clouds, and the like in varied forms and apparitions. Almadel gives eight such with the predictions derivable from each. Of these the first and last may suffice as examples. When fire appears in the air in the form of a burning beam or plank, it signifies the burning of that place where it descends or disappears, and that within a year's time. Almadel has found this true by experience not once but ten times. The eighth *conclusio* under Pyromancy is that if fire is seen burning brightly above anyone's house on the twenty-third of February, it signifies that someone in the house will die that year. "And as many fires as appear above that house, so many shall die within it in that year." [1]

Under *Auruspicia* (*Auruspitia*) are listed twenty-six *dispositiones* from which the weather may be predicted. The section terminates, "So ends the Auspices of Almadel, the best of Haruspexes (*Explicit Auruspitia Almadel Auruspicis Optimi.*)"

The tract on hydromancy opens with some observations concerning precious stones of India and sirens in the sea as instances of marvels. Once Almadel saw a bloody male siren, and that same year the king died. Then follow twenty "clauses" (*Prima clausula*, etc.) listing phenomena from which predictions may be made. The first is that finding water in abundance where there was none before, is a sign of scarcity of grain and all other edibles. The last involves sorcery as well as divination. If a frog in water is secretly introduced under someone's roof and remains there quietly, it signifies sadness for that house. If he croaks, as many of the household will die as the number of times he has croaked. If he flees from the house, it is a sign that some guest of the house will die.

Under Augury there are thirty-two predictions, and the section terminates, "So ends the Augury of Almadel, the best of Nigromancers." The sections on geomancy and chiromancy are of less interest, as has been said, as dealing with arts more often treated by other writers.

In this same manuscript there follow the better-known geomancies of the pseudo-Ptolemy translated by Bernard Gordon, the medical writer of Montpellier, of Albedatus addressed to Delius, the king of the Persians, and that translated by William of Moerbeke while papal peniteniatry and addressed to Master Arnulph, his nephew. Of these three there are earlier

bili qui motor eundem planetam influentem regit et informat et non potest aliter se habere quin ita influatur ut dirigitur. Et cum dirigitur a motore infallibili tunc influxus illius planete qui ita regitur in nullo potest falli quin illi influxus suum sortiatur effectum. Ex qua quidem certitudine influxus certitudinem huius scientie possumus demonstare."

[1] "Et quot apparent ignes super talem domum tot erunt mortui de tali domo in eodem anno. Explicit pyromantia Almadel."

copies in other manuscripts.[1] They are all of the type where a number is obtained by chance projection of points or other lot-casting and then referred to a pretended astrological base. In the work said to have been translated on the Thursday before Christmas, 1295 A.D., by Bernard Gordon in the thirteenth year of his lecturing at Montpellier and during the pontificate of Boniface VIII, and reigns of the Emperor Adolf, Philip IV of France, Edward I of England and James of Majorca,[2] Ptolemy is incorrectly described as a king of the Arabs,[3] to whom God revealed the great arcana herein contained of reducing geomancy to the orb, or sphere of the heavens. A figure is to be made containing ten "houses," one for the geomantic figure, seven for the seven planets, and the last two for the head and tail of the dragon. By the number of points left by lot it is determined in which of the twelve signs of the zodiac the sun should be placed. Proceedings are then opened with prayers to the Holy Spirit and to "God who opened the secrets of the sky to the apostle Paul and bade him to reveal them to no one." Topics are listed under the control of each of the twelve houses, to which also various qualities are assigned. The object appears to be the construction by geomantic methods of an astrological horoscope for each particular case or query. There are no tables of answers to which to turn as in the geomancy of Alfodhol de Marengi or the *Experimentarius* of Bernard Silvester.

The geomancy of Albedatus is spoken of in our present manuscript as the "Translation of King Endidius,"[4] but in another manuscript of the fourteenth century,[5] the name of the royal translator is given as Euclid. After instructions how to obtain a chance number by jotting down four lines of points or three lines of points, it then gives judgments according to the 36 decans, whose names are given in some oriental tongue.[6] After

[1] See my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 119, note 2, and 120, notes 2 and 4.

[2] Laur. Plut. 89 *supra*, cod. 34, fols. 11r–20v, "Translatio magistri Bernardi phisici regnante Bonifacio papa. Et Adulpho claro imperatore. Et philipo rege francie. Et Jacobo rege maioricarum. Et berengario episcopo magolensi. Et Audoardo rege anglorum et anno 13 lecture nostre in phisica in monte pessulano et anno domini MCC90° 5° die Jovis ante natale dei Jesu Christi." The date, 1295, is also given in Latin MS. 15353 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 13th–14th century, fol. 87 et seq.

[3] "Incipit Archanum Magni dei revelatum Tholomeo Regi Arabum de reductione geomantie ad orbem." (Here begins the Secret of the great God revealed to Ptolemy, King of the Arabs, concerning the reduction of geomancy to the celestial sphere.)

[4] Laur. Plut. 89 *supra*, cod. 34, fol. 21r: "Incipit Translatio Endidii regis. Delio Regi persarum vates Albedatus similiter. . . ."

[5] MS. Latin 7486 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 14th century, fol. 46r.

[6] "Gosal, Iom, Chore, Dusson, Granisan, Chocer, Taruagon, Mari, Thurya, Thoas, Salap, Sarchon, Ara, Effern, Sochot, Coap, Iana, Sathalep," . . . etc., the last and 36th being Oreb. They have, of course, probably been sadly misspelled by copyists.

a paragraph devoted to each of the decans, the remainder of the treatise of Albedatus deals with the fruits, effects, and properties of the planets.

The opening words of the Geomancy translated by William of Moerbeke differ in the case of our manuscript from its *Incipit* in a Vienna manuscript of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and so may be noted. "In the name of Him who is the beginning and end of all things, from whom is all virtue and all science. . . ." [1] The geomancy itself is only partially reproduced in our text. Then, following several blank leaves, come other geomancies in Latin, and long sixteenth-century ones in Italian.

[1] Laur. Plut. 89 *supra.*, cod. 34, fol. 27r: "In nomine illius qui est primum et finis omnium a quo omnis virtus et omnis scientia. . . ."

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NOTES AND EMENDATIONS ON FARAL'S *LES ARTS POETIQUES DU XIIe ET DU XIIIe SIECLE* [1]

Mediaeval scholars owe a debt of gratitude to M. Faral for making accessible documents which for the first time give us a clear insight into the methods of Mediaeval Latin versifiers and, as he shows in a valuable introduction, of French versifiers, too. But the MSS are often very corrupt, as those of school-books are apt to be, and it is more than one man's work to produce a satisfactory text: many passages will only be cleared up when further MSS have been collated. What we may expect from further collations may be judged from the improvements Faral has introduced into the text of the *Poetria Nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf by the use of Paris and Glasgow MSS unknown to Leyser. When I began to try to correct or explain passages which seemed unintelligible and to trace quotations, I had no thought of publication, but as the number grew, it seemed that it might be useful to put my suggestions on record, in the hope of saving others the trouble I had taken, and of contributing something to the establishing of a more readable text. I have not dealt with the interpretation except in passing.

Ekkehard IV (ed. Faral, pp. 104–105)

P. 104, l. 2 *assuescere:* emend to *assuesce;* l. 8 *sudum:* the rhyme suggests *clarum;* l. 11 *pomoeria* (by confusion with *pomaria*) ='orchard' as in Johannes Monachus' *Lib. de Mirac.*, ed. M. Huber (Winter: Heidelberg, 1913), p. 69; l. 12 read: *Hortus et hic rivo proprior, fonti quoque vivo;* ll. 16–20

[1] Edmond Faral, *Les Arts Poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle: Recherches et Documents sur la Technique Littéraire du Moyen Age* (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, fasc. 238), Paris: Champion, 1923.

perhaps ll. 19–20 should follow l. 16: "don't call all beautiful things *speciosus;* a woman indeed may be *formosa* or *speciosa*, but let gold . . ."; l. 17 *quicquid dicendo cupitum* (cf. p. 105, l. 8, *quodcumque decorum*) apparently means 'all you wish to say,' *quicquid = quicque.*

Ars Versificatoria (ed. Faral, pp. 109–193)

The title seems to have been *Summula* (or *Summa*) *Introductiva:* cf. p. 109, § 1, l. 2; p. 110, § 5, l. 7; p. 179, § 51, l. 1, and especially p. 193, vv. 29–32 (also p. 14, note 2).

P. 109, § 1, ll. 4–5 *dissimulator . . . uni* (Hor. *Ep.*, i, 9, 9); § 2, ll. 5–6 *male . . . impetus* (Stat. *Theb.*, x, 704); § 3, l. 4 *palpitat . . . fides:* cf. p. 115, § 22. The explanation of the line will be found on p. 166, § 42; (*resonat*, l. 3 =' matches,' as elsewhere in Matthew); cf. the proverb '*In rufa pelle nemo latitat sine felle*' (J. Werner, *Latein. Sprichwörter . . . des Mittelalters* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1912), p. 41, Nr. 64).

P. 110, § 5, l. 2 *semper . . . paratis* (Luc., i, 281); ll. 6–7 *invidia. . . . Rufo* (cf. Virg. *Ec.*, vii, 26); l. 10 *sagitta volante . . .* (*Psalm* xci, 5); § 6, ll. 2–3 *concessa . . . via* (Luc., ii, 446); l. 3 *miserum . . . famae* (Juv., viii, 76); l. 7 *nec tardum operior* should, of course, be *opperior*, but I cannot trace the quotation. I note that *operior* with single *p* occurs in *Ysengrimus*, ed. E. Voigt, p. xl; § 7, l. 6 *trunco . . . umbram* (Luc., i, 140).

P. 111, § 2, l. 9 *exultat levitate puer* (Maxim., i, 105).

P. 112, § 12, l. 7 *ĭnitium, ĭnitiale: ĭn-* is the usual quantity in Matthew and elsewhere.

P. 113, § 13, l. 7 the use of *titulus* (*intitulo*) 'glory' (e.g. also §§ 9, 11, 13) is characteristic of Matthew but common throughout the book.

P. 114, § 17 *ult. omnia . . . ruunt* (Ov. *Pont*, iv, 3, 35 f.); § 20 Note the only quotation from Hor. *Od.* in the whole book (the reference should read *Od.*, ii, 16, 28); the learned Matthew could not scan a sapphic though they were common enough in the Middle Ages: *ex (!) omni parte beatum.*

P. 116, § 28, v. 1 *generat:* read *geminat.*

P. 118, § 36, ll. 1–2 *dissimilitudo:* emend to *similitudo;* l. 3 *id quod:* emend to *idem quod;* l. 8 *siquid:* emend to *siquidem;* § 37, l. 7 *positionem:* emend to *compositionem.*

P. 121, § 50, v. 11 *misero:* read *miseri* (var.); v. 26 *dos* 'virtue': this unqualified use is characteristic. Cf. p. 170, fifth quotation; vv. 29–30; *propinat . . . fidem* 'promises steadiness and unbroken constancy.' I think the text is right; cf. p. 114, l. 4 (*Prophetat* for *propinat* as on p. 148, v. 22?); v. 33 *dominus:* emend to *dominis;* v. 34 *Principibus:* emend to *Judicibus*, with comma after instead of before *acerbis* (33) to keep up the word-play. Otherwise the only change necessary to restore sense and

grammar is a semicolon after *Principibus*. *Jubeo* with the dative is common in late Latin; it comes first in Tacitus, but MSS offer many cases in earlier authors (see Lewis and Short *s. v.*); it occurs five times in *Ysengrimus;* see Voigt, p. xliv.

P. 122, § 51, v. 7 *protendit* (as on p. 133, l. 1) is better; v. 20 *tepet* 'is cooled, tempered' is contrary to Matthew's usage (e.g. § 51, v. 3): read *tenet* as in § 50, v. 14 (but cf. p. 133, § 66 *init.*, and Vitalis of Blois' *Amphitryo*, v. 10, ed. C. W. Müller, *Analecta Bernensia*, Pt. II: *Vitalis Blesensis Geta Comoedia* (Bern, 1840).

P. 123, § 52, v. 16 *eliminat* is twice scanned correctly on p. 165. Read *elimat*.

P 124, § 52, v. 24 Faral's correction is shown to be wrong by the paraphrase *judicat sapore* (vv. 27–28); vv. 33–34 cf. p. 128, § 54, vv. 15–16: hence *egreditur* (?), *aegrae*, *praevenientis* must be read: 'he *outstrips* Nature'; vv. 49–50 I give up. For *castigat* 'check,' cf. p. 131, v. 12. Reading *studet* as on p. 147, § 108, v. 8, we might translate 'his mind tries to outdo his early years.' To Matthew, Ulysses is a young man, a type, not the Homeric hero.

P. 126, § 53, v. 43 *vocativi casus:* cf. p. 153, § 8 and P. Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1922), p. 154; vv. 51–54 'his exterior doesn't belie the interior; the container matches the contents; therefore there can be no metonymy,' *continens pro contento* (cf. p. 175, § 32); hence read *perit* (and *cum sordeat*); v. 60 *captivat* 'takes possession of'; *ore:* read *ora* (var.); v. 65 *adventum:* read *adventu* (var.); v. 70 *manus:* read *Venus* (var.); v. 72 *volat:* read *tonat* (var.).

P. 127, § 53, vv. 77–78 *bilibres fratres: sc. testiculi;* v. 79 *prior syllaba, sc. mentula*, 'the long': the *bilibres fratres* are the two shorts; v. 82 *onus:* read *opus* (var.); v. 86 *multis:* read *multos* (var.); § 54, v. 5 *petens:* read *potens* (var.) answering *potentis* (he hadn't asked!): 'a powerful man gives charm to verse written about him.'

P. 128, § 54, v. 18 *Orcus:* read (*h*)*ortus* (var.); § 55, v. 11 *visitat* seems corrupt; v. 12 *ausa* is right: cf. p. 173, § 23 *ult.*; v. 25 *levitas:* surely *gravitas* should be read.

P. 129, § 56 Description of Helen: C. Lohmeyer (William of Blois' *Alda*, Leipzig, 1892, p. 42, note 3), notes frequent verbal correspondences with Matthew's *Milo*, 9–40; v. 13 *via lactea:* for this *mora* see Lessing, *Laokoon*, ch. xx, first note; v. 16 *monent:* read *vovent* (var.).

P. 130, § 57, v. 9 *carnea:* read *candida* (var.)? but cf. Maxim., i, 86; v. 11 *titulo:* read *cumulo* (var.); v. 15 *venusto:* read *venustae* (cf. p. 127, l. 5); v. 24 cf. Henricus Septimell., *Div. Fort.* iv, 156: *Fac amet Hypolitus mente Priapus erit.*

P. 131, § 58, v. 12 *castigat* 'checks' (cf. note to p. 124, v. 49); v. 14 *cervicis* I do not understand: read *verticis et?;* v. 20 obviously *viscatas;* v. 22 *flamen:* read *flumen;* v. 48 insert comma after *esse.*

P. 133, § 63 *ult. ut. . . juvent* (Ov. *R.A.*, 420 = *Anticlaudianus* 252): cf. p. 179, l. 3.

P. 134, § 67 The second quotation is from Ov. *Her.*, iv, 76.

P. 136, § 79 *tripartito:* emend to *bipartito?*

P. 137 *ult. datore:* read *dativo* (so quoted, with *accusativo*, by Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 78).

P. 138 *init. recitat:* read *replicat?*

P. 141, § 88, l. 5 *adhibere:* read *adhibe.*

P. 144, § 98, third quotation, read (Luc., vii, 521) *labaret/incursu, tenet. . . .*

P. 146, § 107, v. 4 *in tempus:* read *interpres* (var.); v. 7 *pallita:* read *pellita* (var.).

P. 147, § 108, v. 2 *venit:* read *vestis* (var.); v. 3 *fugit:* read with Faral *fugat* (var.); v. 6 *Tythanis* is to be retained here and p. 185, § 21: a contamination-form of *Tithoni* and *Titanis.*

P. 148, § 111, v. 12 *comas:* read *comis?;* v. 17 comma after *domestica.*

P. 149, v. 35 read with Faral *hic rex*, a reference to the roitelet; v. 37 *adest:* read *abest;* v. 62 'a maid, the masterpiece of laboring Nature': cf. p. 148, v. 1 and p. 152, v. 1 (a quotation from the lost lines will be found on p. 175, § 32).

P. 150, § 113, l. 2 *sit:* read *fit;* ll. 5–6 *ut . . . coloribus* (Hor. *Ep.*, i, 3, 19); l. 7 *aliena vivere quadra* (Juv., v. 2); § 114 *ult. detrimentis . . . crepido:* I can only suggest the reading < *multiplicis* > *delenimentis . . . cuppedo.*

P. 151, § 1, l. 6 *resonetur:* perhaps *renovetur* (or *revocetur*)*?*

P. 152 *init.* corrupt: perhaps we should read '*in ceteris igitur locis* [*magister*] *Florae studentis artificium . . . a maligno mediocritatis vestigio ad largitatis collaterale vitium, fere, prodige declinavit.*

P. 153, § 7 *hiatu:* read *habitu* (var.); § 8 the third quotation is a parody of Luc., i, 92, § 91. I cannot trace the couplet which begins this §: "*sunt tria . . .* ; it is probably Matthew's own.

154, § 11 Correct the two references given so as to read: Luc., ii, 18, and St. *Achil.*, ii, 286.

P. 156, l. 3 *inopem . . .* (Ov. *Met.*, iii, 466); § 18, v. 2 *ampla:* emend to *palma.*

P. 157, § 21, v. 5 *auditoris:* read *auditores* (var.); v. 10 on the basis of the immediately preceding (prose) list, for *immolata* read *inviolata.*

P. 158, § 22, v. 7 for *infitiata* perhaps read *insidiata* (used passively):

if this is right, correct *infitiatus* in § 21, prose list; § 23, l. 4 *a lippis* . . . Hor. *Sat.*, i, 7, 3; ll. 6–7 *qui nova* . . . I cannot trace.

P. 159, § 24, v. 9 *voces:* emend to *vices.* An excellent illustration of these principles is to be found in the pentameters of the introduction of Evrard's *Laborintus*, ed. Faral, pp. 338 ff.

P. 162, § 34, l. 2 What is a *venter nuptialis?;* l. 7 *adulterium:* emend to *adulterinam;* § 35, l. 8 *Tullio* (Cic. *Inv.*, i, 41, 76). Is Matthew thinking of Festus' '*verba nupta*,' i.e. *obscoena?* Or is *nuptialis* = *praegnans*, i.e. *distentus?* I think we should read *nuntialis* = *praeambulus*, to which it is joined: cf. *praecursor*, l. 8.

P. 163, l. 13 *zelotypare* 'make a cuckold': cf. p. 168, § 5; § 38 *apocopat ictus* is explained by § 37, v. 10, above.

P. 165, § 38, vv. 41–43 I can make nothing of these verses.

P. 166, § 43, ll. 1–2 *versus* . . . *canorae* (Hor. *A.P.*, 322); l. 8 *venustatem:* read *incrementum* (var.); § 43 *ult.* perhaps read *tibicines Leonis imperiti et inexerciti elegorum;* § 44 *redimiculo:* emend to *amminiculo* as on p. 165, § 39 *ult.*? but *redimiculo* no doubt means 'tawdry ornament.'

P. 167, § 1, l. 5 *Tu.* . . . *eras* (Ov. *Her.*, iii, 52).

P. 169, § 9, l. 4 *famen pretii* 'thirst for reward'; l. 11 *salmone quam Salomone:* cf. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

P. 170 *ult.* construe *eligo* with *vota*, 'I choose a flame'(?), *flecto* with *datis*, etc. I do not remember any exact parallel to this form of verse.

P. 176, § 41, l. 2 *turcra:* emend to *tructa* 'trout'. The spelling *turcta* (by metathesis of *r*, common in MSS) would account for both variants, *turcra* and *turtur.* Cf. *trutae rubentes*, Aegidius Corb. 2. 122 (Leyser, p. 542); *truta rufa vel alba*, *Ruodlieb* xiii, 16 (ed. F. Seiler, Halle a. S., 1882,). For the spelling, cf. Isid. *Orig.* xi, 6, 6 (ed. Lindsay), *vulgo tructas vocant.*

P. 177, § 44, ll. 8–9 Perhaps a better punctuation is: *Quaerit amans quod habet; quod amat, quod quaerit, amantis/Est proprium* . . .

P. 178, § 46, l. 1 *decies* . . . (Hor. *A.P.*, 365); l. 6 *non cuivis* . . . (Hor. *Ep.*, i, 17, 36); ll. 7–8 *in elegis Thyresias* . . . 'blind in Elegiacs, a giant in Leonines': cf. p. 166, § 43.

P. 179, § 51, l. 3 read *et utrimque reductum* (Hor. *Ep.*, i, 18, 9); ll. 3–4 *medio* . . . (Ov. *Met.*, ii, 137); § 51 *ult. discernatur:* read *disceptatur* (var.); § 52 *init.* read *Sed fortisan aliquis* . . .

P. 180, § 52, l. 5 *non ulla* emend to *nonnulla* as p. 187, § 32 *ult.*; § 1 *ult. verbo* . . . (Hor. *A.P.*, 133, with *curabit*).

P. 181, § 4, l. 2 *duci:* read *dici;* l. 3 *non erit hiis opus* (Hor. *A.P.*, 19); l. 4 *pro ratione voluntas* (Juv., vi, 223). The end of § 4 seems to mean that syllables might be lengthened at the penthemimeral caesura even by beginners, and elision allowed to the more advanced. I doubt if there is a certain case of elision in the whole book except Ekkehard, p. 105, l. 7 (see

notes below to *Poetria Nova*, 20, 1453, 1847, and cf. 1923 ff.); § 8, l. 7 *Sentit . . .* (Theodolus, cited Faral, p. 376, l. 24).

P. 182, l. 1 *ibant . . .* a spondaic hexameter (omitting *et*). In Alexander's *Doctrinale* (*cit. infra*), 2396, it reads *qua poterant, ibant, sed non, qua non potuerunt:* a stock example taken from Priscian (see Reichling's note *ad loc.*).

P. 183, § 12, ll. 3–4 *cacephaton:* apparently κακε + φατου '*obscura pronuntiatio.*' The illustration is thus explained by Eugraphius because *arrigere aures* (l. 5) is properly used of a beast; cf. D. Reichling's note on Alexander of Villedieu's *Doctrinale* (Mon. Germ. Paedagog., xii, 1893), v. 2380. §13 *ult.* the reference is Ov. *Tr.*, i, 7, 40.

P. 184, § 16, l. 3 *versus:* read *usus* (var.); l. 4 *quotidiano:* read *quotidianae.*

P. 187, § 30 Note that Matthew reads *ducere* for *condere* in Virg. *Ec.*, ix, 52. Note that Virg. cod. Gudianus (cit. O. Ribbeck, γ) "ducere, *in mg.* ał c̄dere."

P. 188, § 34, l. 2 *versuum siquidem sententiam:* emend to *versum siquidem sententia?*; § 35, l. 5 *qui . . . erit* (Ov. *Rem.*, 94); § 36, l. 3, *alibi:* (Ov. *A.A.* ii, 3, 45).

P. 190, § 47, l. 7 *dignum . . . faciet* (Luc., iii, 137).

P. 191, § 48 The second poem is a jumble of parodies: vv. 1 and 2 (?) are from Ov. *Pont.* ii, 3, 7; v. 3, from Virg. *Ec.* vii, 26; v. 4, from Ov. *Tr.* iv, 10, 26; v. 10 (last three words) from Hor. *Ep.* i, 19, 8. *Leges Othonis* is perhaps original since it contains a false quantity. *sĭmium* (v. 8) is also wrong, but no doubt intended to match *căpra.* Vv. 9–10 contain more rhyme than reason: the only punctuation in v. 9 should be a comma after *bonis.*

Poetria Nova (ed. Faral, pp. 197–262)

V. 20 *homines:* certainly read *hominem* (var.). I should prefer *trans hominem es*, but the elision is unlikely; cf. note to p. 181, above. V. 34 *dulcissime* is probably right, with the true reading of Hor. *Sat.*, i, 9, 4; if so, we must correct 412 and 2067, but not 1785. Vv. 43–45 source of Chaucer's *Troil.*, i, 1065–69, as noted by Kittredge, *Mod. Philol.*, VII (1909–10), 481. V. 47 *manus cordis:* a very favorite type of figure with Geoffrey. V. 57 *Gades* 'limit': no doubt suggested by Juv., x, 1; cf. 2066. V. 64 *ulla:* read with Leyser *illa* (var.). V. 65 *alicunde . . . illud:* read *aliunde . . . illam* (varr.) to contrast with *hanc*, v. 66.

V. 112 *pars thēmatis:* for *ē*, cf. 54, 120, 127, etc. V. 161 omit semicolon: 'nature prospers the glory of Minos with other splendor (than the gifts of Fortune).'

V. 205 *premente:* read with Leyser *praeeunte* (var.). V. 228 *morosa* 'long'; cf. 358. V. 261 *sic:* read *sed* (var.). Vv. 281–282 semicolon after *ante*, comma after *successit*. V. 286 *Exemplar Syrenes:* transpose with *ABDG*.

V. 305 *opere:* emend with Leyser to *ope*. V. 353 punctuate: *non habet hic* ('here') *patriam* (sc. *error*), *vetus ille repatriet error* (to the heathen and the father of error). VV. 397–98 *quia* = *nam* as in *Annales Fuldenses, Speculum*, I (1926), 37; *nata* 'new-born.'

V. 418 Invert with Leyser: *tua tuta* (var.). V. 427 *facta:* read *facti* (var.). V. 437 The quotation seems to extend without break from *strenua* to *ejus* (449), perhaps to *uti* (454). Being an example of *apostrophatio*, it is all in the second person. V. 445 *sentis:* read *sentit* (var.). V. 452 *rostro manuum*, the '*ciconia*'; cf. *concutit a tergo mihi multa ciconia rostrum*, Henric. Septimell., *Div. Fort.*, i, 13. V. 470 *pudenter* 'shamefully', as in 1929. V. 486 *respice:* emend with Leyser to *resipisce*.

V. 517 *gravis:* emend with Leyser to *Gallis*. V. 557 *in celebri forma:* emend to *illecebris formae* (?). V. 560 *secuta:* passive, as *exsecutus*, p. 180, § 3 (*bis*) and p. 177, § 45. VV. 566–67 cf. p. 129, l. 13. The break between the eyebrows is a mediaeval commonplace. V. 575 punctuaet: *surgant, sed modico; rutilent* . . . (cf. Maxim., i, 97). V. 593 I suggest *zona;* it is the smallness of the breast, not of the waist, which was admired in the Middle Ages (from Maxim., v, 28?), but cf. p. 130, l. 3. *Zona* = *strophium:* so John of Garland, *Synonyma*, 322 (*cropheum*) (ed. P. Leyser, *Hist. Poet. Med. Aevi*, p. 311 ff. and reprinted Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CL, 1577 ff.)

V. 600 *tam:* read *jam* (var.). VV. 614 ff. These verses are from Ovid, *Met.*, vi, 102 ff.; the mistakes are due to defective MSS of Ovid: 616, *Callisto;* 618, *Mnemosyne;* 619, *Asopo* . . . *Deois;* 620 *Danaen vel* would be correct, but no change should be made. VV. 624 ff. Cf. Amarcius, *Sermones* (ed. M. Manitius, Leipzig, 1888), iii, 255 ff. V. 645 *hinc:* read *huic* with *A*, *D*, and *Document. de Arte Versif.* ii. 2, 6.

V. 706 *inducet:* read *inducat* (var.). VV. 713–17 The '*Schneekind*' seems to have been a favorite theme for amplification and abbreviation in the Middle Ages, judging from the four versions (3 printed, 1 noticed) by W. Wattenbach, *Zs. f. D.A.*, XIX (1876), 119–124, 240, the three in the *Novus Avianus*, ed. E. DuMéril, *Poésies Inédites du Moy. Age*, and the example in the *Document. de Arte Versific.*, ii, 2, 43, noted below. V. 743 *falsaria:* read *fucaria* (the *ardua lectio*). V. 783 *ad placitum* is no doubt right against *AC;* cf. 1823.

V. 802 A puzzling line. Why *tyrannīs?* Perhaps *tyrannĭs*, applied to *hiemps:* cf. *imperio cuius*, v. 803. In any case *duris* is quite pointless. Perhaps *Semper hiems inhiat claris* (*cl* = *d*) *praedura tyrannĭs:* translate "Winter is ever in ambush against what is bright, (which is) cruel tyranny"

(or "a cruel tyrant"). The next two lines demand the antithesis of fair and foul weather here. (Or *sudis* for *duris?*). *Inhiat* is bad Latin; perhaps *instat* (*st* for *hi*): cf. *instans tyrannus*, Hor. *Od.* iii, 3, 3. V. 823 *scitator:* emend to *citator* (*ī*); cf. 489, 1367.

VV. 927–28 punctuate: *navem regit ille magister / Et Typhis noster; vel redam rusticus ille.* V. 979 *forpex* is quoted for 'tongs' in Classical Latin. Geoffrey probably got it from Sid. Apol. *Ep.*, xv, 184. V. 986 *depinget:* read *depingat* (var.). It is better syntax, and the rule was known in the Middle Ages.

V. 1025 *comperit:* a perfect is wanted; read *repperit* with *ABCDG.* V. 1033 *varia:* emend to *varie? Gion* from *Genesis*, ii, 13? V. 1034 *augustus:* emend with Leyser to *angustus.* V. 1070 *Remque tuis* (*ABCDG*) is better.

V. 1117 read: *Liber is est, vitiis . . . inservit,* with *BC* as in 1834; *intus* in *P* also points to *vitiis.* V. 1139 *auctor:* read *hostis* (*ABCDG*). V. 1151 *patuit, patuit:* emend with Leyser to *potuit, potuit;* cf. 1134. V. 1158 'doing so, he would clearly be unjust in this.' VV. 1176–77 punctuate: *Da, tolle* ('take away'); *flagella, / Parce; jube, prohibe; facias utrumlibet, ecce . . .* VV. 1183–85 perhaps read: *. . . evincere venit/ Quas emisset oves, ne vi raperentur ab hoste, /Non de judicio . . .* cf. 1494–95. *Emisset* accounts for the other readings, the subjunctive *raperentur* is explained; but *quae* may be right with *raperentur* as apodosis to *nisi . . . revinceret* (unfulfilled past condiiton, as in 1191). VV. 1188–89 the evidence for *purum* (*A*) is too weak, especially since *A* also reads *primus* for the first word as in 1187, an obvious error. If we accept *purus* in both cases (*BCDGP*), we must read *protinus* (*B*) *esset* (*BCDG*). There is a pun on *purus: Purus non potuit, quia protinus esset / Impurus . . . Leves lapsus = levium hominum lapsus.*

VV. 1215–17 punctuate: *Ergo cum redimi non possent ni Deus esset / Factus homo, nec, homo factus, nisi vincere mortem /Disposuit, mors victa suos a morte redemit.* V. 1227 *variis:* read *varius* (var.). V. 1231 *ista* 'the following,' as often; e.g. 1566, 1601, 1616, 1654, 1887. V. 1254 *contendunt:* a misapprehension of Cicero's '*contentio.*' V. 1296 omit colon: *legetur . . . blanditor* 'he will be read of as . . .'

V. 1315 *hoc:* read *ex* (var.). VV. 1328–31 punctuate: in *hoc, et* ob *hoc, quia tanta potestas / Illi cessit* ad *hoc, maculas ut tolleret orbis / . . . Duceret in caelum; quia . . .* V. 1344 *suo Simone:* emend to *Sĭmone suo.* V. 1360 according to tradition Christ is *subrufus imagine*, although in Matthew (*passim*) *rufus* symbolises deceit; see above, note to p. 109, § 3. V. 1367 *sonora* obviously goes with *nare* (1368). V. 1369 *et: "Mihi quid vis?":* read with Leyser *Ei mihi, quid vis.* V. 1375 *non est tamen:* emend with Leyser to *nec est tamen.* V. 1395 punctuate: "*Caedis?*" *Item, Pilate, tibi pro posse rebellis* (or *rebelli*), */Intonuit . . . .*

VV. 1407–10 these verses, omitted in *AG*, are spurious, as is indicated by the rhyme. V. 1407 *spreta:* emend with Leyser to *sputa.* V. 1410 *peremit:* only *P* has *redemit* twice; the other MSS invert. V. 1453 corrupt verse: *AG* have *spiritus* and the elision is suspicious; see note to 20 above. V. 1458 *die:* read *dies* (*ABCDG* and Leyser). V. 1461 *non tangite:* read *ne tangite* (*ABCDG* and Leyser). V. 1467 *faciet* (*A*) for *veniens* seems to point to *erectus faciem.*

V. 1518 *ejus:* read *proprias* (BCD). V. 1519 *rapuit:* emend to *meruit?* V. 1534 omit *si.* V. 1537 transpose *re* and *se* (*ABCD*); or better, read *scit esse* (*G*). V. 1539 *non:* read *nec* (ABCDG and Leyser). VV. 1541–44 read: *Si de re nimia dico nimis, immoderate /Arguo quod non est moderatum; nec modus in re /Nec modus in verbo. Sit res moderatior ore* ('than my words')/, *Sermo tamen nimius in re minus innuit esse.* I make *sit* concessive, answered by *tamen.* VV. 1545–48 Very corrupt; I suggest: '*Ille vir egregrius'; vox haec sonat 'optimus.' At 'vir / Pessimus' oblique nos respicit, hic sonat. Haec vox / Transvertit visum, vel peccat visus in isto; / Ambiguis res est cooperta, sed usus apertus.* I would translate 1547: 'changes its semblance, or else our vision errs.' V. 1555 The *profer* of *ABCD* can hardly be accidental; *praefer* ='parade'; cf. *prae se ferre.* V. 1562 *istius aetatis* 'a man of that age.' V. 1576 *voluit:* read *noluit:* 'he did not wish to apply the parable to the circumstances, but gave part to the ear, left part to the intelligence.' V. 1597 *qui quasi:* emend with Leyser to *qui ne quasi.*

V. 1655 *transsumptio* (*ABCDG* and Leyser). V. 1675 *vocis: voces* is required by *earum* (1676); so Leyser. V. 1680 *sit:* read *stet* (*ABCDG* and Leyser).

V. 1703 *stet:* read *stat* (var. and Leyser), 'it's not the fault of the way but his own.' V. 1704 *non:* read *nec* (*ABCDG* and Leyser). V. 1730 *duces:* emend with Leyser to *dices.* V. 1741 I cannot find this in the *Topics* of Aristotle or Cicero, but cf. proverb '*Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula sensus*' (Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 70, Nr. 57). V. 1753 I should prefer *Rursus et ipsa* (*C*) *sui* (*fui, A*). V. 1788 The comma should come after *est.* V. 1792 *eloquio:* read *colloquio* (var.).

V. 1809 *Campaneus:* emend to *Capaneus.* V. 1846 *aetas:* emend to *et aetas.* V. 1847 The elision is suspicious (see note to 20 above); the line is missing in *P*, and the other MSS show signs of confusion. VV. 1861–62 'the pleasant grace of metre cannot find an equal group of such charm to the ear.' V. 1865 *tendat in altum* 'has the acute accent.' V. 1867 *in simili forma* 'in similar strain'; the reference is to Gell. i, 7, 20. V. 1868 *et subjicit:* invert to *subjicit et.* VV. 1888–1909 *De Tribus Sociis:* the verses are printed from three MSS by R. Jahnke (*Comoediae Horatianae Tres*, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 105 106) who thinks (*op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.) Geoffrey may be the author. Cf. note on *Laborintus*, 437–38 below.

V. 1902 *proclama:* read *proclames* (var.). VV. 1929–30 *pudenter* 'shamefully,' as in 470; read: *pudenter / Et nimis* (var.) *assidue; decor . . .* V. 1938 from *Ad Herennium;* in M. E. Steuart's 1925 ed. of Ennius' *Annales* in *Spuria*, Frag. 3, p. 89 and *id.* p. 233. V. 1947 *vermis:* read with Leyser *naevus* (var.). VV. 1956–58 read: *Respirat in illo /(Utque putat) sine labe loco; sed fallitur augur /Casibus in multis, dum sunt in mente sepulta.* V. 1968 Leyser and *A* have *summus totum qui t.u.* V. 1972 See Faral's note on *Laborintus*, 120–26, p. 341, and cf. E. Voigt on *Ysengrimus*, iv, 368. V. 1978 *queas:* read with Leyser *queat* (var.). V. 1980 *posit:* read with Leyser *poscit* (var.). VV. 1998–99 punctuate: *retenta /Praescripta cella, d. c. a.*

V. 2006 *illis:* read with Leyser *istis* (var.). V. 2018 *modus catinus* refers to the well-known '*cattus amat piscem, sed non vult tingere plantam;* cf. Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 9, Nr. 24. V. 2047 *unus et alter* would mean 'one or two' (as Hor. *A.P.* 15, which Geoffrey knew well); read *alter et alter* (*P*). VV. 2066 ff. The many variants in the *Epilogue* seem to point to two versions by Geoffrey himself, e.g., the additions at 2096 and 2112 seem original. V. 2079 punctuate and read: *omne quod, humanum transcendens* (var.), *dicere vellem.*

V. 2115–16 punctuate: *honoris, honore /Crescere.*

Documentum de Arte Versificandi, ii, 2 (ed. Faral, pp. 271–84)

§ 8, v. 5 *pectus:* read *ventus?* v. 8 semicolon after *sinus.* § 15 a similar list of circumlocutions for death in John of Garland, *Synonyma*, 510–16, of which only two recur here. § 22, v. 1 *speculo:* emend to *specula.* § 26 *ult. tune patrem* (Marbodus of Rennes, *De Ornament. Verb.*, § xxv, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXI, col. 1691); cf. p. 324 *init.* § 27 *ult. in natos . . . tuos* as on p. 324, which also has an improvement of vv. 1, 2. § 28 *Tu mihi . . .* (Marbodus Redon., *ed. cit.*, col. 1687, § 1). § 41 *caute* 'by way of *cautela*' (a poetical device): cf. § 42; *indictis:* read *in dictis.* § 43 for the *Schneekind*, see note to *Poetria Nova*, 713 ff. above.

Ibid., ii, 3 (*ed. cit.*, pp. 284–319).

§ 2 *haec . . . haec* (Hor. *A.P.*, 366). § 8 *Idemptitas . . .* (Cicero; see note on Matthew, p. 162, § 35, l. 8, above). § 17 *incideret in duram translationem?* But *incideret dura translatio* is more in keeping with Geoffrey's style; cf. §§ 35, 66, 88. § 24 *crabo = crabro.* For confusion of *crab(r)o, carbo*, and *scarabeus*, see E. Voigt, *Ysengrimus*, Glossary under *scarbo.* § 63 the couplet recurs on p. 326 (*Structa domus . . .*) in a better text, but in both the pentameter is corrupt and the *adnominatio* spoilt; in the original version (p. 323) we should read *facta sed infecta pluribus illa malis.* § 73

parcus suae; cf. Tac. *Hist.*, i, 49, and Sall. *Cat.*, v). § 80, l. 3 *compellit:* emend to *compellat;* cf. *Poetria Nova*, 1822. l. 4 *actibus:* emend to *jactibus.* § 83 rhyme and reason call out for *nec taedet jactantiae.* § 95 the couplet recurs on p. 322 with variants, but neither should be changed since they illustrate different points (except *huic* for *hic*, p. 322). §§ 107, 109 *instantia* is here in proper sense of ἔνστασις 'objection' (contrary instance). § 125 *ult. Me scholărem studii sollicitudo trahit* is unthinkable, but I do not see the remedy. Hardly *scholicum* or *-i;* perhaps *me schola, res, studii sollicitudo trahit.* § 128 note the interesting misuse of *morigeratus* for *moratus,* as in *Ruodlieb* ii, 22 (ed. F. Seiler, Halle a. S., 1882). § 131 l. 5, *in elegantiam:* print and read *inelegantiam.* §§ 155 ff. see the errata, p. 384. § 157, l. 7 *proditur:* emend to *prodit,* to make hexameter. § 162 quotation from Hor. *A.P.* 32: Geoffrey, like John of Salisbury, reads *unus* in this famous crux, but below he stupidly copies out Acron's note on *imus; ut sit proprium nomen* should, of course, be in parentheses. § 165 the section seems hopeless. § 166 the first quotation is from the poem quoted in *Poetria Nova* 1888 ff., the second the beginning of *De Clericis et Rustico.* Read: '*Consocii quid?*' '*Iter rapiamus.*' '*Quid placet?*' '*Ire /Ad sacra.*' '*Quando?*' '*Modo.*' '*Quo?*' '*Prope.*' '*Fiat ita.*' § 168 "*Fles? — Fleo. . . .*" an elegaic couplet. Read: '*uade.*' '*Jubesne uocem?*' . . .

P. 320, § 4, l. 2 *occepit:* emend to *decepit.*

Summa de Coloribus Rhetoricis (ed. Faral, pp. 321–27)

P. 322 In the second couplet, for *heres* perhaps read *aeris,* the traditional mediaeval pun. P. 325, l. 13 *omnis potestas* (Luc., i, 92). P. 326 first couplet read *Thetis est:* in the Middle Ages it was 'Thētis' *rhythmice,* 'Thĕtis' *metrice.* Last quotation: *occare* 'kill,' as in John of Garland, *Synonyma,* 454 (*ed. cit.*).

Laborintus (ed. Faral, pp. 338–77)

V. 61 read: *Exponit qui non tenui macraque Minerva: macra* is added as a pun on Macrobius; cf. 209 and 668 (*prisci* on Priscian), and 603 ff. V. 78 *primi parentis:* print and read *primiparentis.*

V. 111 reference to Luc., i, 140. V. 117 *eccē:* read *ergo* (var.). V. 135 read: *inter vos gradus est; soror haec in limine prima.* V. 143 *Simplicium:* emend to *Simpliciumque.* V. 149 *ministro:* read *magistro* (?) V. 152 *Militiae:* emend to *Militia* (?) V. 160 an early use of *maxima* 'axiom' 'universal proposition'; see *NED.* under 'maxim' *sb*[1].

V. 201 *Dum* (*Cum?*) *sentis quia sit . . .* (in 200 *leviter,* Leyser, for *leniter* is recommended by the pun). V. 282 *Magus,* proper name.

V. 303 *amicus:* read *amica*, as 'Poesis' is the speaker. V. 306 *parit* must be read for the sake of the *adnominatio*. V. 339 *sine remige sextus* 'ablative absolute' (as in the example, 342); cf. *Poetria Nova*, 696, *ablativus sine remige solus; ibid.*, 707, *casus sine remige liber;* and *Doc. de Arte Versif.*, ii, 2, 38. V. 343 *Egregrie:* emend with Leyser to *Egregrieque.*

VV. 437–38 verses from *De Tribus Sociis;* see note on *Poetria Nova*, 1888 ff. V. 439 *Planities picta = via plana coloribus picta.*

V. 529 For *vōlo*, read both by Faral and Leyser, read *nolo;* yet *vōlo* occurs in a proverb (Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 69, Nr. 25). V. 537 *exstirpe:* emend to *exstirpes.* V. 584 *dispositura:* emend to *dispositiva.*

V. 608 *venit:* emend to *nevit.* V. 632 *praebent:* emend to *praebet.* V. 650 For *melliniis* read *melinis* 'wallets.' V. 652 *lapidem non sapit* 'smacks not of the dolt (?).' Leyser reads '*colores* (651) *qui ponit lapidum, non sapit ille metro:* this is supported by a gloss '*non delectabili filo.*' Still Faral's reading is preferable, as the writers are quoted as models of style; Leyser's reading misses the usual pithy characterisation; *colores* refers not to the poem on gems, but to *De Ornamentis Verborum.* V. 693 *Neoptolemus* = 'tyro,' as in John of Garland, *Synonyma*, 487 (*ed. cit.*); cf. *Poetria Nova*, 938, and Matthew, p. 158, § 23 above.

V. 750 *surge:* read *parce.* V. 771–73 punctuate: *justis /Supplico virgo tibi sacra, repelle probra; /Probra repelle, sacra tibi virgo supplico, justis* V. 774 read *recurro retro*, the inversion of 771 (so Leyser). V. 781 *regula:* emend with Leyser to *recula.* VV. 798–99 read: *Felices illae linguae, tibi dicere mille / Quae poterunt laudes, quae caeli culmine gaudes. Tibi* got in the wrong line, hence various corruptions.

V. 807 I do not see why Faral suspects the verse; it is practically guaranteed by the echoes. *Mino* 'lead' has *ĭ*, e.g., *idem animus non est asino pueroque minanti* (*Prora*, 257) and *en aliud minans, aliud meditatur asellus* (Nigel, *Spec. Stult.*, ed. T. Wright, p. 47). I translate 807–09: 'Lead the nations; grant at our prayer, thou who art called blessed, that we may avoid the jaws of the rebel, who delights in war and torments of the mind.'

V. 902 *celi:* perhaps read *zeli* 'jealous emulation,' written *çeli.* VV. 903-06 read: *Forma, scientia, res* ('wealth') *parit hanc* (*sc.* 'pride'), *parit illa ruinam* ('a fall')/ . . . *Elatosque parens haec perniciosa ruinae/ Invidiâ, proles duplicitate* (*?*) *necat.* Leyser's *subit* is better than *ruit* in 904 (*ruit* by dittography). V. 917 *intus:* read *incus.* V. 972 read *multotiens culpas* (so in a MS. of Leyser) *dissimulare gravis* (*res*), comparing 973–74. V. 998 *qui:* emend to *quae.*

P. 374, § 19, v. 5 *cultos:* emend with Leyser to *cultus.* § 20, v. 5 *Tálentum:* is this accent due to the permanence of the Greek? Cf. W. M.

Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, p. 155. § 21, v. 6 *vitae:* emend to *rite* (so a MS. of Leyser); v. 7 *peritae:* emend with Leyser to *perite.*

P. 375, § 23, v. 3 *Maria:* read with Leyser *maria;* § 26, v. 6 'turn and eat what you are torturing'; see the legend in Prud., *Peristeph.* ii (Laurentii Passio), 410 ff.

P. 376, § 27, v. 2 *salventur:* emend with Leyser to *salvemur.*

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ZU HROTSVITHAS WIRKUNGSKREIS

Ueber die *Vita Mahthildis Reginae II* (*MGH.SS.* IV, 282 ff.) hat sich Herwegen (*Forsch. z. d. Gesch.* VIII, 1868, 375) folgenderweise geäussert: "Man bekommt ein trauriges bild von dem prodoktionsvermögen eines autors, der uns . . . ein blosses konglomerat fremder gedanken und phrasen auftischt." Diese meinung wird dann durch belegstellen aus Sedulius, Septimius Severus, u. a. bekräftigt.

Der quellenkreis der *Vita Mahthildis II* lässt sich aber noch erweitern. Es fällt nämlich ins auge, dass der verfasser, indem er den alten text in reimprosa (vielleicht nach dem muster der gandersheimer dramen) [1] umarbeitete, sich auch *an den wortlaut* seiner älteren landsmännin, Hrotsvitha, stellenweise angelehnt hat. Die stellen sind nicht zahlreich, aber ziemlich markant:

V. M. II	Hrotsvitha
c. 1: et ipsos summa nutriebat diligentia.	Abr. 150, 9: . . . summa diligentia nutrivi.
c. 3: honestissimam habitu et admodum reverendo cultu.	Dulc. 134, 8: Amictu splendidi, vultu admodum reverendi.
c. 22: hilaritatem vultu simulabat.	Abr. 155, 8: simulata vultus hilaritate.
Praef.: cuius virtus tanto est laudabilior, quanto sexus fragilior.	Praef. G. O.: quanto sexus fragilior tanto venia erit facilior.

[1] Den rhythmischen zusammenhang der beiden denkmale habe ich bereits i. j. 1924 erkannt und einige bemerkungen darüber dem Institut für Spr. u. Literatur in Moskau vorgelegt. Da erschien aber 1925 das grundlegende werk K. Polheim's *Die Latein. Reimprosa* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), worin (s. 41) folgendes zu lesen ist: "Die kunstform der '*vita altera*' . . . ist also die reimprosa; sie stimmt im allgemeinen, wie in einzelheiten, mit der technik der Hrotsvit überein. Eine untersuchung wird in das 'Neue Archiv' eingerückt; sie ist in ihrer anlage der Hrotsvit-arbeit angeglichen und bestätigt deren ergebnisse." In der meinung, es würden in der versprochenen arbeit auch die *textuellen entlehnungen* erwähnt werden, habe ich mit der veröffentlichung derselben zwei jahre gewartet; jetzt glaube ich aber die stilistischen bemerkungen drucken zu dürfen, zumal Polheim das thema nicht zu berühren scheint. Von der erörterung der rhythmischen seite sehe ich einstweilen ab, bis Polheim sich entgültig darüber geäussert hat, obgleich ich nicht ganz nach den selben prinzipien arbeite und namentlich die statistische methode in grösserem masse anwende.

So könnte denn auch die stelle c. 3: *capax in studio disciplinae* — aus Hrotsvithas "*ad quosdam sapientes*" (*animal capax disciplinae*) und nicht direkt aus Boethius (*animal rationale, mortale, mentis et disciplinae capax*) entlehnt sein. Es seien einzelne ausdrücke beigefügt, die zwar an sich nichts beweisen, jedoch, in gemeinschaft mit den obenerwähnten, den eindruck der abhängigkeit von Hrotsvitha verstärken: c. 6: *dignitatis gradum* (Sap. 181, 20), c. 20: *hilari vultu suscepit* (Theoph. 35: *hilari vultu*, Ab. 137, 17: *hilari susceptione*), c. 23: *quid sibi vult* (Pafn. 172, 6).

Die entlehnung ist zeitlich, örtlich, und stofflich äusserst plausibel: im gleichen kreise haben ja die beiden dichter gewirkt, und die *Gesta Odonis*, sowie die *Primordia*, behandeln ein der *Vita Mahthildis* verwandtes thema. Die beiden gedichte der Hrotsvitha mussten sogar von einem gewissenhaften historiker und kompilator, als geschichtliche dokumente, neben der *V. M. I*, herangezogen werden. Wäre dem so, dann stände unsere dichterin nicht mehr so einflusslos und isoliert da, wie man bisher angenommen hat; die handschriftenfunde der letzten zeit scheinen das zu bestätigen.[1]

[1] *Neues Archiv* XLIV (1922), 101 fol.; *Zs. f. Deutsch. Altertum* LXII (1925), 233 fol.

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REVIEWS

Leo Behrendt, *The Ethical Teaching of Hugo of Trimberg.* The Catholic University of America Studies in German, No. I, Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1926.

Fifteen years ago there appeared the fourth and final volume of Gustav Ehrismann's critical edition of Hugo of Trimberg's *Renner* (Stuttgart. Literar. Ver., Vols. 247, 248, 252, 256, Tübingen 1908–1912). Dr Leo Behrendt has undertaken to deal with a number of matters concerning Hugo which Ehrismann considers necessary to a full understanding of the schoolmaster of St Gangolf, but which Ehrismann omitted from his edition "because they lie outside the limits set by the Stuttgart Society." These matters include Hugo's *weltanschauung*, his views on the life and morals of the thirteenth century together with the historical justification for these views, the versification and poetic style of Hugo's writings (including his Latin works), the sources and analogues of the proverbs and parables in the *Renner*, and Hugo's relationship to contemporary and later literature.

Now this is a fine task which Behrendt has chosen to assume. For, although Hugo has thus far been consistently slighted in standard works of reference on the history of social forces in Germany, he is none the less one of the earliest and most robustious representatives of German mediaeval bourgeois thought and democratic tendency. Besides this, Hugo is worthy of a high place in the record of didactic literature, pedagogy, and civilization in general, because he is an outstanding figure in the early stages of secular education and scholarship in Europe. And yet despite these facts Hugo of Trimberg is practically unknown outside of purely German tradition.

Behrendt begins his herculean task of summing Hugo's contributions to the mediaeval and renascent mind of Europe by writing a very good doctoral dissertation on Hugo's ethical teaching. Like most such efforts this dissertation is markedly uneven in performance, two thirds of it perhaps being nothing more than a conscientious fulfilment of the standardized doctoral requirements at the Catholic University of America. But two of Behrendt's chapters at least constitute fine additions to our knowledge of the humanistic temper of the late thirteenth century in Europe: these are the ones which treat of Hugo's attitude toward clergy and nobility and which assign him his place in the prologue of the protestant reformation. These two chapters do much more than help interest serious English readers in Hugo, they furnish the basis for a fuller comprehension of the conditions under which late mediaeval society had to labor, to all students of church history, education and ethics. Despite recurrent minor blemishes in

Behrendt's argument and expression, I believe it fair to say that he has given us the best monograph in English on Hugo or any other mediaeval didactic poet. There remains therefore but to congratulate him and his teacher, Professor Paul Gleis on this occasion, and to express the hope that Dr Behrendt will not shirk the task to which he has assigned his future effort.

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Allan H. Gilbert, *Dante's Conception of Justice.* Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1925. Pp. x, 244.

The late Francesco Flamini pointed out some years ago that the only safe and rational basis for a consistent general interpretation of the *Divine Comedy* is an intensive study of the philosophical and theological texts that Dante himself used; and that "the fulcrum of his entire philosophical and theological system is composed of the two *Summae* and the commentaries to Aristotle by Thomas Aquinas" [*Introduction to the study of the Divine Comedy*, Josselyn's translation]. It is easy, as Flamini says, to show parallels between Dante and this or that passage in Aristotle or the Church fathers; but unless a guiding principle is followed, the result is a disconnected mass of arbitrary interpretations. Of course, the principle of explaining the general ideas of the *Divine Comedy* according to the *Ethics*, as elucidated and developed by the greatest of theologians, is well understood; and, in spite of certain unacceptable features in the system worked out by Flamini, it is unquestionably the correct procedure. It is the procedure adopted by Mr Gilbert, who is to a certain extent a follower of Flamini. His first two chapters summarize the Commentary by Aquinas on Book v of the *Ethics*, which is devoted to a discussion of justice; the short third chapter is entitled "The Commedia as a Poem of Justice"; chapters 4 to 6 analyze from this point of view the three *cantiche* of the poem; and an Appendix of fifty pages gives the original Latin or Italian text of all passages quoted in translation in the body of the book. There is a well-arranged index.

Dante finished only four of the fifteen Books which he intended to include in the *Convivio* — probably because he felt that he could attain his purpose better by writing the *Monarchia*, and afterwards the *Divine Comedy*. He mentions, however, that the fourteenth Book of the *Convivio* was to treat of justice; and Mr Gilbert endeavors to present systematically the material that Dante would have used. He shows clearly — and the demonstration might be carried even further — the importance of this material for understanding the *Monarchia* and many passages in the other works. That avarice is an aspect of injustice is plainly stated by St

Thomas: *Ergo avaritia directe opponitur iustitiae*, etc.; and this relation, as Mr Gilbert says, "must be grasped by everyone who wishes to understand the De Monarchia, for part of the treatise is hardly intelligible to a reader who does not appreciate how serious the vice of greed seemed to Dante. The Thomistic conception of avarice and injustice is the key to Dante's belief that an emperor is essential to the happiness of society. . . . He is not dealing with cupidity in itself, but is following his teachers in considering it as almost identical with injustice." But Dante had so assimilated his material that he could use it with freedom, not only in his prose treatises, but also in poetry. After presenting the material according to the commentary of St Thomas, Mr Gilbert devotes the larger part of his book to expounding its concrete presentation in the *Divine Comedy*, the structure and purpose of which, he believes, cannot be understood without bearing in mind Dante's conception of justice: "In whatever way Dante's personal experience appears in the poem, God's justice is still its theme."

Undoubtedly, to trace the recurring influence of one single element in Dante's conception of the universe is a legitimate method of studying and interpreting the exceedingly complex *Divine Comedy;* but we must guard against exaggerating the significance of any one element. Whether or not we fully accept Mr Gilbert's statement that "Dante's vision is morally and intellectually acceptable only when the justice of the punishments he describes is accepted; if their justice be denied, the poem is chaos or burlesque," at any rate, we must assume that, so far as Dante himself is concerned, it is true. But it does not necessarily follow that justice was the fundamental element in Dante's creative poetic imagination. There is danger, as Croce has maintained, that in emphasizing the philosophical basis and the allegory of the poem we may obscure the purely poetic element. Certainly the poetry of Dante can be, and is, appreciated by readers to whom the justice of the punishments and rewards is not entirely acceptable; and they do not regard it as chaos or burlesque. Not that Mr Gilbert lacks appreciation of the poetry; it would be unjust to suggest such a criticism, and yet in his insistence on the fundamental importance of the philosophical background he does seem to ignore the fact that the poetic creation is not dependent on it, but is on the contrary what gives it life today. He has done well to analyze the sources and the application of Dante's conception of justice; but the justice of the punishments is only one among many elements in the poem, and perhaps not the most significant. In fact, in making it the criterion for interpreting some passages, he is led to unacceptable or at least very debatable conclusions. The element of justice has been repeatedly brought forward by Dante scholars in studies apparently not used by Mr Gilbert; and the novelties which he proposes are of questionable value. He perhaps makes plainer than it had been made be-

fore, that Dante has the ideal of justice constantly in mind; but he has a tendency to confuse the abstract philosophical idea as it existed in the poet's mind, with the purely poetic or literary criterion which guided the composition of the poem — not, of course, to the exclusion of the philosophic purpose, but equally important with it. A few specific points may be mentioned.

The discussion of *Inferno*, i, is unsatisfactory and inconclusive. Mr Gilbert is undoubtedly correct in saying that "the wolf is not Dante's personal vice of avarice, but the avarice that filled Italy and all the world with injustice"; he seems to reject both of the common interpretations of the three beasts as (1) Dante's tendencies to fraud, violence and incontinence, and (2) his personal sins of lust, pride and avarice; but he confuses the two interpretations when he says: "The human race is hindered because government and all society exhibit the injustice that springs especially from avarice, and are characterized by fraud and violence." To use the word *injustice* in this way weakens it to a general term for wrongdoing. In the very brief discussion of *Inf.*, xi, the canto in which Dante explains his classification of sins, *malizia* is made practically equivalent to injustice; and this leads to the inconsistency that the avaricious, in spite of what has been said before, are not reckoned among the unjust. — The discussion of the suicides is inconclusive and contradictory. In *Inf.*, xi, 24, *altrui contrista* is naturally translated "afflicteth others" by Longfellow — whose translation of the *Divine Comedy* Mr Gilbert quotes — and by others; but the word *altrui* does not exclude "oneself." Mr Gilbert tries to make the suicides sinners against God and society rather than against themselves as Dante expressly makes them. To speak of Pier delle Vigne (or della Vigna, or de Vineis) as "Peter of Vinea" is misleading, for Vigne is not a place-name.—The statement about the usurers is obviously correct, but has been made by others. The passages quoted by Mr Gilbert from Aquinas here and elsewhere are pertinent. — Strict application of what Mr Gilbert says about the robbers would put them in the seventh circle, rather than where they are in the eighth. — The sin of Ulysses and Guido da Montefeltro is made clear by the quotation from Aquinas: "as one man by his injunction, inducement or example, moves another to sin"; but Mr Gilbert contradicts it when he says: "This bolgia may properly be called that of the tricksters or strategists, but not that of the fraudulent counsellors." The correct term would be "counsellors of fraud." — The distinction between hell and purgatory is not clearly made at the beginning of chapter 5, where "the thoroughly wicked" are contrasted with "those who, though not without spot, are not deliberate and constant in evil." The true distinction is made elsewhere by Mr Gilbert; but he is on very debatable ground when he argues that whereas in hell the penalties are the logical result of the sin itself, in purgatory, being exclusively remedies for sinful

tendencies, they must be entirely unlike those of hell, and opposed to the sins rather than similar to them. Otherwise, says Mr Gilbert, the exact and careful structure characteristic of Dante's work has in this instance been abandoned, and the punishments, while just, have no special significance in themselves, or definite relation to the sin; purgatory would sometimes resemble hell, sometimes differ from it, and thus could not represent a different aspect of earthly life. Here Aquinas offers no support to the theory, since he does not differentiate the punishments in the two regions, although he does say that disorder may be remedied by the contrary of what caused it. So far as pride, envy, sloth and gluttony are concerned, the theory works well; Mr Gilbert makes it fairly plausible in the case of lust, but he has difficulty in making anger and avarice conform. If the theory is correct, a very pretty symmetry results; but one must guard against assuming too much symmetry, and it is certainly going too far to say that if the theory does not fit completely, "the whole is brought to confusion." — In beginning his discussion of the *Paradiso*, Mr Gilbert remarks, doubtless rightly, that the allegorical meaning of this cantica has been comparatively neglected: "Commentators have seemed to hesitate to bring heaven down to earth, as it were, by an allegory of paradise. Yet that is what Dante intended to do. He may be said to have written the Paradiso to show that heaven is on earth, as in the Inferno he showed that hell is on earth." Consequently the distribution of rewards and honors is a part of Aristotelian justice quite as much as that of punishments; in other words, "the three parts of the *Commedia* represent justice under three aspects." True enough; but the elaborate analysis of the *Paradiso* from this point of view contains less of novelty than Mr Gilbert seems to think; apparently he has failed to use some of the obvious books on the subject, even some of those in English, and is not aware that many of his observations have been made before. He gives no general bibliography, and only occasional references to other studies of the subject.

In spite of these strictures, the book has value; this is chiefly in its clear presentation of the treatment of justice in Aristotle and Aquinas, and in its demonstration of the part this treatment plays in Dante's attitude toward the universe. The application of the theory to the *Monarchia* and the *Convivio* is both more original and more significant than the long and often inconclusive analysis of the *Divine Comedy;* but it was worth while to point out once more that if the sight of the rewards and punishments of the after life is to produce the proper reaction, they must accord with the system of justice in which Dante believed: "A punishment or a reward cannot exhibit merely a clever outward appropriateness; it must exemplify also the principles of Aristotelian and Thomistic justice."

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K. Strecker, ed., *Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon. I. Die Lieder der Handschrift 351 von St Omer.* Berlin: Weidmann, 1925.

Strecker has done us a service in preparing this careful reissue of an interesting group of 33 short poems hitherto available only in Mone's rare edition of 1838. His arguments confirm the surmise of Giesebrecht and Peiper, that the author is Gautier de Châtillon; one poem berates Henry II for the murder of Thomas à Becket (1170); one deals with the coronation of Philip Augustus II in 1179. They show familiarity with the Vulgate on the one hand, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius on the other, and form a curious medley of hymns, satires and love-songs, in one of which Wilhelm Meyer (whose notes Strecker uses) restores a clever indecency which the prudish copyist had emended (*pedicatus, predicatus*). As Strecker admits, several obscure passages invite further critical study. This is an excellent piece of work; we await Part II with anticipation.

C. U. Clark.

Ch. Diehl, H. Bell, trans., *Byzantine Portraits.* New York: Knopf, 1925. Pp. 342.

This is a translation of Diehl's well-known *Figures Byzantines*, published twenty years ago. Mr Bell has added "The Wisdom of Cecaumenus," first published by Diehl in pamphlet form in 1912,[1] and the plan of the Sacred Palace, from Ebersolt. Like the original this volume has no index.

It is a welcome addition to our material, in English, on Byzantine history. M. Diehl excels in the art of vivid portrayal and Mr Bell's translation is skillful and adequate. The portraits are arranged in chronological order and carry the history nearly to the end of the eleventh century. The part played by the empresses in state affairs is illustrated by the careers of the two Theodoras — the sinner and the saint, of Theophano, of Athenais-Eudocia, of Irene, of Zoe Porphyrogenita, and others only less influential. The glimpses of the life of the women of the middle class in the eighth and the eleventh centuries can hardly be taken as typical, since one of the heroines was the mother of Theodore of Studion and the other, of Michael Psellus. But we cannot expect to have any record of the life of a woman of humble rank unless she gave birth to a son who rose to fame and was moved by filial piety to record the life of his mother, as in these cases. The account of "the romantic adventures of Basil the Macedonian" and of "the four marriages of Leo the Wise" are especially interesting.

From this volume can be gleaned not merely palace history and gossip, but also some insight into the social conditions and vicissitudes. We are far from the old point of view which Gibbon expressed in his characteriza-

[1] *Un Précurseur de La Rochefoucauld à Byzance.*

tion of Byzantine history as "a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery," or from Taine's "gigantic mouldiness lasting a thousand years." M. Diehl by his many writings has done much to emphasize the interest and importance of Byzantine history and to attract scholars to study its civilization to which we are so deeply indebted. If these lively sketches cause more English readers to examine into the conditions which underlay the brilliant court life, the volume will have served scholarship, and further study may well begin with some of M. Diehl's other writings.

Dana Carleton Munro,
Princeton University.

E. N. Stone, trans., *Adam, a Religious Play of the Twelfth Century translated from the Norman French and Latin into English Verse*, University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, IV (1926), 159–193, Seattle: University of Washington, 1926.

Any consideration of Professor Stone's translation of *Adam* invites at least a prefatory comparison with that by Dr Barrow, appearing only a few months earlier than his.[1] Miss Barrow's aim was to translate line for line the eight- and ten-syllable verse of this religious drama into prose "as literal as was consistent with the rendition into clear, simple English." In his apologia Mr Stone explains that in a sense his metrical and rhymed translation may be regarded as a supplement to her *literal* text. His endeavor was "to preserve faithfully the form of the original, both the metre and the rhyme, at the same time keeping as close to the original as the exigencies of versification will permit." His translation thus attempts to carry over into English some of "the external beauty of the original" which must be sacrificed in a literal prose translation. The material with which he had to work is, in brief, a twelfth-century Anglo-Norman dramatic composition of universally recognized literary worth and poetic merit, in verse of eight and ten syllables, with the eight-syllable lines in rhyming couplets and the ten in rhyming quatrains. The decasyllabic lines constitute only a small proportion of the whole and are reserved for the more dignified, solemn, or serious passages.

To the reviewer, the translator's term "paraphrase" for his version seems too modest a claim. Despite his self-imposed restrictions, he has made an essentially faithful translation, the footnotes to which show his commendable care, thoroughness, and judgment in words or passages subject to query. But his literary *tour de force* presents a more complicated problem. In general, to adopt in translation the involved and highly con-

[1] *Antichrist and Adam, Two Mediaeval Religious Dramas.* Transl. into English by Sarah F. Barrow and William H. Hulme. in *The Western Reserve University Bulletin*, August, 1925, p. 68; rev. G. R. Coffman, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLII (1927), 129–133.

ventional pattern of the verse of the original, as is here done, seems inconsistent with the attempt to present to English readers "the external beauty of the original" through what must be a recreative process. The employment of the iambic pattern for the rhythm creates no integral difficulty, for this rhythm in English is dramatically rich and variable; and the rhythm of the original corresponds in general to the iambic. But rhyme is a different matter. For the English readers this presents a genuine difficulty. We accept without question the soundness of the tradition of *verse* for drama; but the fashion for rhyme in couplets has prevailed for only one literary period since the passing of mediaeval types of drama; and the more complicated rhyming scheme which includes *quatrains* tends to cause us to take in serious vein Hotspur's jesting dictum — mincing poetry "like the forced gait of a shuffling nag." Though such a criticism of the following passage, in which God admits Adam and Eve into Paradise, is far too cavalier, the reviewer feels that the restrictions of rhyme prevent the fitting simplicity, directness, and dignity which the original, with its rhyme, seems to carry:

> The nature of this garden I'll recite:
> Here shalt thou feel the lack of no delight;
> No earthly good, desired of any wight,
> But each may here be found in measure right.
> Here wife from man shall no harsh word obtain,
> Nor man from wife have shame or cause to plain;
> Begetting, man shall sinless still remain,
> And woman bear her children without pain.[1]

On the other hand, Mr Stone, on fitting occasions, does show a sensitiveness to poetic diction and a mastery of phrasing which suggest something of the inherent beauty of the original drama. The lines from the prophecy of Balaam are a happy illustration of these qualities:

> From Jacob shall a star arise,
> Reddening with heaven's own fire the skies,
> A Sceptre spring from Israel
> That shall 'gainst Moab's rule rebel,
> Their haughtiness diminishing;
> For out of Israel Christ shall spring,

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[1] Vv. 89–96:

> De cest jardin tei dirrai la nature:
> De nul delit n'i troveres falture; —
> N'est bien al mond, que coveit criature,
> Chescons n'i poisset trover a sa mesure —
> Femme dē home nen i avra irur,
> Nē hom de femme verguine ne freür.
> Por engendrer n'i est hom peccheor,
> N'a l'emfanter femme n'i sent dolor.

And he shall be that glorious Star
Whereby all things illumined are.[1]

On the whole, one may consider this literary *tour de force* an interesting and only partially successful experiment rather than a model for future translators of mediaeval classics.

George R. Coffman,
Boston University.

Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, ed., *Fragment de l'Histoire de Philippe-Auguste, Roy de France: Chronique en Français des Années 1214–1216*, published with an Introduction. (Reprinted from the *Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, LXXXVII (1926). Pp. 45.

Here is a text welcome alike to the historian and to the philologist. Attention was called to it long ago by its present editor, the scholarly historian, Charles Petit-Dutaillis, who is now Directeur de l'Office National des Universités Françaises and is also Recteur Honoraire de l'Université de Grenoble. He found it at the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the Collection André Du Chesne, where it figures, not as the original manuscript, but as a copy made probably by Du Chesne himself. The editor made use of it in his well-known *Etudes sur les Sources de la Vie de Louis VIII*, and other scholars have had cognizance of it, but it has remained unedited until now. The beginning and the end of the text are missing, but it is the opinion of M. Petit-Dutaillis that the complete chronicle did not deal with occurrences anterior to the Anglo-German coalition of 1213–14 or posterior to 1216. None the less, its value is clear in that, long or short, it is one of the oldest chronicles in French prose. It gives an original account of the Battle of Bouvines and of the early events of the expedition of Louis de France to England. It has interesting remarks about John Lackland and concerning the Crusade against the Albigensians, and, above all, it affords first-hand information as to happenings in Flanders and in the valley of the Rhine.

The unknown author of the document wrote it in the region of Artois and, because of the importance given in it to Michel III de Harnes, whose fief was situated in Artois, M. Petit-Dutaillis is inclined to set up the hypothesis that this noble stood sponsor for the chronicle and may even have dictated part of it. On the basis of internal evidence one might say that

[1] Vv. 817–824:

De Jacob istra steille,
Del fu del ciel serra vermeille;
A sudra verge d'Israel,
Qui a Moab fera revel,
A lor orguil abaissera;
Car d'Israel Cristus istra,
Qui ert esteille de clarté:
Tot ert de lui enluminié.

the actual writing of it occurred between 1219 and 1226. It is a matter of interest that Philippe Mousket appears to have utilized the document for his *Chronique Rimée*.

Although we are dealing with a copy (and possibly a copy of a copy) of the MS., we may feel safe in saying that the original was in a northern dialect. Despite an admixture of central French forms, we recognize readily Picard forms such as *prisent* (for *pristrent* of the Ile-de-France), *fisent* (for *fistrent*), *drechier*, *cachier*, *ceaus*, *asses*, *fors*, etc. Should not *me sires* be written as one word, *messire(s)*? In § 12, *noiés* must be an error for nom. pl. *noié*, and in § 51, *Buenon* looks like a misreading of *Buevon*. The *firors* of § 22, following *casteax*, seems almost certainly a mistake for *fors;* cf. *fors chasteax* earlier in this same paragraph. Is there any chance that the *Estanfort* of § 46 represents 'Stamford' in England, rather than 'Steenvoorde'? The editor is perhaps right in correcting the *waveroit* of § 42 to *wauceroit* (cf. *waucrant* in *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 34, 10); yet one thinks of a possible association with English 'waver' and its various cognates in Germanic.

Copious notes interpret archaic terms in the text and make clear many historical allusions.

J. D. M. Ford.

James Midgley Clark. *The Abbey of St Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art*. Cambridge: University Press, 1926.

A volume on St Gall is a delightful prospect for the reader, who is at least partly gratified by what he finds, and who will applaud the writer's intention, announced in the preface, to harmonize the specialties and to look at his subject from many points of view. The titles of the chapters certainly cover a wide range: they include an "Historical Introduction," "The Irish Influence," "The Anglo-Saxon Influence," "The Plan of the Abbey," "The School of St Gall," "Art," "Music," "The Drama," "Literature excluding the Drama," "St Gall in Romance," "The Abbey Library and its Manuscripts," and a "General Estimate." Unfortunately, the text is not always as inspiring as the title. The method involves vain repetitions and the style suffers too frequently from careless phrasing and from the opposites of unity, mass, and coherence.

The admirable citations from that incomparable mirror of mediaeval life, the *Casus Sancti Galli*, with which Dr Clark seasons his discourses from time to time, make one wish that his book had taken the form of a complete translation of that work, with an introduction and notes in the manner of Meyer von *Knonau*, and of Scheffel in his memorable romance of *Ekkehard*. Into such an introduction might have gone the more inter-

esting parts of the various chapters of this book, with some of the scholarly discussion relegated to excursuses. The chapter on the drama might readily have been boiled down and incorporated with that on the other literary forms, and both of them absorbed into the account of the School of St Gall. In this way the somewhat perfunctory chapter of introduction and the amorphous "General Estimate" at the end would quietly disappear. In its present form the book falls between two stools. It will not excite the imagination of the general reader or satisfy the conscience of the scholar.

However, it is ungracious to inform an author how he should have planned his book. Instead, we should be grateful for the good things that he has given us. There are not many of them in the chapter on Art. To this subject, which very properly is made to include script, Mr Clark has devoted considerable labor, but the result is not commensurate with the effort. An account of the ornamentation and the script of the early books of St Gall that makes no mention and no discoverable use of well-known works by Zimmerman, Boinet, Goldschmidt, Lindsay, Lehmann, Leidinger, and Beer is hardly on the level of our present information about the subject. Chroust's *Monumenta Palaeographica* is mentioned several times in the notes and included in the bibliography at the end of the book, but the information presented in his valuable specimens that illustrate the progress of writing at St Gall and its sister monastery Reichenau has hardly been woven into the text. Such statements as that "after the accession of Abbot Othmar [720] the Irish script with its frequent ligatures and peculiar abbreviations was definitely abandoned" (p. 25), or that "it is by no means easy to distinguish between Anglo-Saxon and Irish manuscripts at St Gall because the script is the same in each case" (p. 65), or that "the rude attempts at ornament [in the eighth century] at the most . . . are quaint and bizarre," finding "their final expression in the gargoyles and grotesque sculptures of Gothic architecture" (p. 133), or that "there were in his [Alcuin's] possession many beautiful Northumbrian manuscripts" (p. 134), or that the fame of Tours, Metz, Rheims and Corbie "was very largely due to the careful study of early Christian painting" (p. 136), or that "the use of capital [in ornamentation] instead of the uncial or semi-uncial is typical of the Carolingian Renaissance" (p. 138) are either so downright perverse or so misleading that the untutored seeker for information will get from this chapter only a distorted idea of the real history of art and script before and during the times of Charlemagne and his successors. It is significant that the names of Luxeuil and Corbie play no rôle in this account. Mr Clark has examined one matter at first hand, the problem concerning the ivory covers of the *Evangelium Longum* (p. 163), and yet he would have saved himself and his readers considerable time had he studied the discussion of this matter in the monumental work of Adolf

Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und Sächsischen Kaiser, VIII.–XI. Jahrhunderts*, volume I, published in 1914, pages 80 ff. Whatever the author's studies of the actual manuscripts may have been, this chapter on Art might have been compiled entirely from an imperfect array of second-hand sources. Further, in these days, when an article on such a theme can hardly appear without illustrations, it is unfortunate that no one of the splendid monuments of the scriptorium of St Gall is made visible to the reader. What profits the detailed comparison of the *Psalterium Aureum* with the *Folchard Psalter* (p. 141), when we are shown no specimen of either the one or the other?

It would be unfair to the book to assemble from some of the other chapters, as might easily be done, instances of loose statement, incomplete references, or bibliographical omissions. I would rather direct the reader's attention to the chapter on Music, which is much sounder than that on Art, to the exposition of the famous plan of the abbey drawn in the early years of the ninth century and substantially followed in the actual buildings, to the picture of those three inseparables, Ratpert, Notker, and Tuotilo, to the account of the dramatic festivities at St Gall, including the revels of the boys of the school, and to the sympathetic analysis of the Latin epic *Waltharius*, done by the youthful Ekkehard I. There is, then, much of value in the book. It might profitably be revised in its present form instead of that suggested at the beginning of this review. In any case, it needs a thorough house-cleaning from attic to cellar.

E. K. Rand.

U. Monneret de Villard, *Les Couvents près de Sohâg (Deyr el-Abiad et Deyr el-Ahmar)*. Ouvrage publié sous les auspices du Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe. 2 vols. Milan, 1926.

Ugo Monneret de Villard has done me the great and deeply appreciated honor of dedicating to me his new monograph in two volumes on the White and Red Monasteries near Sohâg. The work, privately published at Milan under the auspices of the Committee for the Preservation of Arab Monuments, is richly illustrated with 222 plates and numerous cuts in the text; it will be a prize eagerly sought by librarians and connoisseurs of rare and precious archaeological works. It is written nominally in French, but virtually in a real Esperanto, perfectly comprehensible to everybody, perhaps none the less so for a certain impatient disdain of academic orthography and grammar.

Across mediaeval Europe falls the mysterious and elusive shadow of Egypt. Other Oriental influences are intangible enough and powerful enough, but no other haunts the student more constantly, more convinc-

ingly, or more perplexingly. We believe that we have found in the tympanum of Chartres the invention of a new motive; and then we discover that it was a commonplace in the Coptic art of six centuries earlier. We think that we have found in some marked analogy proof of direct relationship between such and such a monument in France and another in Spain; but all our deductions fall to the ground for there proves to be a third, precisely similar, in Egypt. Whether we turn to the pages of the *Beatus* or those of Irish or Northumbrian or Merovingian or Italian manuscripts, the same adjective rises to our lips instinctively, irrepressibly, insistently — Coptic. The banks of the Nile glisten for us in Roman mosaics; our stare is returned by glittering black Egyptian eyes; the same eyes echo down through the centuries and pursue us even in French glass. The lion-supported portals of Lombardy merely repeat an old, old Coptic motive; the draped cross dear to Aragonese sculptors of the Romanesque period is, as Monneret points out, the same as that frescoed in the south apse of the White Monastery. When we try to find precise proofs of this Coptic influence, they often escape us, yet an unshakable conviction remains. Whether we study the squinched domes of Le Puy or the transverse barrel vaults of Tournus, the trefoiled apses of Catalonia, the apse frescos of the eleventh century, or the tympana of the twelfth, we are always brought face to face with the same mystery. How is it possible that remote and forgotten monuments of the interior of Egypt should have been reproduced detail for detail by untravelled artists in unfrequented villages of western Europe? How much of all we divine rests on a solid basis of truth, how much is the delirious illusion of an imagination over-inflamed by Strzygowski-ism? The sphinx propounded to Oedipus no more baffling a riddle.

What has made the enigma more difficult has been the nebulous state of our knowledge of Coptic monuments. For long years such study as was given them was made by Egyptologists, who not only despised Christian work as of second-rate interest in comparison with the remains of greater antiquity they were seeking, but who lacked the special training in mediaeval art necessary to enable them to perceive the significance of what they found. Much of priceless value perished in the course of hasty excavation and for lack of proper care; such publications as were made too often left essential facts in doubt. Of the two general histories of Coptic architecture in existence, that of Butler, never very accurate, has long been out of date; and that of Somers Clarke quite frankly avoids all archaeological difficulties. Meanwhile the acute but desultory observations by students of the West had made it increasingly evident that knowledge of this art was fundamental for the study of the occidental Middle Ages.

Under the leadership of a group of modern scholars, at whose head stands Monneret de Villard, all this is changing. Christian Egypt is now

being explored scientifically by competent specialists, men who bring to their tasks not only a requisite knowledge of the Oriental tongues (in itself a life work) but familiarity with the infinite related monuments in East and West. With Patricolo, Monneret de Villard has published a monograph on Santa Barbara in Old Cairo which clears up one corner of the field. Alone he has brought out the very illuminating monograph on Ahnas, and one on the apse fresco of the White Monastery, and now this architectural monograph on the two monasteries near Sohâg. He announces a general history of Coptic architecture which will be awaited with the most intense interest.

In his study of the fresco of the White Monastery (published in the *Raccolta di Scritti in Onore di Giacomo Lombroso, 1844–1925*, Pubblicazione di Aegyptus — Serie Scientifica, III, Milan, 1925), Monneret has already studied in his exhaustive way one of the primary problems of the Coptic question — that of the Ascension-Majestas Domini-Vision of Ezekiel motive so widely diffused in the East and West, and so disconcertingly present at Bawit. In the present work he subjects other no less burning questions to the same patient and thorough analysis. Where other investigators have found two or three analogous monuments, he finds dozens; it is brought home to us how narrow and superficial is the basis upon which we have been trying to found conclusions. We begin to realize how vast and complex these matters really are, and the enormous risk of error in even the most carefully weighed judgments.

Thus the study of the trefoiled apse, found in both the great monasteries near Sohâg, brings out a wealth of material undreamed of by those who have hitherto studied the problem. The motive is found in Roman architecture, in the East, in Egypt, in certain mediaeval monuments of the West. Did it come to the latter from Egypt? The case is not so free from difficulty as has been supposed. In this connection it is interesting to recall that Mr Whitehill has found reason to think that the triple apses of Catalonia, which seem so similar to those of Syria, may be the result of analogous liturgical requirements rather than of direct architectural influence.[1]

Monneret also studies at length the troubled question of the domes of the White and Red Monasteries. He finds that both churches were originally roofed in wood, and that the squinched domes were built at the same time as the rest of the vaults in the thirteenth century. These much-discussed domes have not therefore the significance which has been attached to them, either in connection with Hoga Kalessi in Asia Minor, or with Le Puy and Tournus in France.

[1] Paper read at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, December, 1926, and to be published in *Art Studies*.

In a similar spirit the history of other fundamental motives is studied, such as transverse and cusped arches. We occidentalists are made to feel, even if we happen to have sailed straight, how much deeper and more treacherous these waters are than we had known, and how essential to right thinking is just such a method as that which Monneret employs.

The spirit of the book is singularly dispassionate. The author seems to have no thesis to prove. He knows thoroughly both the East and the West, but he never makes himself the lawyer for either. He shows pitilessly the inconclusiveness of the reasoning upon which in several specific instances Coptic art has been believed to have influenced the West, yet he is himself thoroughly convinced of the reality of that influence in general. It is in Spain especially that he finds its evidences most marked: "*Plus on étudiera les origines de l'art du moyen-âge dans cette région, plus on découvrira des influences orientales. Et l'Egypte y a apporté une large contribution.*"

It is against this background of general, not to say universal, historic interest that stand out, in the pages of Monneret de Villard, two of the great churches of the world, now really made known for the first time. A study of the historical sources, thorough like everything in the book, establishes the date of the White Monastery as about 440 A.D., and that of the Red Monastery as contemporary. In abundant illustration and in a most detailed description these supreme achievements of Coptic art are present before us; we know them as if, perhaps better than if, we had actually seen the difficult and puzzling ruins. These colossal basilicas, with their exterior and interior nartheces, their galleries and terraces, their naves of some nineteen bays, their baptistries, their trefoiled and columned apses, their niches, formed an ensemble strikingly imaginative and beautiful. Their architecture, hitherto only inaccurately recorded, is now available for the history of art. We acquire knowledge not only of two masterpieces of Coptic design, but of monuments which, whether for archaeological or aesthetic interest, are unsurpassed by anything which the fifth century has left us.

A. Kingsley Porter.

Reginald Lane Poole, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis Historiae Pontificalis quae supersunt*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. Pp. c, 128.

That John of Salisbury, humanist, philosopher, secretary, was also an historian was first established by Giesebrecht in 1873. This claim rests upon a unique fragment of papal history from 1148 to 1152 preserved anonymously at Bern and edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae* in 1868 under the title *Historia Pontificalis* by Wilhelm Arndt, who did not identify

the author. Unfortunately Arndt, who was later to attack the difficult task of Gregory of Tours for the same series and edit the well-known *Schrifttafeln*, "had not acquired the knowledge or the experience necessary for the work," a severe judgment which Dr Poole fully justifies (p. xciii) by examples of elementary blunders in palaeography. The new editor possesses not only a high order of technical skill and accuracy but a ripe acquaintance with the twelfth century, while his familiarity with John of Salisbury has been shown in many important contributions to our knowledge of this writer. The ninety pages of carefully annotated text are accompanied by an introduction of equal length which discusses the value of John's evidence in conjunction with other contemporary narratives of the same events. These critical discussions should be carefully noted by students of the Second Crusade, the council of Rheims, and Arnold of Brescia, for John was papal secretary throughout these years and wrote from full knowledge. In the note on p. xxii 'Langlois' should read 'Luchaire,' and on p. lxxxii 'Geoffrey of La Porrée' should be 'Gilbert.'

Charles H. Haskins,
Harvard University.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

Sister Miriam Annunciata Adams, *The Latinity of the Letters of St Ambrose*, Catholic University diss., Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1927.

Sister Mary Raphael Arts, *The Syntax of the Confessions of Saint Augustine*, Catholic University of America diss., Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1927.

F. S. Betten, *St Boniface and St Virgil*, Benedictine Historical Monographs II, Washington, D. C.: St Anselm's Priory, 1927.

A. H. Birch, *A Comparison of the Styles of Gaudentius of Brescia, the De Sacramentis, and the Didascalia Apostolorum or Fragmenta Veronensia*, University of London diss., Risca, Monmouthshire: Yendall & Co., 1924.

J. J. Chapman, *Dante*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927.

E. S. Davison, *The Forerunners of Saint Francis*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927. Review in preparation.

F. Dornseiff and J. Balogh, trans., *Dante Alighieri, Über das Dichten in der Muttersprache, De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Darmstadt: Reichl, 1925.

V. H. Galbraith, ed., *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333 to 1381*, Publications of the University of Manchester CLXXV, Historical Series XLV, New York: Longmans Green, 1927. Review in preparation.

D. L. Galbreath, *Sigilla Agaunensia*, Lausanne: Imprimerie Delacoste-Borgeaud, 1927.

W. T. M. Gamble, *The Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Its Inheritance in Source-Valuation and Criticism*, Catholic University of America diss., Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1927.

A. W. Goodman, ed., *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, Winchester: Warren & Son, Ltd., 1927.

R. K. Gordon, tr., *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, Everyman's Library, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1927. Review in preparation.

C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. Review in preparation.

G. de Luca, ed., *Di un Antico Lezionario nella Biblioteca del Seminario Romano Maggiore, Laternum, 1926*, Rome: Pontificio Seminario Romano Maggiore, 1926.

A. L. Maycock, *The Inquisition from Its Establishment to the Great Schism*, New York: Harpers, 1927. Review in preparation.

O. H. Moore, *The Young King, Henry Plantagenet, 1155–1183, in History, Literature, and Tradition*, Ohio State University Studies, Columbus: Ohio State University, 1925.

E. de Moreau, *Saint Amand, A potre de la Belgique et du Nord de la France*, Louvain: Editions du Museum Lessianum, 1927.

W. A. Morris, *The Mediaeval English Sheriff to 1300*, Publications of the University of Manchester CLXXVI, Historical Series XLVI, NewYork: Longmans Green, 1927. Review in preparation.

G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England, An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350–1450*, Cambridge Studies in Mediaeval Life and Thought, New York: Macmillan, 1926.

L. A. Paton, ed., *Les Prophecies de Merlin edited from MS. 593 in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Rennes*, Part One, Introduction and Text, Part Two, Studies in the Contents, published for the Modern Language Association of America, New York: Heath, 1926.

P. Rajna, *Proemio* to *La Geste Francor di Venezia, Facsimile in Fototipia*, pubblicato sotto gli Auspicii del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione per cura della Direzione della Biblioteca Marciana, Milan-Rome: Bestetti & Tumminelli, n. d.

S. H. Rathbun,[1] *A Background to Architecture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926. Review in preparation.

M. F. Richey, *Schionatulander and Sigune, An Episode from the Story of Parzifal and the Graal, as related by Wolfram von Eschenbach*, London: Alexander Moring, Ltd., n.d.

W. Seton, ed., *St Francis of Assisi: 1226–1926, Essays in Commemoration*, Preface by P. Sabatier, London: University of London Press, 1926. Review in preparation.

J. S. P. Tatlock, A. G. Kennedy, edd., *A Concordance to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and to the Romaunt of the Rose*, Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution, 1927.

H. Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927. Review in preparation.

Sister Agnes Clare Way, *The Language and Style of the Letters of St. Basil*, Catholic University of America diss., Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1927.

[1] This book was listed incorrectly in SPECULUM II, 230, as by S. H. Hume.

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WHO WAS THE EHFRID OF ALDHELM'S LETTER?

BY ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK†

THE most singular of Aldhelm's compositions is that letter to Ehfrid whch has been distinguished by two prominent historians of English literature, Sharon Turner [1] and Hippolyte Taine.[2] The former characterizes it with the remark: "The whole epistle exhibits a series of bombastic amplification." Taine (tr. van Laun) observes: "By dint of [alliteration], he congregates in one of his epistles fifteen consecutive [3] words all beginning with the same letter, and, in order to make up his fifteen, he introduces a barbarous Græcism [4] amongst the Latin words." Instead of copying the Latin passage from Taine, who apparently copied it from Turner, I subjoin a longer extract from the beginning of the epistle in Ehwald's

† The Editors of SPECULUM regret to announce the death of Professor Cook on September 1, 1927. For a notice of Professor Cook's work, the reader is directed to pages 498–501 below.

[1] *Hist. of England* (London, 1839) 3.403.

[2] Bk. 1, chap. 7.

[3] Only thirteen are strictly consecutive.

[4] Instead of one Græcism (Taine probably means *pantorum*), Ehwald (pp. 752–3) counts three others (*panagericum, poemata, polo*), and, in the rest of the passage, seven more (*simphonia, melodiæ, ymnizemus, protoplaustorum, cirografum, celydrum, tartara*).

edition of Aldhelm (pp. 488–9), indicating by a vertical bar the limit of the portion quoted by the two critics:

Primitus pantorum procerum prætorumque pio potissimum paternoque præsertim privilegio panagericum poemataque passim prosatori sub polo promulgantes stridula vocum simphonia et melodiæ cantilenæque carmine modulaturi ymnizemus, | præcipue quia tandem almæ editum puerperæ sobolem ob inetricabile sons protoplaustorum piaculum priscorumque cirografum oblitteraturum terris tantundem destinare dignatus est, luridum qui linguis celydrum trisulcis rancida virulentaque vomentem per ævum venena torrentia tetræ tortionis in tartara trusit.[1]

The letter, of about five printed pages in octavo, is inaugurated by the following address: *Domino venerabili præconio efferendo et sanctorum meritis magnopere honorando Ehfrido Aldhelmus exiguus in Domino æternam salutem.*" [2]

Who, then, was Ehfrid, or, as the name should be written in English, Ehfrith? The first person to attempt an answer to this question appears to have been James Us(s)her (1585–1656), Archbishop of Armagh.

I. Ehfrith Identified with Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne (698–721).

In 1632 Usher published at Dublin his *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, of which No. 13 (pp. 37–41) was Aldhelm's letter to Ehfrith. In an appendix of notes to the various epistles, he explained (pp. 119–120) that his text had been constituted on the basis of four manuscripts, which he proceeded to specify. He

[1] This I venture to present in a somewhat free rendering:

"First of all, let us, proclaiming everywhere under the heavens our praises and our poems to the Creator, with the gracious allowance of all princes and prelates, but especially of the heavenly Father, hymn his pæan in high-pitched harmony and in a strain of modulated melody, chiefly for that, in the fulness of time, he deigned to direct to earth his Son, born of the sweet Mother, as an expiation for the incorrigible guilt of our first parents, and as the expunger of the handwriting [Col. 2. 14] of those forefathers, Who thrust into the burning hell of terrible torture the livid Serpent that with forked tongue had vomited through the ages his fetid and virulent venom."

[2] "To Ehfrith, his revered lord, worthy to be exalted by fame, and greatly to be honored through the merits of the saints, Aldhelm the insignificant wishes eternal happiness in the Lord."

goes on to state that Eahfrid, or Æhfrid, seems to be the same as Eadfrid (also known as Eatfrid, or again as Egfrid), to whom Bede dedicated his prose Life of Cuthbert, and who succeeded Eadbert as Bishop of Lindisfarne in 698 — Aldhelm's letter to him having been written before that date, although in the Royal MS. the title reads, *Incipit Epistola Aldhelmi Episcopi*, which would, if interpreted literally, date the letter between 705 and 709.

Ninety years later (1722), Smith, the learned editor of Bede, quotes (p. 227) Bede's dedication of his Life of Cuthbert[1] "*Domino sancto et beatissimo patri Eadfrido episcopo*," and adds in a note: "Ad hunc Aldhelmus Abbas Malms. epistolam scripsit, quæ extat Ep. Hib. Syll. N. XIII." It seems clear, then, that Smith derived his opinion from Usher.

In his *Biographia Britannica Literaria: Anglo-Saxon Period* (London, 1842), Thomas Wright remarks of Eadfrith (p. 241): "He appears to be the same as Eahfrid to whom Aldhelm dedicates one of his letters, and consequently he had visited Ireland, perhaps before the period of his election to the bishopric of Lindisfarne." This last clause would suggest that Wright drew directly from Usher.

In 1880, James Raine (the younger), Canon of York, contributed to the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* a sketch of Eadfrith (2), in which he observes (2. 7): "There is a single letter addressed to him by Aldhelm abbat of Malmesbury on his return from Ireland. It is written in the uncouth Latinity of the period, and is of trifling importance (*Epp. Hib. Syll.* iv. [N. ?] 13; Aldhelm, ed. Giles, 90–5)." This attribution may have come from Smith.

In the same volume of the *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, Bishop Stubbs, writing briefly of our E[a]hfrid, says in closing (2. 10): "He is possibly identical with Echfrith abbat of Glastonbury, or with Eadfrid bishop of Lindisfarne."

In 1888, Professor T. F. Tout, writing of Eadfrid in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (16. 306), says: "He is probably the 'Eahfrid' to whom, on his return from Ireland, Aldhelm addressed a long and hardly intelligible letter (*Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. 91–5, ed. Giles)."

[1] Written, according to Plummer (*Venerabilis Bædæ Opera Historica*, 1. xlvi), probably about 720.

To this identification, for which no good reason has been alleged, it is only necessary to object that the laws of the language forbid us to regard *h* (= guttural *ch*) and *d* as convertible consonants.

II. Ehfrith Identified with Egbert (639–729), a Northumbrian Priest Living in Ireland.

The second editor of Aldhelm's letter to Ehfrith was Henry Wharton, of whom Bishop Stubbs has said: [1]

> This wonderful man died in 1695, at the age of thirty, having done for the elucidation of English Church History (itself but one of the branches of study in which he was the most eminent scholar of his time) more than any one before or since.

In 1690, being presumably unaware that Usher had published the letter in 1632, Wharton found among Usher's manuscripts a copy of it which Usher had prepared, but which was mutilated toward the end; supplying this lack from two manuscripts (Ehwald's A and C), he proceeded to print it in a supplement (pp. 351–5) to a work of Usher's which he had been commissioned by Archbishop Sancroft to publish.[2] Wharton evidently congratulated himself on being the first to bring Aldhelm's letter to light, for he says (p. 350): "Illamque, utpote hactenus ineditam, integram subjeci." However, his edition is less correct than that which Usher had published more than half a century earlier. After printing the letter, Wharton comments upon the name Ehfrid. In doing so, he has occasion to cite John Bale (1495–1563), whose views can only be accepted with the utmost caution (cf. my *Biblical Quotations in Old English*, 1898, p. xvii; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 3. 42). Wharton begins by assigning variant names to the recipient of Aldhelm's epistle — Heahfrith, Eadfrith, Egfrith, and Egbert. He then quotes Bale to the effect that Bede wrote a letter of admonition to Egbert, or Egfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and charges Bale in this point with error, giving it as his own opinion that the letter which Bede cer-

[1] *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 2d ed., 1897, p. vi.

[2] *Jacobi Usserii Armachani Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis* (pp. 1–303); *Auctarium* (pp. 305–468).

tainly addressed in 734 to Egbert, Archbishop of York, was supposed by Bale to have been written to the Bishop of Lindisfarne. Wharton, for his own part, believes that Heahfrith, to whom Aldhelm's letter was addressed, afterwards occupied the see of Lindisfarne. What Aldhelm says of his correspondent — continues Wharton — agrees with Bede's statement regarding the Bishop of Lindisfarne, namely, that he had devoted several years to study in Ireland, and was *very learned in the Scriptures.*[1] Unfortunately, this statement of Bede's was made (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.4) concerning an Egbert who seems to have spent all his adult years in Ireland, Bede's words here being:

> . . . Patre et sacerdote Ecgbercto, de natione Anglorum, qui in Hibernia diutius exulaverat pro Christo, eratque et doctissimus in scripturis.[2] (Cf. *Eccl. Hist.*, 3.27; 4.3; 5.9, 22.)

There is some evidence that this Egbert was a bishop in Ireland; and a Life of Adalbert, who flourished about 740, calls him "Egbertus Northumbrorum episcopus" (*Bædæ Opera Hist.*, ed. Plummer 2.285); but he certainly was never Bishop of Lindisfarne (cf. Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 2d ed., p. 243).

The facts then, are these: (1) Aldhelm wrote a letter to Ehfrith, and Bede an important one to Egbert, Archbishop of York, 734–766; (2) Neither Egbert nor Ehfrith was at any time Bishop of Lindisfarne; (3) as Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, 698–721, can not be identified with Ehfrith (see above, pp. 365, 366), so neither can the Egbert to whom Bede refers in *Eccl. Hist.* 3.4, nor the Egbert who became Archbishop of York twenty-five years after Aldhelm's death,

[1] Heahfridum (quem etiam Ehfridum, Eadfridum, Ecgfridum, Ecgbertum vocant). . . . Addit Baleus Bedam Egberto sive Ecgfrido Lindisfarnensi Episcopo missa Epistola objurgatoria muneris Pastoralis incuriam increpuisse. . . . Errasse quidem Baleum, quamque Ecgberto Eboracensi Archiepiscopo nuncupavit Beda, Lindisfarnensi Episcopo cognomini inscripsisse Epistolam, libenter crederem. Heahfridum autem nostrum, ad quem scripsit Aldhelmus, sedem postea Lindisfarnensem tenuisse parum dubito. Et nomen ejus et tempus et eruditio apprime conveniunt. Quodque de nostro indicat Aldhelmi Epistola de Lindisfarnensi narrat Beda, illum pluribus annis in Hibernia sacrarum literarum studio operam dedisse, et *in Scripturis doctissimum* fuisse.

[2] Bede also calls Aldfrith, King of Northumbria, *vir in scripturis doctissimus* (*Eccl. Hist.* 4.26).

and at least forty-five after he wrote the letter to Ehfrith[1] (who may be presumed to have been at that time not far from twenty-five years of age).

III. Ehfrith Identified with Aldfrith, King of Northumbria (685–705)

This decision was made by Heinrich Hahn (*Bonifax und Lul*, 1883, p. 6, note 3: "Der Brief an Eahfridum ex Hibernia reversum ist zweifellos an den nachherigen König von Northumberland, Aldfrid," the only reason alleged being that Aldfrith had studied in Ireland [cf. Plummer, *Bædæ Opera Hist.* 2.263]. Hahn was followed in 1894 by Leo Bönhoff [*Aldhelm von Malmesbury*], who espoused and elaborated his predecessor's view (pp. 71, 74, 99–101). In 1922 I was inconsiderate enough to give my adhesion to the same theory.[2]

The argument against this equation is the same as that enounced at the close of I (above, p. 366); see also Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, p. 487).

IV. Ehfrith Identified with Ealhfrith (Alfrith), an Envoy from Bishop Wilfrith to Aldfrith, King of Northumbria

About 704, Wilfrith, wishing to present to the king a communication from the Pope, sends as mediators two men, of whom the second is the one in question (Eddi, *Life of Wilfrith*, chap. 56): "Sanctus pontifex noster electos nuntios Badwinum, presbiterum et abbatem, magistrumque Alfrithum ad Aldfrithum . . . emisit." Of this ecclesiastic Stubbs says (*D. C. B.* 1 (1877).72) that he "is probably the same learned teacher to whom Aldhelm wrote an epistle congratulatory on his return from Ireland."

This identification is ruled out by the principle enunciated at the end of I (above, p. 366).

[1] See *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 487; *Mod. Lang. Notes* 39 (1924). 80–81 (where it is referred to a date between ca. 684 and 690, and, because of the allusion to the vigorous activity of Theodore of Tarsus, may preferably be assigned to one approaching the earlier of these two years). Thomas Wright (*Biographia Britannica Literaria: Anglo-Saxon Period*, p. 298) would place the birth of Archbishop Egbert about 678.

[2] *The Possible Begetter of the Old English Beowulf and Widsith* (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, 25.292–3).

V. Ehfrith Identified with Echfrith (Atfrith), Perhaps Properly Heahfrith

According to Stubbs (*D. C. B.* 2 (1880).35), he was "the fifth abbat of Glastonbury in William of Malmesbury's list. He presided, according to the same authority, from 719 to 729, during which time Ina's greatest privileges were granted to the monastery (Will. Malmesb. *Antt. Glast.* ap. Gale, pp. 310, 313, 328). . . . See Eahfrith."

The first of these references to William of Malmesbury (p. 310) yields the following:

> Successit Echfridus, cui, anno incarnationis Domini DCCXIX, dedit Ina unam hidam, cum captura piscium Axe. Eidem Bugu abba dedit Ora, tres hidas [p. 326: Buggu abbatissa Ora III hidas, Rege Ina consentiente et confirmante]. Fundavit insuper Ina majorem Ecclesiam de Apostolis Petro et Paulo.

On p. 313 we have:

> Æthfrido abbati successit Cengille, anno dominicæ incarnationis DCCXXIX.

On p. 328 there is a list of the early abbots of Glastonbury, and here the names of the two abbots are given as Atfrith and Kemgisel.[1]

Under Bishop Stubbs' cross-reference, we obtain what has already been quoted on p. 365: "He is possibly identical with Echfrith abbat of Glastonbury, or with Eadfrid bishop of Lindisfarne." The second of these we have rejected (pp. 365, 366); it remains to be seen what there is to say for the first.

1. As to the spelling of the first syllable, the *t* of *At–*, or *Æth–*, is probably merely graphic, and due to the resemblance of *c* and *t* in certain manuscripts. Thus the anchorite Eata (d. 767) is described by Alcuin under the name of Echa, other forms being Echha, Etha (*D. C. B.* 2.22, 211).

Considering the phonetic value of the *h* in Ehfrid, there is no reason why the latter might not be represented as Echfrid, as in the first quotation above from William of Malmesbury.

[1] For other spellings of this name, see Cengille, *D. C. B.* 1.438, where he is spoken of as "succeeding Echfrid (*Mon. Angl.*), whom Malmesbury calls Atfrith and Aethfrid."

The initial *E* in these words is to be regarded as long, and undoubtedly stands for *Ea;* but as both these are very rare before *h* at the beginning of Old English proper names,[1] there is a strong probability, in view of the frequency of *Heah-* in this position, that Ehfrith stands for Heahfrith.[2] Moreover, of the five manuscripts cited by Ehwald (*op. cit.*, p. 88), three have initial H [3] (Heafrido, Hachfrido,[4] Hechfrido), while two have Ehfrido.[5]

2. What correspondence is there between the probable age of Aldhelm's correspondent and that of the abbot of Glastonbury at the same date?

In a preceding paragraph (p. 368), I have assumed that Heahfrith (Ehfrith) was about twenty-five years old when he received Aldhelm's letter, which I would place not far from 685. My reasons are these: (1) Aldhelm greets the returning wanderer, who had been studying six years in Ireland (ed. Ehwald, 489. 8–9), as one who, entering young manhood when he left, had now virtually attained the station of a teacher; [6] (2) in another place (491.6), Aldhelm addresses him as *your courteous discipleship*, in nearly the same terms which he employs in speaking to a youth (cf. 479.20) who was about to seek Irish training for the first time. The paragraph which follows in the letter to Heahfrith is one of exhortation, such as an experienced man might appropriately address to a junior about entering on a career.

If Heahfrith were 25 in 685 — when Aldhelm was 46, and had been ten years abbot of Malmesbury — he would have been born in 660. Accordingly, he would be 59 when he became abbot of Glastonbury, and 69 when he died — one year younger than Aldhelm at his death. In all this there surely is nothing improbable.

[1] See Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, p. 195.

[2] See Searle, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–4, who lists eighteen different persons of the name Heahfrith.

[3] See Wharton's spelling, p. 367, n. 1 above.

[4] Under the adjective *high*, the *N.E.D.* gives *hah* and *hach* as twelfth-century spellings.

[5] For the occasional dropping of initial *h* in Old English, see Cosijn, *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, p. 181; with the *Ercoles* (for Hercules) of Alfred's *Orosius* (ed. Sweet 148.19; 150.9), compare the *Ercles* of Shakespeare, *M.N.D.* 1. 2. 31, 42. For Ardbertus = Heardbeorht, Ardwine = Heardwine, see Searle, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 73; 285,286.

[6] Cf. Ehwald, 490.1–3: "Ubi dudum incunabilis tirocinii editus rudibus adulto tenus pubertatis ævo adoleveras, nunc versa vice superna opitulanti prærogativa affatim fultus ab incolatu externi ruris repatrians præceptoris vocamine indepto sortitoque fretus fungaris."

3. The relation of Aldhelm to Glastonbury.

This relation can perhaps best be discerned through the relation of Aldhelm to King Ini of Wessex (688–726), whose realm eventually included London and the conquered kingdom of Sussex. We are told (*D. N. B.* 28.429–430):

> A fellow-worker with his kinsman Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, he obeyed all Aldhelm's wishes, and carried out his plans. . . . On the death of Bishop Heddi, Ine carried out the scheme . . . of dividing the West-Saxon diocese by creating in 705 the bishopric of Sherborne, to which Aldhelm was appointed as first bishop.

The monastery of Glastonbury was established (or reëstablished) by Ini in 708 (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. 12.113). Of this foundation William of Malmesbury says (*Gest. Pont.*, p. 196):

> Ibi primus rex Ina consilio beatissimi Aldelmi monasterium edificavit, multa illuc prædia, quæ hodie nominantur, largitus.

And again at more length (*ibid.*, p. 354):

> Has animi regalis dotes animabat stimulis monitionum pater Aldhelmus; cujus ille præcepta audiebat humiliter, suspitiebat [*Gest. Reg.* suscipiebat] granditer, adimplebat efficaciter. Ejus monitu Glastoniense monasterium, ut dixi in *Gestis Regum* [1.35], a novo fecit; nec parvi pretii rura Melduno intulit, liberalibus scriptis donativum prosequentibus.

According to this testimony, Ini endowed Gloucester at the instance of Aldhelm, without neglecting Aldhelm's own monastery of Malmesbury.

Another proof of Aldhelm's regard for Glastonbury is to be found in the fact that the hamlet of Doulting — some ten miles distant from Glastonbury — where he died in May, 709, had been given by him to that monastery, reserving the usufruct, but apparently only for his lifetime. Thus William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.*, p. 382):

> Villa est in pago Sumersetensi, Dulting vocabulo, in qua hominem exuit, quam pridem monachis dederat Glastoniensibus, usum fructuarium pactus.

It was no doubt in memory of Aldhelm's relation to Glastonbury that Dunstan (d. 988), who was first a monk at Glastonbury, afterwards abbot there, and eventually Archbishop of Canterbury, gave

bells, an organ, and a holy-water vat to Malmesbury Abbey, in honor of Aldhelm; and, fearing that the richness of Aldhelm's shrine would cause his remains to be desecrated by the Danes, he caused them to be translated A.D. 986 to a stone tomb.[1]

The mention of Glastonbury suggests the attitude of King Ini, and of his mentor, Aldhelm, toward the Welsh, who were in the position of a conquered people, existing in large numbers in West Saxon territory. Speaking of Ini's code of laws, the *Dictionary of National Biography* goes on to say (28.429):

> A special interest attaches to those which concern the Welsh within the West-Saxon kingdom, for they illustrate the change in the treatment of the conquered people consequent upon the acceptance of Christianity by their conquerors. Under Ine English and Welsh lived peacefully side by side. . . . Personally it is evident that Ine had some close relations with the Welsh. . . . He was a benefactor to Glastonbury, and is said to have built the first of the churches raised to the east of the ancient wooden church of British times. His preservation of the sanctuary of the conquered people may be connected with his other relations with them. . . . Aldhelm's effort to persuade the Welsh to conform to the Roman Easter must have been agreeable to Ine, and his success may to some extent have been due to the king's influence.

To a similar effect are these sentences by J. A. Robinson, Dean of Wells (*Somerset Historical Essays*, p. 35):

> It is Ina's glory that in his famous code of laws he dealt out justice to the conquered Britons of the lands he ruled. Their ancient monastery rose to new glory under his fostering care. Gifts of land enriched it, and the king built the Great Church of SS. Peter and Paul, east of the venerable wooden shrine which still treasured the memories of the past. Glastonbury necessarily came under English abbots with the Benedictine rule; but it never ceased to be a centre of Celtic pilgrimage, and as a temple of reconciliation it must have played no small part in the blending of the two races.

In the light of these magnanimous efforts to reconcile the Welsh, who had long anticipated their conquerors in the acceptance of Christianity, with the English who had come to bear rule over them, it is perhaps significant that Aldhelm, whose own earliest

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Pont.*, pp. 407–8, 425; *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 301–2.

education was at the hands of an immigrant Irishman at Malmesbury,[1] was, as we have seen, probably instrumental in the eventual appointment to the abbacy of Glastonbury of a man who received his education in Ireland, though himself an Englishman. A generation had passed from the time when Aldhelm exhorted Heahfrith not to put his lighted candle under a bushel, nor to hide his Lord's talent in the earth, nor to suppress the righteousness of God within his own heart; and at length, in the fulness of time, when Aldhelm was no longer there to behold, the young learner from Ireland came, as it were, to stand for an ensign of the people in the sight of the realm which was one day to be ruled by King Alfred.

[1] See my paper, *Sources of the Biography of Aldhelm* (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, 28. 289–290).

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SOME THIRTEENTH-CENTURY CLASSICS

LYNN THORNDIKE

WHEN we speak of "the Classics," we are apt to have in mind the extant works from certain periods of ancient Greek and Latin literature which, since the days of Italian humanism, have rather monopolized that designation. A Chinese, however, would think in this connection of the Confucian Canon, and a mediaevalist may perhaps be pardoned for allowing his thoughts to stray back to masterpieces of the thirteenth century. In a recent newspaper "symposium" (corpse of Bacchus, lie still and shades of the Deipnosophists, begone!) as to the twelve leading names in all literature, or at least all western literature, most of the present "best-sellers" who were consulted named Homer, Virgil, and Plato, while some even included the three Greek tragedians and Epictetus. But my fleeting glance at this consensus of expert opinion failed to detect any mention of Cicero, whom I, like Petrarch and the old grammarian of Vicenza in the fourteenth century, had always regarded as about the classiest classic of them all. When treason thus boldly rears its head in the very circle of the platitudinous, we may venture to violate the classical monopoly a little further.

Possibly we may even do some violence to the strict and proper sense of the word "classic," since we shall extend its application beyond the field of pure literature to works which were not remarkable for perfection of form or excellence of style, but were standard rather in the sense of being authoritative in their own age, representative of it, and forming the foundation for future culture for several centuries. If to-day the very authors and titles of some of these works are little known, it is partly because the humanistic reaction of the so-called Renaissance gradually introduced a narrow conception of culture which left them in outer darkness. Yet what can we know of the thirteenth century without an acquaintance with such books? How inverse and disproportionate to study the struggle of empire and papacy, or even the economic and social structure of

gild and manor, and yet almost totally ignore many of the books which were then known, if not to every school-boy, at least to most persons of general education, and which constituted the warp and woof of the thought, the mental attitude, the *Weltanschauung* of a whole period! That period was not merely a single century. These works were the especial product of one century, the thirteenth, but they continued as the favorite reading, the text-books, the authorities, the manuals, the works of reference, the handy guides of several centuries following. On to the sixteenth century their sway remained virtually unabated; some held their own well into the eighteenth century.

What works are to be selected as the classics of the thirteenth century, using that term a little broadly to include the first years of the century following? I have never seen such a selection; so far as I know, it has never before been made. So little has this method of approach been employed, so varied are the fields of interest to be covered, that it is not a little difficult for a person who is intimately acquainted with only one or two phases of mediaeval culture to pull his wits together and try to think of a fairly representative list of standard works from the thirteenth century which continued to influence deeply the centuries following. But possibly those that occur to one rather offhand while on vacation away from libraries, without searching out in particular histories of scholasticism, medicine, law, and literature, or without systematically ransacking one's own notes or drawers of bibliography, may prove as suggestive and helpful as any. I may as well admit now that I have not read all the works to be mentioned; any reader who has read them all may cast the first stone. I must also own that some of the titles to be listed were unknown to me only a very few years ago. Consequently there are very likely to be other important ones which have not merely slipped my mind for the moment, but never yet come to my attention. The list is also probably both imperfectly balanced and somewhat subjective. Nevertheless, I venture the assertion that a number of the works included will be unknown to the average reader even of this periodical, while I cherish the hope that the list may stimulate or irritate those who are better informed to suggest

additions or substitutions, or to draw up independent lists of their own.

Beginning, however, on more familiar and common ground, with the field of modern literature and writings in the vernaculars, if our choice were to be limited to two works, which may seem to many a cruel restriction, it might well fall on Dante's *Divine Comedy* and *The Romance of the Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. We need not dispute concerning the former. The latter set a long fashion of the plot which occurs in a dream and of the allegorical romance, and is one of the most influential and most imitated works in literary history.

Our other thirteenth-century classics were almost all written in Latin and consequently are less well known. For example, what was the leading work of that century in Latin poetry or prose from the standpoint of style and pure literature? I do not know the correct answer, and doubt if there would be any general agreement, or even if this problem has been sufficiently considered. But not to leave a complete void in this respect in our list, I will feebly suggest as a starter the name of Geoffrey of Vinsauf, an Englishman who taught at Bologna about 1200. His *Art of Poetry* (*Poetria Nova*) not only is said to rank him among the best poets of the time, but also was an important work in the history of literary criticism. He also wrote in prose an *Ars dictaminis* or treatise on letter-writing. A better-known specimen of thirteenth-century treatises on this *Ars dictaminis* or *Ars dictandi*, to which mediaeval chancelries and stylists gave so much attention, would probably be, however, the *De forma dictandi* of Petrus de Vineis, a secretary to the emperor Frederick II, who flourished about 1230.

Another prominent writer associated with Frederick II, by whom he was imprisoned, was Albertanus, whose name occurs not infrequently in catalogues of collections of mediaeval manuscripts. While in prison he wrote *On the Love and Cherishing of God and One's Neighbor and Other Things, and on the Form of a Righteous Life* (*De amore et dilectione Dei et proximi et aliarum rerum, et de forma honestae vitae*), dedicated to his son, Vincent. To his third son, John, he dedicated a *Book of Consolation and Counsel* (*Liber consolationis*

et consilii), from which, in its Italian translation, Renaud de Louens derived his *Roman de Mélibée et Prudence*, and Chaucer in turn his *Tale of Melibeus*. It is, however, the little treatise which he dedicated to his second son, Stephen, *Of the Doctrine of Speaking and Keeping Silent* (*De doctrina dicendi et tacendi*) that I would include among our classics, since it was more often printed and translated than the other two, and, I think, occurs more often in the manuscripts. It expands, with many additional sub-points and a wealth of quotation from past authors, the familiar verse or proverb, "*Quis, quid, cui dicas, cur, quomodo, quando, requiras.*" [1] Although the title of Albertanus' treatise is somewhat similar to those of works on the *Ars dictandi*, its content, as may be imagined, is largely of a moralizing strain. It is certainly not a great work, but it seems to have been popular and characteristic of the age.

Turning back from this digression and from the rhetorical exercise of Latin style to the elements of grammar, we may include three very influential books in that field. First is the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu, near Avranches in Normandy. Strictly speaking, it belongs to the twelfth century, having been written in 1199. Consisting of some 2645 leonine hexameters, it was easy to memorize, and it was strong in syntax where the earlier work of Priscian (about 500 A.D.) was weak. It was generally used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the numerous extant manuscripts — at least two hundred and fifty — testify. Despite the criticisms of humanistic grammarians, which were not always well taken, it continued so extensively in use after the invention of printing as to run through nearly three hundred editions. It was supplemented by the more advanced *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Béthune, which was composed in 1212 and was likewise written in hexameters. The third work of the sort was the *Catholicon* of Brother John of Genoa, completed in 1286. Four of its five component books dealt with grammar and prosody; the fifth was a lexicon. It was one of the first

[1] "Who you yourself are, what you say, to whom you speak, Why, how, and when: these six things seek." There are other variants of it, of course. Another thirteenth-century author gives it as:

"Si sapiens fore vis, sex(?) serva que tibi mando:
Quid dices, et ubi, de quo, cum quo, quando."

incunabula to bear an indication of the date of printing, having appeared in 1460 from the press of Faust and Schaeffer. It was also printed at Mainz in 1490, at Venice, and elsewhere.

After the mediaeval boy had finished with grammar school, he devoted several years at the university to the study of logic. Apparently the most widely employed text in the subject that appeared during the thirteenth century, and that continued longest in use thereafter, was the *Summulae Logicales* or *Parua Logicalia* of Petrus Hispanus, who crowned his scholarly career by becoming a cardinal and then Pope John XXI. He composed another handbook of about equal popularity in the field of medicine, the *Thesaurus Pauperum*, a compendium of remedies for various diseases arranged in order from the head to foot of the human body. Numerous editions attest its currency in the sixteenth century, a time when the humanists and Ramus were assailing the *Summulae Logicales*. However, the very humanist who attacked it might have a short time before written some complimentary verses for a friend's edition of it. Or another would try to soften its asperities and lighten its abstractions by reducing its principles to a game of cards. The *Thesaurus Pauperum* required no such popularization, since it already contained enough occult virtues and marvellous remedies to make a very widespread appeal.

In the realm of mathematics the arithmetic or *Liber Abaci* of Leonard of Pisa, which at the beginning of the century (1202, with revised edition in 1228) introduces us to the Hindu-Arabic numerals, did not become as widely known and generally used as it deserved to be. But the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco, or John Holywood, written in 1244, a brief presentation of the main points of the Ptolemaic astronomy, received, if anything, more attention than it deserved and was the subject of many commentaries both mediaeval and early modern. Almost equally well known was the *Theory of the Planets* by Campanus of Novara, who was the author of other astronomical treatises and the translator of Euclid. A third stand-by were the astronomical tables drawn up by order of King Alfonso the Wise of Castile. It is to be remembered that such astronomical works found a relatively much larger reading public than would

corresponding works to-day because of the universal credence then in the control of inferior creation by the movements of the stars, or astrology.

To Campanus, whom we have just mentioned, one Simon Cordo of Genoa, author of a number of medical works and translations, in 1292 dedicated his *Key to Health* (*Clavis sanationis*). Of the many medical treatises produced during the thirteenth century, aside from the already noted *Thesaurus Pauperum*, perhaps the *Synonyms* of this same Simon Cordo of Genoa is as often cited as any. But the most celebrated and monumental work of all mediaeval Latin medicine, and still regarded in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as a greater authority than any work of the intervening period, was the elaborate *Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum et precipue medicorum* of Pietro d'Abano, the famous professor of Paris and Padua. Though it was not finished until 1303, most of its author's life lay in the previous century, and he had been working over the book in class-room lectures and discussions for a decade before its completion. In it over two hundred moot questions for the medical man were argued at much length in scholastic fashion.

Passing from the medical to the legal profession, we may readily recognize the leading legal classic of the century in the *Great Gloss* of Accursius, whom even the humanistic jurist, Cujas, in the sixteenth century, still ranked easily ahead of all Greek or Latin interpreters of the law. The student of the English common law will think also of Bracton. These jurists of the thirteenth century were not necessarily dry-as-dust reading. Not only did the glossators study classical literature and history in order to illuminate the text of the law, but, if we may trust Fichard, who in the first half of the sixteenth century wrote the lives of the leading jurists before his time, the legal works of Odofredus, a professor at Bologna who died in 1265, "are filled with a certain vivid energy and charming method of instruction. For the reader does not seem to be reading him but almost to hear him."

In the domain of political thought the *De regimine principis* of Egidius Romanus, who flourished about 1290, is one of the most familiar treatises of the century and representative of the attitude

of fatherly Christian counsel which was generally offered to potentates until the time of Machiavelli and even sometimes thereafter.

Pietro dei Crescenzi, who was born at Bologna about 1233 and attended the university of his native city, then became a judge, and later served many of the Italian cities in the capacity of *podestâ*, might have been expected to devote the leisure of his declining age to the composition of a work on law or politics, when he retired to private life upon his villa or country estate in the neighborhood of Bologna. Instead he produced a work on agriculture, *Liber cultus ruris*, or *Liber ruralium commodorum*, or simply *De agricultura*, which was completed by about 1305 and was to have an enormous future influence. Not only does it depict the agricultural lore and practice of the thirteenth century, but it was so great a factor in the agricultural revival of early modern times that Crescenzi has recently been hailed as the father of modern agriculture. Between 1471 and 1602 the work appeared in some threescore Latin editions and was also made available in Italian, French, Spanish, German, and Polish.

In the fine arts there seems to be no writing of equal importance and influence from the thirteenth century, although it was the great period of Gothic. The notebook of the architect, Villard de Honnecourt, with its drawings of animals from life and other sketches, is a precious relic from those times but does not seem to have been widely known then or in the following centuries.

We should naturally expect a considerable number of our thirteenth-century classics to be concerned with religious and ecclesiastical matters, and such is the case. Everyone would of course include the theological *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas, the most esteemed and influential of all mediaeval theologians, and who still has his followers. In connection with the church service and its symbolism the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of William Durand may be ranked as a classic. Of the numerous collections of stories of miracles and tales for preachers to use in their sermons, the *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesar of Heisterbach and the still unpublished work of Stephen of Bourbon have attained considerable celebrity. But more important than these was the *Golden Legend*

of the Saints by Jacobus de Voragine, which became such a general favorite and whose influence in mediaeval art has been so well demonstrated by Emile Mâle. In order to satisfy the many modern admirers of Saint Francis of Assisi we should perhaps include in our list the *Lives* of him written by Thomas of Celano between 1229 and 1247, or the *Speculum Perfectionis* of disputed date and authorship. A general work of reference and a sort of expositor's Bible was the work which was often briefly referred to as *Mammotrectus*, only the word was very variously spelled by different scribes. A fuller title is *Expositiones vocabulorum super totam bibliam ad usum clericorum pauperum* (*Explanations of Words throughout the Bible for the Use of Poor Clerks*). And yet certain Protestant historians persist in saying that the Bible was not studied before the Reformation, but only the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. This first section of the work was followed by tractates concerning orthography, antiphonies, responses, legends of the saints, and homilies. Mammotrectus was a John or Johannes Marchisinus, a Franciscan friar of about 1300. His book was printed at least four times before the close of the fifteenth century; namely, at Mainz in 1470, at Frankfort in 1476, and at Venice in 1479 and 1493.

Of works written for that very large circulation, the poor scholars or the poor clerics or the poor practitioners of medicine, such as the *Mammotrectus* just mentioned and the *Thesaurus Pauperum*, another widespread example was the *Philosophia Pauperum*, ascribed to Albertus Magnus. It forms or pretends to form a brief epitome of the essence of his numerous longer works on natural philosophy, for the benefit of those numerous individuals who were too poor to buy, or too lazy to read them all. Of this popular introduction to philosophy there are five different families of manuscripts and twenty-three printed editions which likewise divide into five versions. Its long-continued influence is illustrated by the fact that it was taught at the University of Cracow as late as 1777. I should prefer, however, to see Albertus Magnus represented in our list by some one of his detailed works in natural philosophy of undoubted authenticity, such as the *De vegetabilibus et plantis* which has won him the title of the greatest botanist between Theophrastus and Cesalpini,

or the treatise on *Minerals*. Both these works were composed without the help of any treatise by Aristotle as a guide.

A book of the first half of the thirteenth century that had a great currency as late as the Elizabethan Age was that of the Franciscan, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, or Bartholomew of England, *On the Properties (or Natures) of Things* (*De proprietatibus rerum*), from God, angels, and demons through human beings, psychology, and health, and starry heavens, down to terrestrial geography, matter, animals, stones, colors, savors, odors, and liquors. Both manuscripts and incunabula editions of it are very numerous, and it had been translated into French, English, Spanish, and Dutch during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Yet so fleeting is earthly fame that only the other day what is perhaps the leading newspaper in the United States, in stating that the oldest printed book in the English language is alleged to be Trevisa's fourteenth-century translation of the *De proprietatibus rerum*, went on to ascribe the Latin original to "Bartholomew de Glanville, who wrote in the fourteenth century."

Nor may we omit the longer and more elaborate *Speculum Maius* of Vincent of Beauvais, librarian to St Louis, king of France, and tutor of the French royal children. Indeed, if we wished to include a thirteenth-century treatise on pedagogy, we might include his *On the Education of the Royal Children*. To return to his main work, this vastest of mediaeval encyclopedias subdivides into three ponderous sections, the *Mirror of Nature*, *Mirror of History*, and *Mirror of Doctrine*. All three appeared in incunabula editions soon after the invention of printing. The whole work was essentially a compilation and consists in large measure of direct quotations from previous writers pieced together. Vast as it is, however, it by no means exhausts the previous literature and must not be taken as a mirror giving a complete reflection of the accumulated knowledge or stock of ideas of the thirteenth century.

Quite different in tone and method from the *Speculum Maius* was the *Opus Maius* of Roger Bacon, a work critical rather than cumulative, and concentrating its attention upon only certain aspects and departments of thirteenth-century learning. Furthermore, it is

written in a direct, personal style. Yet its interests are those of the culture of the time, whether its advocacy of experimental method and of the study of Greek and oriental languages, or its leanings towards alchemy and astrology. There is no good ground for believing that Roger Bacon was persecuted for a knowledge far in advance of his age, or that he consigned it to a clumsy cipher. His book could not have been written at any other period and may fittingly be listed as a classic of the thirteenth century. In fact, we might further include one or two more specialized works by other authors devoted each to some one of the particular fields in which Bacon was interested. Thus in his favorite subject of *Perspective (or Optics)*, Witelo, part Polish and part Thuringian by descent, about 1270 A.D. completed a work which may be said to have become the standard treatment of the subject for the Latin world and to have served for several succeeding centuries as an excellent text-book in the field of optical science. Or in the field of practical mathematics upon which Bacon laid stress we might note the *De ponderibus* of Jordanus Nemorarius, no inconsiderable landmark in the history of physics.

Close to science in the thought of the time lay occult science and what we should regard as pseudo-science. The most popular mediaeval work of this type was not composed during the thirteenth century but was translated then from the Arabic into Latin by Philip of Tripoli. Subsequently it was translated into almost every European language. This was the *Secret of Secrets* (*Secretum Secretorum*) which purported to have been written by Aristotle for his pupil, Alexander the Great. The book embroiders its occult science upon the border of political science as well as of natural science, and offers counsel on kingship as well as on personal hygiene. Roger Bacon showed his taste for this sort of literature by writing a commentary upon it. A close second to the *Secret of Secrets* in the procession of supposititious occult writings was the book of Secrets attributed to Albertus Magnus (*Secreta Alberti*). It was printed much more often than any one of Albert's undisputedly genuine works and evidently appealed to a wider, if more credulous and less intellectual, audience. The treatise deals with the marvellous virtues

of herbs, stones, and animals. Although probably not by Albert, it was ascribed to him from an early date and had apparently taken form by the end of the thirteenth century.

We must not forget the *Ars Magna* of Raymond Lull (1235–1315), although he devoted more than one treatise to its exposition. This Lullian art was a method of reasoning by use of assorted figures, colors, diagrams, letters, spaces, and the like. It continued to be taught in the Spanish peninsula and the island of Majorca long after Lull's death.

Which historian of the many who wrote during the thirteenth century in Latin or the vernaculars to select is not an easy task. Shall it be Matthew Paris, or the more popular and credulous *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry, or the gossip of Salimbene, or the chronicles of a Villehardouin and a Joinville, or such an official compilation as the *Estoria de España* ordered by Alfonso the Wise of Castile, whose astronomical tables have been already mentioned? In the field of geography and travel it would seem that the volume of Ser Marco Polo must take precedence over all else.

Our final selection will be a book in which amusement was combined with instruction, or rather, a game was taken as a pretext for moralizing. Chess, of course, was one of the favorite pastimes of the Middle Ages, and a very popular book, of which manuscript copies abound in European libraries, was the *Ludus scaecorum* (*Game of Chess Moralized*), composed by Jacobus de Cessolis about the year 1290.

Such are some rambling suggestions for a list of thirteenth-century classics, or best-sellers, as you will. Many of them were textbooks or works of reference, but, unlike ours which change every few years, — or at least pretend to do so, — they remained in use and favor for centuries. How significant and valuable then they are in the history of thought and culture! Shall we interpret their long continuance as something of a sign of intellectual stagnation? If so, the reproach will fall upon the centuries which followed and not upon that which, despite the already great accomplishments of the twelfth century, expressed itself in this impressive array of new or standard works.

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GREGORIAN CAPITALS FROM CLUNY

By WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, Jr.

REPRESENTATIONS in sculpture of other arts are not uncommon, but in general they are singularly inexpressive. A supreme exception to this unfortunate rule is found in the ambulatory capitals of Cluny which represent the eight modes of Gregorian music. These sculptures, according to documentary evidence, must have been executed between 1088, when work on the east end of the church was begun, and 1095, when the high altar was consecrated by Pope Urban II; this ascription is adequately confirmed by the style.[1]

It is not surprising that the monks of Cluny, intimately connected as they were with the greatest glories of mediaeval art, should have been expert in the performance of Gregorian music. We are told in Gilon's life of St Hugh of Cluny [2] that Gunzo, who took the initiative in building the church and whose life was miraculously prolonged for seven years, from 1088 to 1095, the period of the construction of the choir and ambulatory, was *psalmista precipuus*. It is probably to this accomplished musician that we owe the idea of the capitals.

The eight Gregorian modes, with their limited ranges, seem hopelessly restricted to the casual observer with current orchestral liberties as a standard, but if he will follow them through the liturgical services of the Christian year he cannot but be amazed at their variety and expressiveness. There is a vast emotional gulf between the processional triumph of the *Vexilla regis prodeunt* and the abject misery of the Lamentations in *Tenebrae*. The modes are so far from monotonous similarity that we are not surprised to find the early

[1] See A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1923), I, 77–108 for an extensive discussion of the date of the capitals. They are excellently reproduced by Victor Terret in *La Sculpture Bourguignonne aux XIIe et XIIIe Siècles, Cluny* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art Catholique, 1914), planches XLIX–LII.

[2] Victor Mortet, *Recueil de Textes Relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Architecture et la Condition des Architectes en France au Moyen Age* (Paris: Picard, 1911), p. 272.

mediaeval musical theorists assigning definite characteristics and qualities to each of them.

From Guido of Arezzo, who was born in 990, we have this well-known verse describing the quality of the modes:

> Omnibus est primus, sed et alter tristibus aptus;
> Tertius iratus, quartus dicitur fieri blandus;
> Quintum da laetis, sextum pietate probatis;
> Septimus est iuvenem, sed postremus sapientum.[1]

> The first is good for all moods, as the second is for grief,
> The third in anger rises, whilst the fourth brings sweet relief,
> The fifth is for the joyous, and the sixth the pious prize,
> The seventh suits the young man, but the last is for the wise.

In another place [2] Guido sets forth the theory that the difference between the modes is as obvious as the difference between men of different races.

> Horum quidam troporum exercitati usu ita proprietates et discretas facies, ut ita dicam, extemplo ut audierint, recognoscunt, sicut peritus gentium coram positis multis habitus eorum intueri potest et dicere: hic Graecus est, ille Hispanus, hic Latinus et ille Teutonicus, iste vero Gallus: atque ita diversitas troporum diversitati mentium coaptatur, ut unus autenti deuteri fractis saltibus delectetur; alius plagae triti eligat voluptatem; uni garrulitas tetrardi autenti magis placet; alter eiusdem plagae suavitatem probat; sic et de reliquis.

Regino, Abbot of Prüm (died 915), following the opinion of Boethius, tells us that less refined characters delight in the harsher modes, while peaceable and gentle folk prefer the sweeter.[3]

> Sciendum praeterea, quod mores hominum per musicam cognoscuntur. Lascivus quippe ac petulans animus lascivioribus delectatur modis, aut frequenter eos audiens emollitur atque effeminatur. E contra durior atque ferocior mens vel asperioribus incitatur. Neque enim fieri potest, ut mollia duris, dura mollibus adnectantur aut gaudeant, sed amorem delectationemque similitudo morum, ut dictum est, conciliat. Nam quae asperiores sunt gentes, durioribus delectantur modis; quae vero mansuetae et pacificae, lenioribus.

[1] Quoted by Adam of Fulda, *Musicae Pars Secunda*, cap. xv, in Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica* (1784, reprinted Graz, 1905), III, 356.

[2] *De Disciplina Artis Musicae*, cap. xiv, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 14.

[3] *De Harmonica Institutione*, 6, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, I, 235.

These extracts show that the attribution of characters to the modes was a common diversion among learned musicians and that Gunzo was following well-established precedent in personifying the modes. Although he followed precedent, his originality is not to be disparaged; for the capitals which he caused to be made show not only more permanence but greater delicacy of feeling than the verbal theorizings of his learned predecessors. I propose in this paper to add to a brief description of each capital a summary of the comments of the theorists on the mode and a musical example to show the appropriateness of the personification.

The Dorian mode is represented by a young man holding a lute, seated in an aureole with the inscription HIC TONUS ORDITUR MODULAMINA MUSICA PRIMUS:[1] Hermann Contractus, a composer of Reichenau (1013–1054) describes the mode as "*gravem vel nobilem*" and speaks of its important earnestness,[2] while John Cotton, who is believed to have written in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, mentions its "*morosa et curialis vagatio*," its serious, measured, and distinguished course.[3] This mode was in great favour, and perhaps in too constant use to retain its great expressiveness, for we are told by Aegidius of Zamora that "*primus tonus est mobilis et habilis, et ad omnes secundum affectus aptabilis.*"[4] An example of this mode is the antiphon *Virgo prudentissima* from first vespers of the feast of the Assumption.

The Hypodorian mode is represented by a dancing girl who holds in her right hand a cymbal. This delicate figure, with its superb lines so characteristic of Cluny, is enclosed by an aureole inscribed SUBSEQUITUR PTONGUS NUMERO VEL LEGE SECUNDUS. Although the mode is represented by a dancing figure, there is little joyful exultation either in the dance or the music. John Cotton[5] mentions the

[1] This capital with the others from Cluny is described and reproduced by Pouzet in an article, "Notes sur les Chapiteaux de l'Abbaye de Cluny" in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, LXII, (1912), 1–17.

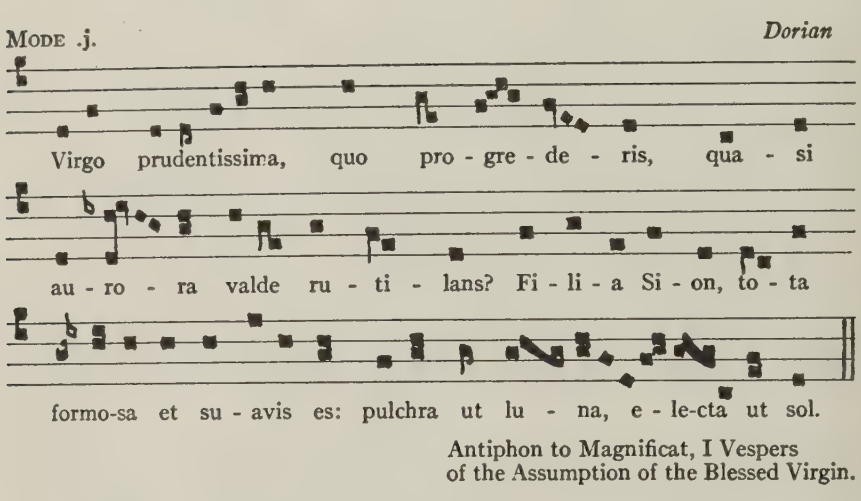
[2] *Opuscula Musica*, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 148.

[3] *De Musica*, cap. xvi, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 251.

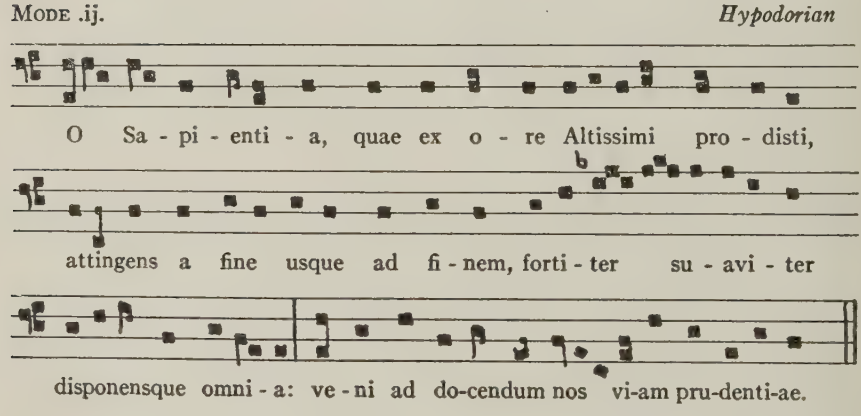
[4] *Ars Musica*, cap. xiii, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 387. Aegidius, according to Gerbert "*sub rege Alphonso X moderator Sancii filii eius, in altero dimidio sec. XIII vixit*," and, although his work is considerably later than the Cluny captals, his comments are frequently of interest.

[5] *De Musica*, cap. xvi, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 251.

"*rauca gravitas*" of the second mode and in general it is said to have an earnestness which expresses itself in restless movement. However, Hermann Contractus[1] describes it as "*suavem.*" The great


Mode .j.
Dorian
Virgo prudentissima, quo pro - gre - de - ris, qua - si
au - ro - ra valde ru - ti - lans? Fi - li - a Si - on, to - ta
formo-sa et su - avis es: pulchra ut lu - na, e - le-cta ut sol.

Antiphon to Magnificat, I Vespers of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.


Mode .ij.
Hypodorian
O Sa - pi - enti - a, quae ex o - re Altissimi pro - disti,
attingens a fine usque ad fi - nem, forti - ter su - avi - ter
disponensque omni - a: ve - ni ad do-cendum nos vi-am pru-denti-ae.

Antiphon to Magnificat, December 17.

O antiphons of Advent are in this mode and the antiphons of the Office for the dead show a preference for it. It may be illustrated by *O Sapientia*, the antiphon to Magnificat for December 17.

[1] *Opuscula Musica*, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 148.

The Phrygian mode is personified by a young man seated, playing upon a lyre. Unlike the other male figures, he is bearded. TERTIUS IMPINGIT CHRISTUMQUE RESURGERE FINGIT is inscribed on the aureole. The original dominant of the Phrygian mode was *b*, but during the tenth and eleventh centuries it was transferred to *c* for purposes of euphony. It has been said that the substitution of *c* for *b* is the counterpart in music of the raising of the rounded arch to the pointed Gothic form.[1] From the tendency to wide intervals and leaps in the melodic progressions of this mode it was considered fiery and stormy. Hermann Contractus[2] calls it "*incitatum vel saltantem*," while John Cotton[3] tells us "*alios severa et quasi indignans persultatio tertii iuvat.*" Aegidius of Zamora[4] writes, "*et notandum quod tertius tonus est severus, incitabilis, in cursu suo fortiores habens saltus: per hunc plures ad sanitatem excitantur. Unde Boetius dicit, quod Pythagoras quemdam adolescentulum per tertium tonum ad sanitatem excitavit: per secundum vero reddidit mitiorem.*" An example of the Phrygian mode is the Communion *Justorum animae.*

The capital of the Hypophrygian mode has the inscription SUCCEDIT QUARTUS SIMULANS IN CARMINE PLANCTUS, which is more sorrowful than the mode or the figure that represents it. A young man, in a short garment of Burgundian drapery, carries on his right shoulder a bar to which are attached small tongueless bells. Another figure with the cymbalum is found in a capital of the small door on the right of the narthex at Vézelay, and in the choir of Autun a third musician appears who has two assistants engaged in striking the bells, but neither of these representations attains the delicacy and refinement of feeling of the Cluny capital.

Martianus Capella in his *De Nuptiis Mercuriae et Philologiae*, which exercised such a profound influence on mediaeval iconography, represents music by the pagan Harmonia, who advances surrounded by a company of goddesses, poets, and musicians. The Graces, Or-

[1] Lhoumeau, *Gregoriusblatt*, (1908), p. 78 (quoted by D. Johner, *A New School of Gregorian Music*, 3d English ed., New York: Pustet, 1925, p. 216).

[2] *Opuscula Musica*, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 148.

[3] *De Musica*, cap. xvi, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 251.

[4] *Ars Musica*, cap. xiii, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 387.

pheus, and Amphion, singing sweetly, surround her. This is, curiously enough, the only one of his personifications not found in the iconography of the thirteenth century: in its place we find the cold female figures striking little bells, which are, at best, but vulgarizations of the Cluny conception.

M. Mâle has pointed out [1] that this was the only conception of music known at the time, and that in the Psalters of the thirteenth century, to indicate that King David was the greatest of musicians, it was necessary to represent him playing upon little bells.[2] When we compare this poverty with the fertility of conception found at Cluny at the end of the eleventh century, we cannot help feeling that, however great the value of the theory of Darwinian evolution may be in science, it does not hold good in the history of sculpture. These Gothic figures, although infinitely better than the allegorical personages who sit in rigid stupidity or sprawl in inexpressive ease on modern public buildings, are as much poorer than their Romanesque predecessors as they are superior to their successors.

The genius of Gregorian music lies in the perfection of its melodic line, which is as unerring as the brush stroke of a great Chinese draughtsman. Romanesque sculptors, with their great mastery of line, were consequently better able to express the essence of the Gregorian modes than the Gothic workers with their greater use of modelling, the orchestral accompaniment of sculpture.

Hermann Contractus [3] calls the Hypophrygian mode "*modestum vel morosum*," while John Cotton [4] speaks of its "*adulatorius sonus*." Aegidius of Zamora [5] tells us, "*est autem quartus tonus blandus et garrulus, adulatoribus maxime conveniens*." The introit *Resurrexi* for Easter day is in this mode.

[1] Emile Mâle, *L' Art Religieux du xiiie Siècle en France* (6th ed., Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1925), p. 85.

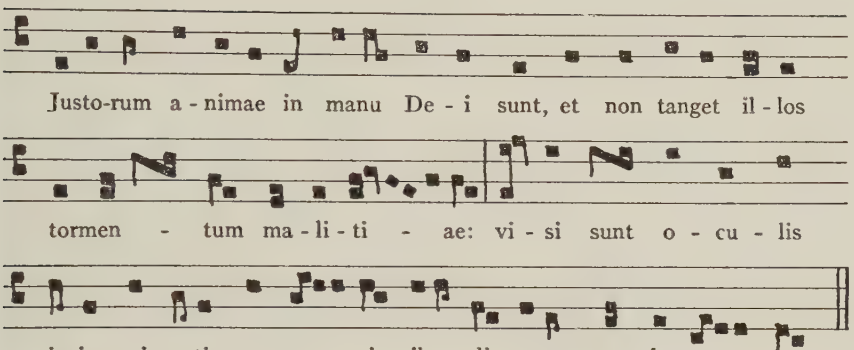
[2] As characteristic examples he cites: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Génévière 2689, fol. 124, and 2690, fol. 99, both of the thirteenth century.

[3] *Opuscula Musica*, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 148.

[4] *De Musica*, cap. xvi, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 251.

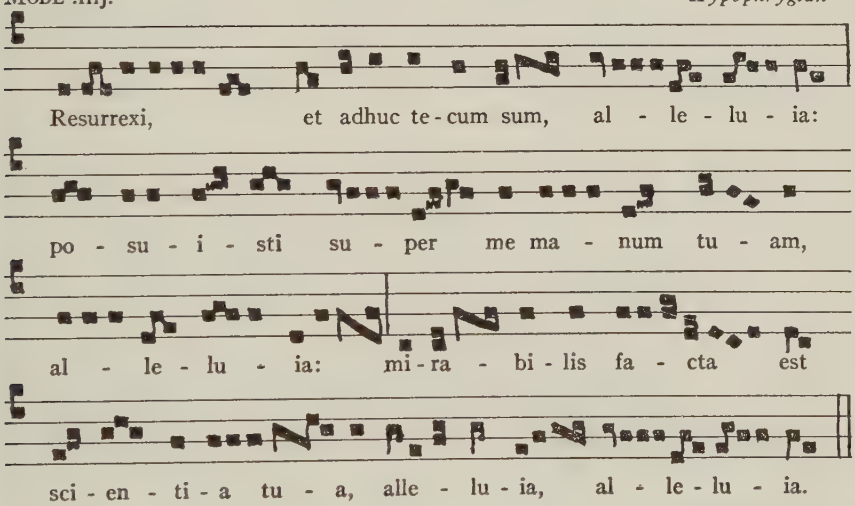
[5] *Ars Musica*, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 387.

Mode .iij. *Phrygian*


Justo-rum a-nimae in manu De-i sunt, et non tanget il-los
tormen-tum ma-li-ti-ae: vi-si sunt o-cu-lis
insi-pi-enti-um mo-ri, il-li autem sunt in pa-ce.

Communion, June 2, Feast of SS. Marcellinus, Peter, and Erasmus, MM.

Mode .iiij. *Hypophrygian*


Resurrexi, et adhuc te-cum sum, al-le-lu-ia:
po-su-i-sti su-per me ma-num tu-am,
al-le-lu-ia: mi-ra-bi-lis fa-cta est
sci-en-ti-a tu-a, alle-lu-ia, al-le-lu-ia.

Introit, Easter Day.

The capital on which are represented the last four modes has suffered so seriously that it is impossible to obtain any satisfactory idea of the figures; the fragments are superb but tantalizing. The four inscriptions are carved on a horizontal band which goes about the middle of the capital. The figures stand behind this, against a

foliage background, and although the arrangement furnishes a variation from the use of the aureole, it is not so effective.

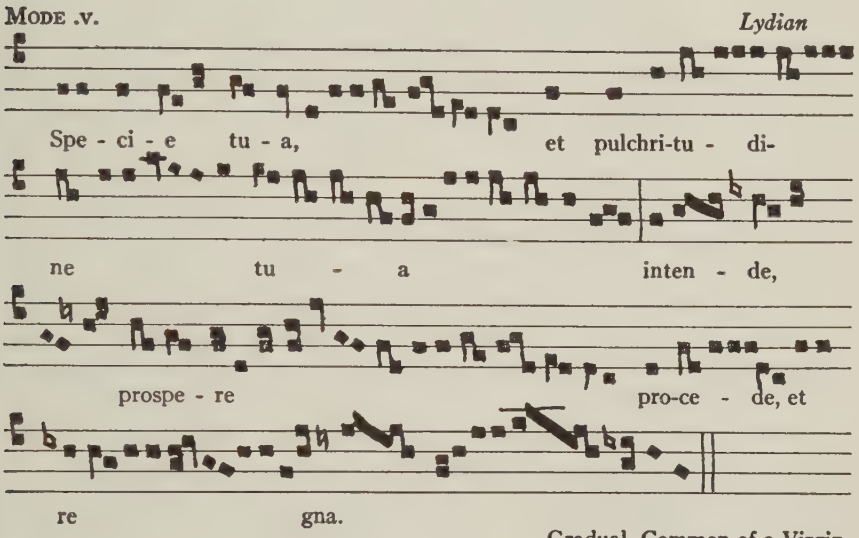
For the Lydian mode we have only the lower part of the musician's body and the inscription OSTENDIT QUINTUS QUAM SIT QUISQUIS TUMET IMUS. John Cotton [1] speaks of the "*modesta quinti petulantia ac subitaneo ad finalem casu,*" Hermann Contractus [2] calls the mode "*voluptuosum,*" and Aegidius of Zamora [3] says, "*et notandum, quod quintus tonus est modestus et delectabilis, tristes et anxios laetificans et dulcorans, lapsos et desperantes revocans.*" Many Graduals are assigned to this mode; *Specie tua* from the common for the feast of a virgin is given as illustration.

The musician of the Hypolydian mode, although headless, still plays upon his stringed instrument. His inscription is SI CUPIS AFFECTUM PIETATIS RESPICE SEXTUM. Hermann Contractus [4] considers the mode "*lamentabilem*" and John Cotton [5] refers to the "*lacrymosa sexti voce.*" Aegidius of Zamora [6] tells us that this mode easily moves one to tears; "*et notandum, quod sextus tonus est pius et lacrymabilis, et conveniens illis, qui facile ad lacrymas provocantur*"; and John of Muris,[7] a theorist of the fourteenth century, indicates that they are tears of sweet joy rather than sadness: "*alii voce sexta veluti quadam dulci amantum querimonia, vel sicut a cantu philomelae moventur.*" The low position and limited compass of the sixth mode tend to create the pious effect mentioned in the inscription. The introit *Hodie scietis* from the mass of the virgil of the Nativity is a characteristic example.

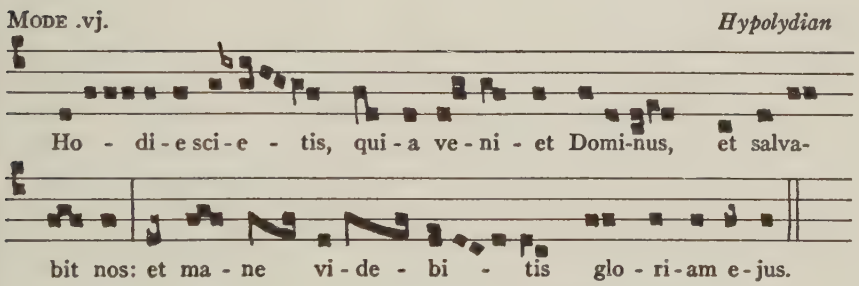
The Mixolydian mode, with the inscription INSINUAT FLATUM CUM DONIS SEPTIMUS ALMUM, is represented by a badly damaged figure who is supposed to have held a trumpet, although no traces of it remain. With even more life in its movements than the third mode, it is called "*garrulum*" by Hermann Contractus.[8] Its rapid

[1] *De Musica*, cap. xvi, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 251.
[2] *Opuscula Musica*, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 148.
[3] *Ars Musica*, cap. xiii, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 387.
[4] *Opuscula Musica*, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 148.
[5] *De Musica*, cap. xvi, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 251.
[6] *Ars Musica*, cap. xiii, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 387.
[7] *Summa Musicae*, cap. xxii, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, III, 235.
[8] *Opuscula Musica*, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 148.

movements have caused it to be considered characteristic of youth. The introit *Viri Galilaei* for the feast of the Ascension is in the Mixolydian mode.



Gradual, Common of a Virgin.



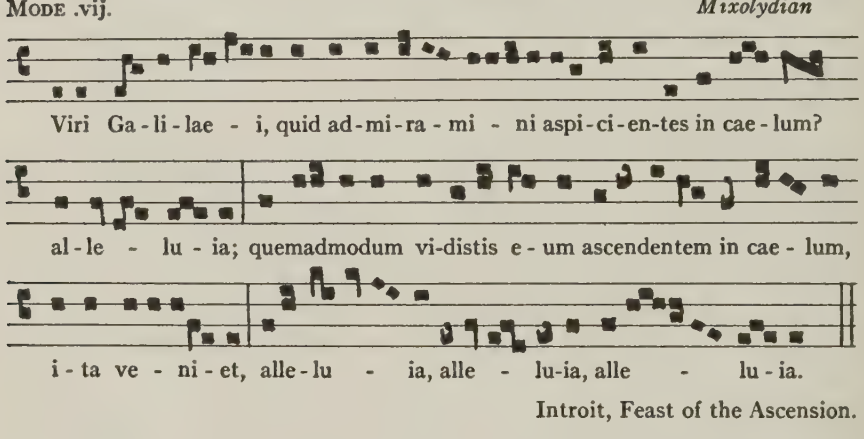
Introit, Vigil of the Nativity.

So little remains of the musician representing the Hypomixolydian mode that we can form no conception of his appearance, but the inscription OCTAVUS SANCTOS OMNES DOCET ESSE BEATOS is preserved. The mode has a calmness and stateliness of movement that caused it to be described as "*iocundum vel exultantem*," [1] and is in full accord with the character assigned it in the inscription.

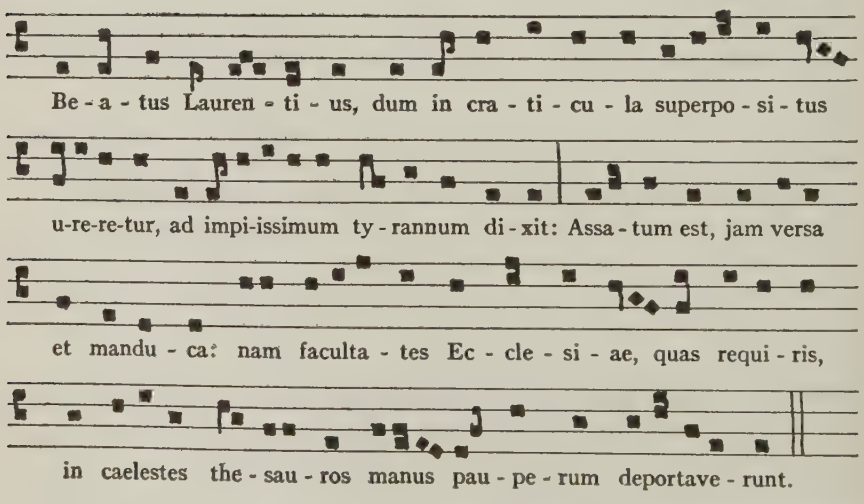
[1] Hermann Contractus, *Opuscula Musica*, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, II, 148.

The antiphon *Beatus Laurentius* from second vespers of the feast of that saint is a satisfactory example.

The translation into stone of the eight-fold character of Gregorian music which we have in these two Cluny ambulatory capitals far surpasses any other representations of the art of music. The Gothic sculptors, with diminished imagination, failed to carry on the tradition and the only similar works worthy of comparison are of Indian origin. Dr A. K. Coomaraswamy, in his *Rajput Paint-*


Mode .vij.
Mixolydian
Viri Ga-li-lae - i, quid ad-mi-ra-mi - ni aspi-ci-en-tes in cae-lum?
al-le - lu-ia; quemadmodum vi-distis e-um ascendentem in cae-lum,
i-ta ve - ni-et, alle-lu - ia, alle - lu-ia, alle - lu-ia.

Introit, Feast of the Ascension.


Mode .viij.
Hypomixolydian
Be-a-tus Lauren-ti-us, dum in cra-ti-cu-la superpo-si-tus
u-re-re-tur, ad impi-issimum ty-rannum di-xit: Assa-tum est, jam versa
et mandu-ca: nam faculta-tes Ec-cle-si-ae, quas requi-ris,
in caelestes the-sau-ros manus pau-pe-rum deportave-runt.

Antiphon to Magnificat, II Vespers
of the Feast of S. Laurence, D.M.

ing[1] reproduces and describes many sixteenth- and eighteenth-century paintings of the Indian musical modes, a number of which are in the Ross-Coomaraswamy collection in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Expressive as many of the figures are, a whole scene is required for the representation of a mode, while the Cluny sculptor, with his greater genius, has fulfilled his intention with a single figure.

[1] Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916 (2 volumes).

Harvard University.

EUHEMERISM: A MEDIAEVAL INTERPRETATION OF CLASSICAL PAGANISM

By JOHN DANIEL COOKE

INTEREST in the subject of classical paganism was fostered in the minds of the people of the Middle Ages through the realization that while in most respects the ancient Greeks and Romans had been superior to themselves, they had been in error regarding their religious beliefs. An examination of the principal writings in Middle English, with considerable reading of literature other than English, discloses the fact that the people of the Middle Ages rarely regarded the so-called gods as mere figments of the imagination, but rather believed that they were or had been real beings, sometimes possessing actual power. Probably the most generally accepted interpretation was to regard them as only mortal men who had, through the respect of their descendants, become falsely worshipped as gods. This interpretation, known as euhemerism, explains only the origin of the gods. To explain how mortal men could continue to be thus worshipped, it was thought: (1) that mankind had been deceived by poets and myth-makers who had fabricated the stories of their deification and potency; or (2) that the so-called gods had come to possess or exert actual power (*a*) through the intervention of demons and satanic influence, or (*b*) through the identity or alignment of the pagan gods with the planets of the same name which, at least in the later Middle Ages, were thought to possess actual power. Each of these supplementary interpretations may appear independently as an explanation of classical paganism. The purpose of the present study is to trace only the development of euhemerism.[1]

[1] The importance of euhemerism as a mediaeval explanation of classical paganism is attested by the number of passages here collected that support this theory. Little interest has been expressed in the subject heretofore. Since its influence, as an atheistic interpretation of the gods, was not great among the ancients themselves, writers on Greek and Roman religion are relieved of the necessity of doing more than mention it. Cf. W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity* (London: Macmillan, 1914), p. 100. Its influence upon ancient thought is treated briefly by A. B. Drachmann in *Atheism in Pagan Antiquity* (London: Gyldendal, 1922). Tatlock, "The Epilog of Chaucer's *Troilus*," *Modern Philology*, XVIII (1921), 12,

Euhemerism derives its name from Euhemerus, a Messinian, who about 300 B.C. described the traditional gods and goddesses as ordinary men and women who had engaged in usual pursuits and who, after dying normal deaths, had been buried in places that he was able to point out. Ennius [1] translated his work into Latin, but both original and translation are lost except for quotations, for the most part in Lactantius. Classical writers, notably Cicero [2] and Plutarch,[3] referred to the euhemeristic interpretation, but denied and condemned it as impious and absurd.

Quite different is the attitude taken toward euhemerism by the early fathers. Hostile to the pagan religion, they seize eagerly upon the euhemeristic interpretation and direct it against their pagan antagonists. Why will the pagans worship gods who were only men? In order to realize the full significance of the patristic interpretation, account must be taken of three additional contributing factors or modes of interpretation: (1) the explanation of the origin of idolatry as presented in the *Book of Wisdom;* (2) the ascription of human sin and frailty to the gods, especially by the poets; (3) and the orthodox pagan interpretation of the deification of such gods as Hercules, Castor and Pollux, and Romulus.

As an Hebraic background for their euhemeristic interpretation, the fathers were familiar with a passage in the *Book of Wisdom* [4] which explained some ways in which idolatry originated. Idolatry was instituted either: (1) when a grief-stricken father caused a statue to be made of a child which had been snatched away by death, and then compelled his household to worship the image; or (2) when a

113–147, and Osgood, *Classical Mythology in Milton* (New York, 1900), p. xlvii, mention the theory as a common mediaeval and sixteenth–seventeenth century interpretation of classical paganism. For the interpretation that Euhemerus was really satirizing the pretensions of Alexander the Great, cf. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1906), p. 1515.

[1] Q. Ennius, *Carminum Reliquiae,* ed. L. Müller; St Petersburg: C. Ricker, 1884.

[2] *De Natura Deorum,* ed. C. F. W. Müller (Teubner, 1910), i, 42. Cicero rejects the euhemeristic interpretation but subscribes, at least tentatively, to the orthodox pagan belief in the deification of such heroes as Hercules, Castor and Pollux, Aesculapius, Liber, and Romulus, "who were exalted to heaven by fame and universal consent because they were distinguished by their excellent benefits to the public" (*Ibid.,* ii, 24).

[3] *De Iside et Osiride,* Cap. 23, in *Scripta Moralia,* ed. F. Dübner (Paris, 1885), p. 440.

[4] *Liber Sapientiae,* xiv, 15–21.

people set up a likeness of their absent king and by degrees began to worship the statue with religious rites. Echoes of the passage are to be found in many of the fathers; the first definite reference to it seems to be in the *Speculum Morale* (iii, 3, 27), formerly attributed to Vincent of Beauvais.

Considerable influence toward a euhemeristic interpretation was exerted upon the fathers by the stories which the pagan poets had feigned of the human frailty and sinfulness of the gods.[1] Making use of these traditional representations, the fathers were able to make more vivid delineations of the gods conceived of as mere men. Justin Martyr (103–167), in his *Oratio ad Graecos* and *Cohortatio ad Graecos*,[2] objects to the pagan gods because of their sinfulness which he describes in glowing colors, but does not clearly subscribe to the theory that they had been only men. It is impossible to say exactly what his conception of them was; it is important to remember that in the second century the question with the churchmen was not so much whether a thing was true or false as whether it was good or bad.

Finally, in the orthodox pagan belief that certain of the gods, such as Hercules, Castor and Pollux, and Aesculapius were deified men, the fathers found material which by a slight alteration they were able to turn to account. They gladly accepted the pagan belief that these gods had been originally only men; but, whereas the pagans were wont to say that they had been transformed into real deities, the fathers said that they had simply remained men — dead men — and that the worship had been falsely bestowed upon them. Very

[1] Xenophanes of Colophon, Plato, and others of the pagans had, of course, long objected to the traditional accounts of the lust and crimes attributed to the gods by the ancient poets. Franz Cumont, in *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain* (Paris, 1906), pp. 244, 245, believes that the fathers failed to realize, or acknowledge, the process of evolution by which the worn-out and dead elements of the old religion had been cast aside and supplanted by new stock from foreign sources. Thus Augustine sneers jestingly at the number of Italian gods who preside over the most insignificant acts of existence. It was easier, Cumont concludes, to reproduce the objections of the Epicureans and Sceptics against beliefs that had been abolished than to study, for their criticism, the faults of an organism still functioning. The Christian polemic was hardly fair, "Lorsqu'elle insiste avec complaisance sur l'immoralité des légendes sacrées, elle ne laisse pas soupçonner que les dieux et les héros de la mythologie n'avaient plus qu'une existence purement littéraire."

[2] *Pat. Graeca* VI, cols. 231 ff. and 274 ff., respectively.

soon they applied the theory not only to the gods whom the ancients had regarded as *deified* men, but to all of the pagan gods. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and Lactantius find an approach through this belief to their theory that all of the pagan gods had been only men who were later regarded as gods. Writers later than these seldom distinguished between the two classes — all had formerly been men.

Clement of Alexandria (115–217), after rehearsing the wicked deeds of the gods and noting that Hercules and Castor and Pollux were only men, says that the objects of the pagans' worship were only men who in due time died and came to be worshipped through myth and the passage of time—the earliest occurrence I have found of the statement that "the gods whom you (the pagans) worship were one time men":

οἱ προσκυνούμενοι παρ' ὑμῖν
ἄνθρωποι γενόμενοί ποτε . . .[1]

This statement is quoted again and again by later writers. Continuing, Clement says that it is in this way that the dead of antiquity, being revered through the long prevalence of delusion respecting them, are regarded as gods by posterity. In illustration he refers to the fables of the poets, and cites Euhemerus as a man of clearer insight than the rest.

Tertullian (145–220), after directing attention to the Roman heroes who are regarded as gods, asserts that according to the ancient historians all the pagan gods were originally only human beings, in many cases, of questionable character.[2] He challenges the pagans to find in their ancient writers, such as Diodorus Siculus, Thallus, Cassius, Severus, Cornelius Nepos, or anyone else, statements to the contrary. To prove the absurdity of the argument that the gods were really *deified* after death, he calls attention to the fact that the things over which the gods have command had existed from the very first; consequently the gods were not creators, but simply the

[1] *Cohortatio ad Gentes* (*Pat. Graeca* VIII, col. 152), iv, 55.

[2] *Ad Nationes* (*Pat. Lat.* I, cols. 603–608) ii, 13–17, and *Apologeticus Adv. Gentes* (*Pat. Lat.* I, cols. 327–339), X–XII.

discoverers of these things; therefore, there is no reason to deify the discoverers of some things without deifying the discoverers of all things. Or, if it is considered that deification is a sort of reward of merit, why not deify Socrates for his wisdom, Aristides for justice, Themistocles for his warlike genius, Alexander for his sublimity of soul, Polycrates for his good fortune, Croesus for his wealth, and Demosthenes for his eloquence? After comparing these notable Greeks with Romans of similar merit, Tertullian points out that the supreme god was too much in a hurry to choose his associates; he should have waited longer in order to get the best. Tertullian finally closes by saying that he "sees only the names of dead men of ancient times; hears fabulous stories; recognizes sacred rites founded on mere myths."

Toward the formulation of the patristic interpretation, Minucius Felix (*flor. ca.* 210)[1] contributes little; yet he utilizes the arguments of his predecessors. Eusebius (260–340) explains the human origin of the Babylonian god Baal; in his account of the Assyrians in his *Chronicle*[2] he quotes from a number of writers; one chapter is based upon the history of Castor, who says that Belus was the first king of the Assyrians, that he lived at the time of the war between the Giants and Titans, and that after his death he was regarded as a god. The story illustrates the second way in which, according to the *Book of Wisdom*, idolatry might originate, and was frequently used by writers on classical mythology.

The father who most convincingly presents the case for euhemerism is Lactantius (260–330) in his *Diuinae Institutiones*.[3] He quotes what Euhemerus had to say about the origin and mortal relationships of the gods. Appreciating more fully than had the other fathers the passage in the *Book of Wisdom*, he explains how, in a primitive society, the people were led to exalt the king and his whole family, either on account of his excellence, or in flattery, or because of the benefits by which they became civilized. After the decease of their king, they formed images so that they might derive consolation

[1] *Octavius* (*Pat. Lat.* III, cols. 299–305), xx, 67 ff.

[2] *Chronicon* (*Pat. Graeca* XIX, cols. 132, 133), i, 13.

[3] *Diuinae Institutiones* (*Pat. Lat.* VI, col. 190 ff.), i, 14 ff.

from the likeness; then continuing further, through love of his merits, they worshipped the memory of the dead so that they might seem to show their gratitude and might attract succeeding kings to the desire of ruling well.

Lactantius thereupon finds in Cicero evidence, not only that he had regarded some of the gods as *deified* men,[1]— those usually so regarded by the pagans,— but that, in his *Tusculani Disputationes*,[2] he implies that all of the gods had been translated from earth to heaven. Noting that heaven was almost filled with the human race, Cicero says that if one should attempt to examine the ancient accounts, he would find that even the gods of the higher class had gone from us into heaven. Continuing, he asks that Atticus recall whose sepulchres are pointed out in Greece; remember, since he has been initiated, what things were transmitted in the mysteries; then will he understand, what Cicero was afraid to confess openly, that even Apollo, Jove, Neptune, Vulcan, Mars, and Mercury were only deified men. Lactantius, of course, refuses to conceive of them as truly deified; they had been only euhemerized. To be more concrete, Lactantius names the men who are worshipped as gods in various places because of being the founders of those nations, or distinguished in some way. The Egyptians worship Isis; the Moors, Juba; the Macedonians, Cabirus; the Carthaginians, Uranus; the Latins, Faunus; the Sabines, Sancus; the Romans, Quirinus. Similarly Athens worships Minerva; Samos, Juno; Paphos, Venus; Lemnos, Vulcan; Naxos, Liber; and Delphos, Apollo. In presenting this list of divinities, Lactantius has drawn from a number of sources which the editor of the Migne edition has identified as far as possible. The more common are Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy, Varro, Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Tertullian, and Minucius Felix.

After the masterful treatises of Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and Lactantius, little remained for Augustine and others to develop in the doctrine of euhemerism. Augustine subscribes to the theory, however, both in his *Epistolae* and in *De Ciuitate Dei*.[3] In the latter,

[1] *De Natura Deorum*, i, 42; cf. also *De Legibus*, ii, 8.

[2] *Tusculani Disputationes*, i, 12, 13.

[3] *Epistola xvii, ad Maximum Madaurensem* (*Pat. Lat.* XXXIII, cols. 83 ff.); *De Ciuitate Dei* (*Pat. Lat.* XLI), vii, 18, and viii, 26 ff.

after discussing Varro's interpretation of the gods, he recalls that Varro had himself said that his opinions were ambiguous, and suggests that a far more creditable explanation is that the gods had been men, to each of whom sacred rites were instituted according to his genius, manners, actions, and circumstances. For illustration, Augustine mentions in the same chapter Aesculapius and Mercury. For the most part his authority was Cicero, since what he says does not recall any of the earlier Christian apologists and in two places he makes use, in passing, of Cicero's authority regarding the gods who were said to be deified and whom Augustine interpreted as simply euhemerized. Fulgentius, in his *Mythologiae*,[1] presents an illustration of the first way that idolatry might originate according to the *Book of Wisdom*, but does not refer to the passage. Syrophanes in sorrow over the death of his son, causes a likeness of him to be made and set up in the market place. The subjects of the king, in order to please him, fall into the error of worshipping the statue.

Isidore of Seville (575–638) summarizes and expresses in succinct form what has been developed by his predecessors. He begins with the assertion: *Quos pagani deos asserunt, homines olim fuisse produntur*,[2] which recalls the statement of Clement of Alexandria discussed above (p. 399). He explains how people had been led to regard as gods the founders and kings of their cities, and in illustration gives a list of men thus worshipped. Others of the so-called gods had been men who had become revered as the discoverers or inventors of an art—as Aesculapius of medicine—or for their professions or duties: *ab actibus autem, ut Mercurius quod mercibus praeest*.[3] After naming Prometheus as the first to make statues of any kind, Isidore refers to Bel, the Babylonian idol, and tells us that Belus was the father of Ninus and the first king of the Assyrians. He apparently regards Bel as the first statue to be

[1] *Mitologiae*, in *Opera*, ed. Rudolf Helm (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898), i, 1.

[2] *Etymologiae* (*Pat. Lat.* LXXXII, col. 375), viii, 11.

[3] Isidore probably had in mind a statement in the *Commentary* of Servius to Virgil's *Aeneid* (IV, 638):

Et sciendum, Stoicos dicere unum esse deum, cui nomina variantur pro actibus et officiis . . . Ab actibus autem vocantur; ut Iuppiter, iuvans pater; Mercurius, quod mercibus praeest; Liber pater, a libertate (*Commentarii in Virgilium Seruiani*, ed. H. A. Lion, Göttingen, 1826, p. 307).

worshipped, and probably derived his information from Eusebius (see p. 400). In closing his discussion, Isidore presents descriptions of some of the pagan gods, Oriental as well as Greek and Roman — all conceived as having been originally men and women.

After the beginning of the seventh century, with the decline of interest in the ancient world, fewer writers discuss the subject of classical paganism. Of the Mediaeval Latin and Middle-English authors who subscribe to euhemerism, many are indebted to Isidore for their information. Those not indebted to him show the influence of various other writers, or simply make casual use of the interpretation. In order to indicate more clearly how the interpretation, developed by the fathers and transmitted through Isidore, maintained an active existence down to the close of the Middle-English period, I shall first treat the works of authors indebted chiefly to Isidore.

In the treatment of Isidore there are three statements of importance to the future development of euhemerism: (1) the general explanation of how it happened that notable men had come to be worshipped as gods by the pagans, with a list of those so honored in various places; (2) a brief statement regarding the origin of the idol Baal or Bel; and (3) the description of the principal pagan gods conceived of as mortals. Since not all writers make use of all three parts, and since two of them undergo further development, I shall treat the influence of each separately, taking them up in inverse order.

The authors who follow Isidore in his descriptions of the gods are John of Damascus (I assume that he is the author of the *Vita Barlaam et Josaphat*), Vincent of Beauvais, Guido delle Colonne, the author of *Gest Hystoriale*, Gower, and Lydgate. John of Damascus, in the eighth-century *Vita Barlaam et Josaphat*,[1] shows the influence of Isidore in his selection of Greek gods as well as in the descriptions of them. He has gleaned additional information from Ovid and elsewhere. Vincent of Beauvais,[2] about the middle of the thirteenth century, and John Gower [3] (1390–1393) are indebted to both Isidore and John of Damascus. Guido [4] (1287) and, through him, the author

[1] *Pat. Lat.* LXXIII, cols. 306 ff., xxvii.
[2] *Speculum Historiale* (Strassburg, 1473), xvi, 34.
[3] *Confessio Amantis*, v, 835–1452.
[4] *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (Louvain, 1460), h 5 ff.

of the *Gest Hystoriale*[1] (*ca.* 1350–1400) and Lydgate[2] (1412–1420), derive much of their material from Isidore. William Caxton, in his translation (1471) of Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des Histoires de Troye*, follows Guido's *Historia* in the third book of the *Recuyell* which treats of the fall of Troy proper. At the point corresponding to the digression in the *Historia* — the digression which deals at length with classical paganism — Caxton pauses to observe that here the author (Guido) declares from whence the worship of false gods had come.[3] He does not, however, give the descriptions of the pagan gods, probably because in the first two books he had presented the mythological history of the gods conceived of as men and women. In the beginning of the first book, Uranus and Vesta (Vesca) are revealed to us as living happily and prosperously together, surrounded by their four children, Titan, Saturn, Sibele, and Ceres. Throughout the first and second books Caxton continues his account as a family history of ordinary mortals.

Regarding the origin of the Babylonian idol Baal or Bel, Isidore said that Belus was the father of Ninus and the first king of the Assyrians. Peter Comestor (*ca.* 1170), recalling the second explanation of the origin of idolatry according to the *Book of Wisdom* (see p. 397 above), fashioned the story of the beginning of idolatry that was generally followed by his successors:

> Mortuo Belo, Ninus in solatium doloris, imaginem patris sibi fecit, cui tantam exhibebat reuerentiam, ut quibuslibet reis qui ad eam confugissent parceret. Proinde homines de regno eius divinos honores imagini eius coeperunt impendere; huius exemplo plurimi claris suis mortuis imagines dedicarunt, et sicut ab idolo Beli caetera traxerunt originem, sic ab eius nomine generale nomen idolorum traxerunt.[4]

Among those who utilized Peter Comestor's explanation were Godfrey of Viterbo, Vincent of Beauvais, Guido delle Colonne, Higden, the authors of *Cursor Mundi* and *Gest Hystoriale*, Trevisa,

[1] *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy*, ed. D. Donaldson and G. A. Panton (E.E.T.S., O.S., 39, 56), vv. 4360 ff. [2] *Troy Book* (E.E.T.S., E.S., 97, 103, 106), ii, 5557 ff.

[3] *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy*, ed. H. Oskar Sommer (London: Nutt, 1894), II, 549.

[4] *Historia Scholastica* (*Pat. Lat.* CXCVIII, 1090), "Liber Genesis," xl.

Gower, Lydgate, Caxton, and Lyndesay. Of these Vincent,[1] Guido,[2] Higden[3] (first half of fourteenth century), and Lyndesay[4] (*ca.* 1552) do little more than translate without further elaboration the account in the *Historia Scholastica*. Trevisa[5] (1387) translates into English the passage in the *Polychronicon*, and the author of the *Gest Hystoriale*,[6] Lydgate,[7] and Caxton[8] (through Lefèvre), the passage in *Historia Destructionis Troiae*. Godfrey of Viterbo (1185) and Gower present additional examples of idolatry. Godfrey follows the Belus-Ninus case with that of Apis and Serapis:

> His temporibus apud Egyptios constructum est idolum magnum in honorem Apis, regis Argiuorum; quidum tamen dicunt in honorem Ioseph, qui liberauit eos a fame; quod idolum Serapis uocabatur, quasi idolum Apis.[9]

This is another illustration of the second way that idolatry might originate according to the *Book of Wisdom* (p. 398 above). Gower[10] assigns to Ninus and Serapis the second and third instances of idolatry; with Fulgentius (see p. 402 above) he thinks that Syrophanes was responsible for the first case. The author of *Cursor Mundi*[11] (*ca.* 1300–1325) follows the *Historia Scholastica* account except that he substitutes Nimrod for Ninus; he may have learned to think of Ninus as of the lineage of Nimrod, and since he was more familiar with the word Nimrod because of its occurrence in the Bible, used it here; or it is possible that he had in mind the fact

[1] *Speculum Historiale, ed. cit.*, II, 102.

[2] *Historia Destructionis Troiae, ed. cit.*, h 5 ff.

[3] *Polychronicon*, with English translation of John Trevisa, ed. Churchill Babington (London, 1869), II, 278.

[4] *Secund Buke of the Monarche*, in Works (E.E.T.S., Orig.S., 11, 19, 35, 37, 47), pp. 59 ff. particularly vv. 1953 ff.

[5] *Polychronicon, ed. cit.*, II, 279.

[6] *Gest Hystoriale, ed. cit.*, vv. 4332 ff.

[7] *Troy Book, ed. cit.*, vv. 5522 ff.

[8] *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, ed. cit.*, II, 550.

[9] *Pantheon*, iv. I quote from G. C. Macaulay's note to *Confessio Amantis*, v, 1559. Godfrey may have gleaned the details from Tertullian and Augustine or Isidore. Tertullian (*Ad Nationes*, ii, 8) identifies Apis with Joseph; Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, xvii, 7) and Isidore (*Etymologiae*, viii, 85) tell of the false worship of Isis.

[10] *Confessio Amantis*, v, 1525 ff.

[11] *Cursor Mundi* (E.E.T.S., O.S., 57, 99, 101), vv. 2289–2301.

that earlier in the *Historia Scholastica*[1] Nimrod, by compelling men to worship fire, had been the first to instigate false worship of any kind.

Isidore's explanation of how it happened that notable men had been regarded as gods by the pagans, with the list of those so honored in various places, was used by Vincent of Beauvais, Guido delle Colonne, Higden and Trevisa, the author of *Gest Hystoriale*, Lydgate, and Caxton. The earlier writers[2] for the most part keep close to Isidore's treatment; Higden and Trevisa, however, do not include the list of men worshipped in various places. Lydgate[3] elaborates and expands his material somewhat in order to make his narrative more interesting. To illustrate: the previous writers had inserted the list of gods worshipped in various places, as presented by Isidore (p. 402), with little elaboration and with only minor changes in the personnel. Lydgate, after the statement that the Egyptians worship Isis, pauses to explain that Isis was a king's daughter:

> Þat tauȝt hem first hir lond to ere and sowe,
> And also lettris for to rede and knowe,
> And in lettrure to sette her besynes —
> For which þing þei calle hir a goddes.[4]

He treats other names in similar fashion. In the *Assembly of Gods*, Lydgate again makes use of Isidore's explanation of how men had come to be worshipped. After enumerating various ways to account for the worship of the pagan gods, he explains that in ancient times the people were so rude:

> That what maner creature, man or woman,
> Cowde any nouelté contryue and conclude
> For the comon wele, all the multitude
> Of the comon peple a god shuld hym call,
> Or a goddesse, aftyr hit was fall.[5]

[1] *Genesis*, xxxvii.

[2] Vincent: *Speculum Historiale, ed. cit.*, ii, 102. Guido: *Historia Destructionis Troiae, ed. cit.*, h 5 ff. Higden and Trevisa, *Polychronicon, ed. cit.*, pp. 280–281. *Gest Hystoriale, ed. cit.*, vv. 4373 ff.

[3] *Troy Book*, vv. 5620 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, vv. 5627 ff. There is a similar description of Isis in the *Fall of Princes* (E.E.T.S., E.S., 121), vv. 1709–1715.

[5] *Assembly of Gods* (E.E.T.S., E.S., 69), vv. 1704–1708.

In illustration, he tells of how Ceres, Isis, Pan, Pluto, and Fortune thus came to be worshipped.

As noted above, Caxton, in the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, follows his source (Lefèvre's *Recueil*), in giving two books of mythological history before beginning the story proper of the fall of Troy. In the course of this history, he explains that Uranus had been the "first begynner of þe fals paynems goddes" and makes use of Isidore's explanation of how men had come to be worshipped:

> In thys tyme hyt was so that whatsomeuer man practyqued or fond ony thynges prouffytable for the comyn wele he was recomanded solempnly and called and named a god after theyr folyssh and derke custome.[1]

Caxton does not allude to Isidore by name. In Book iii, Caxton pauses to note the place of Guido's digression to treat of paganism, but, after giving the story of Ninus as noted in a previous section, he dispenses with the explanation and list of euhemerized gods as well as with the description of the gods (see p. 402). Of the writers who are indebted to any part of Isidore's treatment, it will be noted that Vincent of Beauvais, Guido delle Colonne, and, through Guido, the author of *Gest Hystoriale*, Lydgate, and, with modifications, Caxton make use of the whole section.

While the majority of Mediaeval Latin and Middle-English authors are indebted to Isidore for their euhemeristic interpretations of the pagan gods, some refer to other sources or make use of the interpretation without reference to a particular authority. Since no clearly marked line of tradition is apparent in their treatments, the cases are conveniently presented briefly in chronological order.

Of the Mediaeval Latin writers, Roger Bacon, about 1267, completed his *Opus Maius*. Supported by quotations and references from Augustine, Clement of Alexandria, Isidore, Eusebius, Jerome, Solinus, and Josephus, he explains the human origin of Io (Isis), Minerva, Prometheus, Atlas, Mercury, Aesculapius, and Apollo.[2] Dante probably believed that the pagan gods were to be associated in some way with the planets of the same name.[3] One passage, how-

[1] *Ed. cit.*, I, 10.

[2] *Opus Maius*, ed. J. H. Bridges (Oxford, 1897), I, Pars Secunda, pp. 46, 47.

[3] Cf. *Convivio*, ii, 4 (old numbering 5), and *Paradiso*, iv, 61–63.

ever, gives slight evidence that he may have subscribed, in part, to the euhemeristic interpretation.[1] When Dante comes upon Ephialtes in hell, Virgil explains that he is being punished for having fought, with the other giants, against supreme Jove. Dante's sympathy is clearly with the gods; he does not mention them as demons; since he conceives of them in anthropomorphic form and certainly does not accept them as real divinities, he must conceive of them as men. The author of *Speculum Morale*[2] (*ca.* 1310–1325) explains that man was responsible for the beginning of idolatry when he made images of his friends and fell into the worship of them. He refers to, and quotes, the explanation of the beginning of idolatry given in the *Book of Wisdom* (see p. 397 above).

An occasional assumption of euhemerism is to be found in a Middle-English romance of Alexander, *Kyng Alisaunder*,[3] composed probably before 1330, and translated for the most part from Eustache's *Roman de Toute Chevalerie* (*ca.* 1250). At one time the author refers to Tyre and Sidon as the realm of Apollo:

> Passith by Tire and by Cidoyne,
> There woned sumwhile kyng Appolyn.[4]

Apparently Apollo is conceived of as a mortal king; and Tyre and Sidon may be referred to as his seat, since Phoenicia was the seat of the Assyrian sun-god Baal. Later the author refers to Jupiter and Apollo as the cousins of Darius:

> Darie, the kyng of alle kynges,
> The godis that hath to ederlyng;
> For his neyce, Syble; cosynes
> Is Jubiter, and Appolyns.[5]

The passage may present further evidence of the euhemeristic interpretation; on the other hand, it seems more likely that it is simply

[1] *Inf.*, xxxi, 91 ff.

[2] *Speculum Morale* (Strassburg, 1476), iii, 3, 27.

[3] *Kyng Alisaunder*, in *Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Henry Weber (Edinburgh, 1810).

[4] *Ibid.*, vv. 1320, 1321. The *Roman* is still unpublished. The passage does not occur in the other Middle-English Alexander romances.

[5] *Ibid.*, vv. 1710 ff.

a case of the hyperbolical exaltation of a king to the position of a god.

Two other Middle-English authors make general use of the interpretation. We have found that Lydgate, through Guido, was indebted to Isidore for euhemerism in the *Troy Book* and elsewhere. In one of his minor poems he again makes use of the interpretation when he mentions "Pallas Mynerva" as a woman with other celebrated women such as Penelope, Medea, Helen, Griselda, and Mary. She is noted for her skill in eloquence:

> Gresylde whylome hade gret pacyence,
> As hit was preved fer up in Italye,
> Pallas Mynerva haden eloquence . . .[1]

In treating the Arthurian material, there was very little occasion or opportunity to introduce references to classical paganism. In the prose *Merlin*, composed 1450–1460, the author, in telling of the sword that King Rion carried, treats of Hercules and Vulcan as though they were merely men and historical characters. Hercules is an adventurer, an ancestor of King Rion, and Vulcan is a blacksmith of reputation:

> ffor, as the book seith, it was some tyme Hercules that ledde Iason in to the Ile of Colchos . . . and with that swerde dide Hercules sle many a geaunte . . . and the booke seith that Vulcan i-forged that swerde in the tyme of Adrastus, the kyng of Greece,[2]

The passage is only a translation from the *Roman de Merlin*,[3] the author's source.

It is worthy of note that Chaucer nowhere subscribes to the euhemeristic interpretation.[4]

[1] *Minor Poems* (E.E.T.S., E.S., 107), "A Valentine to Her that Exceedeth All," stanza 10, p. 307.

[2] *Prose Merlin* (E.E.T.S., O.S., 10, 21, 36, 112), xx, p. 339.

[3] *Lestoire de Merlin*, Vol. II of *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, edited by H. Oskar Sommer, p. 230.

[4] A curious mingling of classical and Celtic lore occurs in the *Orpheus and Eurydice* of the Middle-Scots poet Henryson (*The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, Edin-

burgh, 1908, vv. 100 ff., p. 88). As Eurydice was fleeing from Aristyrus she stepped upon a serpent, fell into a deadly swoon, and was carried off by the "goddes Infernall." Orpheus heard the commotion made by her attendant, who told him what had happened:

> Allace! Eridices, your quene,
> Is with <the> fary tane before myne ene.

Since Orpheus was so inflamed with wrath that he was unable to understand her, she repeats:

> Scho trampit on a serpent wennomouss
> And fell in swoun, with þat þe quene of fary
> Clawcht hir wp sone, and furth with hir can cary.

This is as far as the mingling of classical and fairy folk is carried. The passage reminds one of the line in the *Merchant's Tale* where Pluto is spoken of as "the king of fayërye" (*C. T.*, E 2227).

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THE *SPECULUM PRINCIPUM* IN EARLY IRISH LITERATURE

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PERHAPS no primitive people have taken so much pleasure in proverbs and sententious sayings as have those who inhabited ancient Ireland; certainly no people have delighted in them more. Early Irish literature abounds in maxims and proverbial phrases; indeed, so few of the popular tales and romances are without them, that one suspects that the early writers recognized in them one of the ingredients for a successful narrative.[1] Not infrequently an author is observed to go out of his way to introduce an adage, just as certain modern editors will enter enthusiastically into lengthy disquisitions upon proverbial passages.[2] But proverbs are not confined in Irish literature to random quotations; whole collections of them, one branch of which is the subject of this study, are to be found in fairly old manuscripts.

The interest in proverbial wisdom among the Irish is further attested by the popularity of such works as the *Immacallam in Dá Thuarad* (The Dialogue of the Two Sages),[3] with its figurative and often obscure language, of which as many as thirteen manuscript copies still exist. Many of the collections of proverbs, like those in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy* and the *Gaelic Journal*, vols. IV–VIII, XIV, XV, are in modern Irish, but bear distinct traces of a greater antiquity.[4]

One considerable subdivision of Irish sententious literature is to be found in the instructions to princes given by their tutors or advisers, often by their fathers, whom they are about to succeed. Of

[1] The importance attached to proverbs is evidenced by their presence in such widely varied texts as the Annals of the Four Masters, *Serglige Conculaind*, *Cath Catharda*, *Cath Ruis na Ríg*, the *Senchus Mór*, *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*, and the glossaries of Cormac, O'Mulconry, and O'Davoren.

Two admirable collections of proverbs from Irish literary sources have recently been made by Thomas F. O'Rahilly: *Dánfhocail, Irish Epigrams in Verse* (Dublin: Talbot, 1921), and *A Miscellany of Irish Proverbs* (*ibid.*, 1922).

[2] Kuno Meyer, *Cath Finntrága*, pp. 85–87.

[3] Edited by W. Stokes, in *Revue Celtique*, XXVI (1905).

[4] For example, Hardiman's *a uain do'n tosach* (II, 397) is paralleled by *cach úain co tóiseach*, *Aibidil Cuigni*, § 1, 24.

these there are three which stand out as more prominent than the others by their size and by their apparent popularity, as judged from the number of copies which have come down to us. These are the *Audacht Moraind*, the *Tecosca Cormaic*, and the *Senbriathra Fithail*. That these works were at an early date associated together in the minds of the scribes who took them down may be seen from the fact that they are often found combined in older manuscripts. For example, in the *Book of Leinster*, one of the oldest and most valuable secular manuscript collections, pages 343–346 comprise the *Tecosca Cormaic* and the *Senbriathra Fithail*, followed directly by the *Briathra Moraind*, an abbreviated form of the *Audacht Moraind*, which is also found in its fuller form on pages 293, 294.[1] In fact, it is only rarely that one of these texts is found to stand alone in any manuscript. Closely related to the *Senbriathra Fithail* is the *Briathra Flainn Fína maic Ossu*, which we have every reason to believe has been ascribed erroneously to Flann Fína, as the Northumbrian king Aldfrith was known in Ireland. Another text, the *Aibidil Cuigni maic Emoin*, is on account of its form and substance to be included in the same category.

Among the minor and briefer instruction-texts ascribed to early times are the *Tecosc Cuscraid*, the *Briatharthecosc Conculaind*, and the *Cethcoir Comairli Flaithri maic Fithail*. Later survivals of the pagan *tecosc*[2] tradition are the poems beginning *Dia mbad messe bad rí réil* and *Cert cech ríg co réil*, and the Old-Irish poem ascribed to St. Moling; to the sixteenth century belongs MacBrody's *Tegasc Flatha*.

Thus it may be seen that the major and lengthier *tecosca* belong (in tradition) to a period in Irish history which antedates by many years the introduction of Christianity in the fifth century.[3] The in-

[1] Cf. also the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, pp. 229 ff. See R. Thurneysen, *Zu Irischen Handschriften*, I, 5–11, where tables are given to show the order of the texts.

[2] *Tecosc*, with its plural *tecosca*, the Old-Irish word meaning "teaching" or "instruction," is used here and later to refer to the type of text commonly known as *speculum* or "instruction to princes" (*Fürstenspiegel*).

[3] Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, I, 315, refers to the arrival of Palladius and Patrick in 431 and 432, respectively, and hints at the existence, for which there is good evidence, of pre-Patrician Christianity. "However, the great body of the Irish were pagans when St Patrick arrived; and to him belongs the glory of converting them."

struction materials so noticeable in early literature are distinctly a pagan tradition; wherever Christian elements have crept in, as they have in several cases, they must be considered late additions due to the desire on the part of Christian scribes to overcome the pagan traditions by tempering them with Christian touches.[1]

The period to which tradition, more or less definitely established in Irish literature, assigns practically all of the older *tecosc* texts is that of the first three centuries of the Christian era. These texts fall into two well-defined periods: (1) those belonging to the Cuchulaind saga and the beginnings of the historical, as opposed to the mythological, era (approximately B.C. 25–A.D. 25), which I shall call the first-century group; (2) those centering in the reign of Cormac mac Airt (A.D. 227–266), the third-century group. To the first century is ascribed, of the major texts, the *Audacht Moraind;* not only is this work attributed to the earliest time in history, but it is clearly the oldest and most archaic of the extant texts, as we shall see below. To the third century are assigned the *Tecosca Cormaic* and the *Senbriathra Fithail*, both of which are associated with the reign of Cormac, which might well be called Ireland's "golden age of wisdom." Of the important early texts only one, the *Briathra Flainn Fína*, is ascribed to a time when Ireland had become Christianized; and there is little reason for believing that such an ascription is tenable.

It would be impossible to trace any of these *tecosca* to their sources, or to say how soon after the periods to which they are traditionally assigned they were given literary form. The oldest of them, the *Audacht Moraind*, in the form in which it has come down to us, cannot be dated earlier than the eighth century, whatever may be claimed for the antiquity of its source.[2] Certain it is that the nine

[1] Best suggests (*Eriu* VIII, 170) that the *tecosca* may have formed part of an ancient inauguration ceremony, although Joyce points out (I, 45) that practically nothing is known of the pagan inaugural rites. But see E. Hull, *Hist. of Ireland* (1926), p. 23, where the quotations are erroneously attributed to the *Tecosca Cormaic;* see my edition of the *Briatharthecosc Conculaind, Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* (hereafter abbreviated *ZCP.*), XV (1924), 188 ff., and Schröder, "Ein Altirischer Krönungsritus," *ZCP.* XVI (1927), 310 ff.

[2] Thurneysen, *ZCP.*, XI (1917), 78, regarded the composition represented by redaction A as the original form of the *Audacht*, and set its date as *circa* 800. Pokorny later (*ZCP.* XIII [1921], 43) pointed out, and Thurneysen (XIII, 298) agreed, that the B-redaction is older than the A. Pokorny's date for B is 720–30, and for A, about 750.

widely varying extant versions of it point to a much older common original. While the language is distinctly post-Patrician, the spirit and subject matter, as we shall see below, are pre-Patrician in their paganism. All that can be said regarding the origin of our *tecosca* is that they had their rise at some time between the period to which they are traditionally ascribed and a period somewhat, perhaps several centuries, before that of the language of the existing versions. Thus both the *Audacht Moraind* and the *Tecosca Cormaic* must have been popular in Ireland well before the beginning of the ninth century. The pagan character which the originals must have exhibited would seem to point to a date not far removed from the fifth century.

I propose to discuss the historical background of these texts in the order of their traditional assignment:

First Century:
Audacht Moraind
Briatharthecosc Conculaind
Tecosc Cuscraid

Third Century:
Tecosca Cormaic
Senbriathra Fithail
Cetheoir Comairli Fithail
Aibidil Cuigni maic Emoin (?)

Seventh and Eighth Centuries:
Briathra Flainn Fína
"*Dia mbad messe bad rí réil*"
"*Cert ecech ríg co réil.*"
(Poem ascribed to St Moling.)

Of these three groups, it can readily be seen that each, taken as a whole, has its own distinct characteristics. The first-century group, as might be expected, is the most archaic; it is in general far more obscure and difficult for the modern reader than are the later groups, containing in many cases passages which baffle interpretation. In form it is rugged rhythmical prose, without the regular formulas which are the most striking trait of the third-century group. Its style is marked by recurrent alliteration, tmesis, and parataxis. The third-century group shows the influence of the for-

mula, into which it is almost inflexibly cast and from which it seldom diverges; the result of this influence is an extreme regularity and a terseness of expression, sometimes, as also in the case of the Laws, to the point of unintelligibility. The form and style are simple where those of the first-century group are highly complex. The seventh- and eighth-century group is unlike either of its predecessors in that it shows the Christian influence to the extent of lacking the primitive vigor of the earlier groups, from which it frequently draws its phraseology and which it imitates in other respects.

I. The First-Century Group

Audacht Moraind. This text comprises the words of advice addressed by Morand mac Moin, the foremost judge of Ireland in the first century, to his foster-son or messenger Nere, to be delivered to Feradach Findfechtnach, king of Ireland. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Morand was the son of Cairbre Cinnchait, who usurped the throne, with the aid of the *aithech-túatha* or tenant-tribes, from the nobility of Ireland; [1] after Cairbre's disastrous reign of five years, Feradach, the rightful heir, assumed the kingship and upon his inauguration, according to the Lebar Gabala, appointed Morand his chief judge.[2] Morand is best known to tradition for the collar or chain (*íd Moraind*) which tightened about the neck of its wearer if he failed to pronounce a just judgment.[3]

[1] *Annals of the F. M.*, A.D. 14; see *Annals of Tigernach, Rev. Celt.* XVI (1895), 416. The uprising of the *aithech-túatha* and the slaughter of the nobles by Cairbre is described briefly by the F. M. under A.D. 10, and at length by the *Lebar Gabala*. It is the subject of the poem *Sóerchlanda Érenn uile* and the prose accounts described and edited by Thurneysen, *ZCP.* XI (1917), 56 ff.

[2] A late prose account, which Thurneysen has shown to be unreliable and highly embellished, states that upon the death of Cairbre the Irish offered the kingdom to his son Morand, who refused it with characteristic integrity and brought about the investiture of Feradach (*ZCP.*, XI [1917], 59, 63, §12). For the *Lebar Gabala* statement, see F. M., A.D. 14, note *r*; also A.D. 10, note *l*.

Keating's chronology, as Lynch has shown, is faulty at this point.

[3] The *íd* (or *sín*) *Moraind* is said in the *Brehon Laws* (I, 24, 26) to have been worn by Morand himself: "Morand never pronounced a judgment without having a chain about his neck; when he pronounced a false judgment, the chain tightened about his neck; if he pronounced a true one, it expanded down upon him." Keating (II, 236) states that it was used by judges when delivering judgments and also by witnesses giving testimony (*do-níodh mar an gcéadna ris an tí thigeadh do dhéanamh faisnéise bréige go hadmháil na fírinne dhó*, "it behaved

Thurneysen, on the strength of his belief that the name Morand probably means "white as a mare," [1] thinks that its bearer originally was an immortal; but such a theory is in my opinion untenable. We have in extant literature concerning him no suggestion that he was anything but mortal; such supernatural elaborations as the *íd Moraind* and his speaking directly after his birth seem to be mere later developments having their origin in the veneration in which Morand came to be held.[2]

It would seem that Morand died soon after the inauguration of Feradach, without issue. In the *Audacht* itself he speaks of his approaching death (*mo bríathar rem bás*, A 3; B 2; l has *beir dó ré mo bás*, "carry them [my words] to him [Feradach] before my death") and the extinction of his own family (*ar mo chenéol clith*, A 54; B 63). The fact that Nere is sent with the message indicates that Morand is unable to bear it himself because he is on his death-bed, an assumption that is borne out by the very title, *Audacht* ("bequest, legacy").[3] He is no doubt well beyond the prime of life, for it would have been foreign to Irish custom to appoint a young man to the high-judgeship of Ireland; moreover, he had already achieved an enviable reputation in that office. If we are to believe the author of the *Compert Conculaind* (*Irische Texte* I, 142), Morand was

similarly as regards one who came to give false testimony until he had confessed the truth"). "The Irish Ordeals" (*Irische Texte*, III, 188 ff.) expands the *sín Moraind* into three separate collars. For a further discussion of the *íd Moraind* and a plausible explanation of the phrase *sín Moraind*, see Thurneysen, *ZCP.* XII (1918), 277 ff. For a proof of the popularity of the story of Morand's collar, see the poem, "The Fate of Sinann," *Miscellany to Kuno Meyer*, p. 196, § 15.

[1] Apparently on the strength of Cormac's entry *Morand .i.mōr-find* (Stokes, *Old Ir. Gloss.*, p. 28; *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, IV, 73, No. 863).

[2] Kuno Meyer, I find, is of the same opinion regarding Morand's best-known contemporaries (*Archaeological Rev.*, I [1888], 68): "Conchobor and Cuchulaind were, I believe, historical personages, and Irish tradition and chronology were not perhaps so wild as one might think when they fixed their age at the beginning of our era."

On this general point I am inclined to agree with Ridgeway, "The Date of the Cuchulainn Saga," *Proc. Brit. Acad.* (1905–06), p. 135: "It has been the practice of certain scholars to speak glibly of heroic personages as worn-out or faded gods, but though we have abundant instances of heroes becoming gods, as, for example, Heracles, Castor, and Pollux, it has never yet been shown that the reverse process has taken place in the mythology of any people. There is certainly no ground in Irish tradition for believing that Cuchulainn was once a god."

[3] Compare the title given in Cormac's Glossary s. v. *anart: Tigandl Morainn maic Moín*, "The Last Breath of Morand mac Moin."

already a famed judge during the reign of Conchobar mac Nessa, some fifty years before Feradach came to the throne; in this account, he is given the privilege of pronouncing a judgment upon the birth of Cuchulaind (*ca.* B.C. 25). The judgments for which Morand became famous among the early Irish are quoted from in the *Ancient Laws* (IV, 360, 25), where they are recognized as obsolete.[1]

Nere, who is intrusted with delivering the *Audacht* to Feradach, is considered by Thurneysen merely the messenger or herald of Morand (*ZCP.* XI, 56, 73; XII, 272) because he is addressed as *núallgnáth*, "accustomed to shouting." But such an explanation seems inadequate. *Núall* may well refer to the shouting after victory customary among the ancient Irish (cf. *Tecosca Cormaic*, 10.4; *Dia mbad messe*, 9, etc.), and *núallgnáth* may just as well mean "accustomed to victory." Nere is not merely associated with Morand on the occasion of his embassy to Feradach; he acts as the questioner who draws legal wisdom from the mouth of his mentor. He seems consistently to be Morand's pupil and younger companion; according to *MS. Egerton 88* he is Morand's successor in the judgeship.[2] Later writers consider him the son of Morand, but he was undoubtedly no more than his foster-son (*dalta*, L).[3] He is referred to in the *Laws*, where he is listed among the wise men of Ireland (I, 22, 31), and in the commentary to the *Amra Coluimcille*,[4] where an attempt is made by the Christian scribe to belittle the reputation of the pagan Nere. Surely, where such an expedient has been felt necessary, he must have been more than a mere messenger.

Feradach Findfechtnach, to whom Morand directs his advice, was king of Ireland, according to the Four Masters and Tigernach,

[1] On this and other matters concerning Morand's literary and legal remains, see my article, "Morand and the Ancient Laws of Ireland," *ZCP.*, XVI (1927), 305–309.

[2] Thurneysen has pointed out (*ZCP.*, XII [1918], 272, note 1) that *Eg. 88, 9v, a* contains a short law-text, *Comus Ae*, put in the mouth of Morand, who acknowledges Nere as the future judge.

[3] This later reference to Nere as the son of Morand seems to me to be naturally enough explained by analogy with other *tecosc*-texts. In the *Senbriathra Fithail* and in the *Tecosca Cormaic* each Solon offers his advice to his son; that casual writers should similarly make Nere the son of Morand, when he is already his foster-son, seems almost inevitable.

[4] Ed. Bernard and Atkinson, I, 169: *cid Nera macc Moraind no macc Finnchuill a sídib ni cóimsed a aisneis; no robo dui side i nathfégad Coluim Cille*, "even Nere son of Morand . . . would not be able to tell of him; or, even he was unlearned in comparison with Colum Cille."

for twenty-two years, from A.D. 14 to 36, a reign noted by many writers for its prosperity. In the introduction to the *Audacht*, he is spoken of as the son of Crimthann Nia Náir and the daughter (who is not named) of Loth mac Delaraid of the Picts. The daughter of Loth is elsewhere named Nár Thuathchuach.[1] I have already pointed out the possibility that confusion between this Nár and Morand's foster-son Nere has taken place in later writers.[2] The annalists tell us of nothing particularly eventful during the rule of Feradach. The prosperity of his reign is usually attributed not so much to Feradach's integrity as to the legislation of Morand.[3]

That the *Audacht Moraind* enjoyed a wide-spread popularity during the Old- and Middle-Irish periods is certain from the numerous references to it and quotations from it. Nor was its renown short-lived, for we find it quoted by writers as late as the seventeenth century. The celebrated northern poet, Lughaidh O Clérigh, in his *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, puts a quotation from the *Audacht* in the mouths of O'Donnell and O'Neill when they are exhorting their troops on the eve of battle: "We are quite certain that this day will distinguish between truth and falsehood, as Morand mac Maein said in the well-known proverb: 'There has not been found, nor will there be found, a juster judge than the battlefield.' [4] We have heard this from our poets, and they have long since taught it to us." Again, in the *Contention of the Bards*, in a poem written by the same Lughaidh O Clérigh: "Through the righteousness of a ruler, you know, there come, as Morand mac Maoin says, fish into the river-

[1] *Silva Gad.*, II, 495, 18: *Nár thuathchaech ingen Lotain* (sic) *do Chruithentuaith, ben Chrimthainn niadnáir, máthair Feradaig Finnfechtnaig.* Keating, II, 234, has: *Nár Thuathchuach ingheán Lóich mic Dáire do Chruithentuaith máthair Fearadhaig Feachtnaigh.* But the unreliable poem *Sóerchlanda Érenn uile* makes her Baine, daughter of Luath mac Dairera; see Thurneysen, *ZCP.*, XI (1917), 70 f. Compare Advoc. MS. XLII: *Mac sidhe do ingeine Losc* (sic) *mic Deibn do cruitheanthuaith* (Mackinnon, *Cat. of Gael. MSS in Scotland*, p. 185).

[2] *ZCP.* XVI, 308.

[3] Keating (II, 236) states that he was called Fechtnach "because justice and truth were maintained in Ireland in his time. It was in his reign that Morand mac Moen lived, the just judge who possessed the *íd Moraind*." So Moore, *Hist. of Ireland*, I, 123: "The administration of this honest counsellor succeeded in earning for his king the honorable title of the Just; . . . under their joint sway the whole country enjoyed a lull of tranquillity as precious as it was rare."

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 168. *Ni frith ni fuighbhither breithemh bus fíriu cathrâe.* This is, word for word, the saying as it occurs in Thurneysen's edition, § 31.

mouth at ebb-tide, and produce on the shores." [1] And in the same seventeenth-century collection Tadhg mac Brody, better known for his *Tegasc Flatha*, paraphrases a part of the *Audacht*.[2] From these quotations it is evident that Morand was more to the Irish of historical times than a mere name.

Briatharthecosc Conculaind. In this briefer text, preserved in the *Serglige Conculaind*, we have the advice given by Cuchulaind to the newly-elected king of Ireland, Lugaid Reoderg. It forms a part of the composition (§§ 21–27) which acts as a connecting link between the two versions of the *Serglige*.[3] According to this account, Cuchulaind, the greatest of the Irish heroes of antiquity, was on his sick-bed in Emain Macha when four of the provinces of Ireland assembled at Tara to select their high-king. Lugaid Reoderg ("of the Red Stripes") was sitting at the pillow of his tutor Cuchulaind,[4] comforting him, when messengers came from Tara with the news that Lugaid had been chosen high-king of Ireland.[5] Thereupon Cuchulaind rose from his bed and began to instruct his pupil (*gebid for tecosc a daltai*). The instructions are followed by Lugaid's assurance that he will observe all the precepts of his tutor.

[1] *Op. cit.*, VI, 67. The requirements of versification made it impossible for O Clérigh to quote exactly, had he wished to do so; the stanza corresponds to AM. 22–23. Compare *tasc i n-inberaib*, TC. 1.23. The *Audacht* has also been used as a source for parts of the *Scél na Fír Flatha;* see below, p. 440, note 5, quotation.

[2] XVIII, 118–120. The editor, not recognizing the source of the quotation, mistranslates *tár-fhlaith* "bad prince." It is the *tarbflaith* "bull-prince" of the *Audacht*, § 48. The stanza

Don tár-fhlaith is eadh as ghnáth
ruagadh ruathar gach ré dtrath
claoitear é agus claoidh neach
a ríghe ní sámh suaimhneach,

paraphrases § 62 of the B-redaction of the *Audacht: Tarbflaith, doslaid side do-sladar, ar-clich ar-clechar, con-claid con-cladar, ad-reith ad-rethar.* It follows that Tadhg must have been familiar with this older version of the *Audacht.* The *fíor-fhlaith* of the *Contention*, 118 and 120, is the *fír-flaith* of § 47 (B 59) of the *Audacht.*

[3] The two conflicting forms of this romance have called forth a great deal of discussion, which it is not the purpose of this study to go into. For divergent theories on the subject see Zimmer, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* XXVIII (1887), 617 ff., and R. Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- und Königsage* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1925), 413 ff.

[4] Cf. *Cóir Anmann*, § 211.

[5] On the method of choosing kings by means of the bull-feast, see *Irische Texte* I, 213, § 23, and the parallel passage in *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, § 11 (Stokes, Paris, 1902).

According to the most acceptable tradition, that of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the *Briatharthecosc* was uttered by Cuchulaind some forty years before Morand delivered his *Audacht*. The generally accepted date given for the activities of Cuchulaind is the quarter-century just preceding the birth of Christ; the *Annals of Tigernach* give the year of Cuchulaind's death as A.D. 2, and add that he was twenty-seven years old when he died.[1] This would make the year of his birth B.C. 25 according to Tigernach, corresponding to the entry *Natiuitas Conculainn maic Soaltaim*,[2] which is immediately followed by a reference to the *undecimo anno Augusti*, which would be B.C. 20. Keating, referring to the wide-spread belief that Conchobar and Cuchulaind were contemporaries of Christ, rejects the legend that Conchobar died on the same day as Christ,[3] without giving any convincing reason for his further assertion that Conchobar lived a long time before Christ. That Keating's belief is unwarranted is shown by his own statement that Lugaid Reoderg, Cuchulaind's contemporary who accepts his advice, is the grandfather of Feradach Findfechtnach.[4]

Cuchulaind's pupil Lugaid was chosen king seven years after the slaying of Conaire Mór and reigned in Tara for twenty-six years, according to both the *Four Masters* and *Tigernach*. But beyond that, there is little agreement about him in the annals. The Four

[1] *xxuii. bliadna immorro a aes intan atbath.* See D'Arbois de Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle*, translated by Best, pp. 2–3. As a matter of fact, the entry in Tigernach (*Rev. Celt.*, XVI [1895], 407, 1) is not so positive.

[2] See Best, "Palaeographical Notes," *Eriu*, VII (1914), 114. On this name for the father of Cuchulaind, see Meyer, "Miscellanea Hibernica" (*Univ. of Illinois Studies*, II, 559 ff.).

[3] Keating, II, 202 ff. The version of the *Aided Conchobuir* in the *Yellow Book* (Meyer, *Death-Tales*, p. 16, § 4) not only has Conchobar die on the day of the Crucifixion, but makes Cathbad declare that Christ and Conchobar (his foster-brother!) were born on the same night; so in the Stowe *Compert Conchobuir* (*Rev. Celt.*, VI [1883–85], 176, 73 ff.) Cathbad prophesies the birth of Christ and Conchobar at the same time. These embellishments are clearly the work of later redactors.

[4] Keating, II, 234, l. 3650: *Fearadhach Fionn Feachtnach mac Criomhthainn Nia Náir mic Luighdheach Riabh nDearg.* The belief that Cuchulaind lived just before the beginning of the Christian era is supported by Ridgeway's conclusions based on archaeological and historical grounds, "The Date of the Cuchulainn Saga," *Proc. of the Brit. Acad.*, 1905, pp. 135–168.

Keating, probably following the *Chronicum Scotorum*, states (III, 44) that there are 307 years between the reigns of Conchobar and Cormac mac Airt; but Hennessy (*Chron. Scot.*, p. 29, note 4) shows that 307 is doubtless a mistake for 257, thus making Conchobar a contemporary of Christ. But even 307 years would take Conchobar back only to B.C. 40.

Masters record his reign from A.M. 5166 to 5191; Tigernach has three entries, referring to his inauguration (*ca.* B.C. 24), to his reign of twenty-six years (*ca.* A.D. 50), and to his death (*ca.* A.D. 76)—a hopeless derangement.[1] Keating's synchronisms (IV, 130) would make Lugaid king of Ireland from B.C. 33 to 13. In spite of the failure of the Annals to agree on the time of Lugaid's reign, we are justified in assigning it roughly to the twenty-five years just preceding the birth of Christ. That it belongs only a few decades before the ascension of Feradach is seen by reference to the *Compert Conculaind* and the saga chronology in general.

On the relationship between Cuchulaind and Lugaid, Thurneysen has pointed out[2] that Lugaid does not originally belong to the Cuchulaind saga; but the more or less natural association of the two contemporaries cannot, I think, have been a very late one.[3]

Tecosc Cuscraid. This brief text is preserved in only one manuscript, *H.3.18*, in an introductory passage to the *Cath Airtig*,[4] and is unfortunately very corrupt. According to this introduction, the Ultonians offered the kingdom to Conall Cernach after the death of Cormac Conloinges, son of Conchobar, at the destruction of Dá Choca's hostel. But Conall refused, saying that the responsibilities of the position were too great for him, and told them to give the kingdom to his foster-son (*tabraid dom dalta*), Cuscraid Mend Macha, son of Conchobar.[5] Thereupon Cuscraid was proclaimed king, and Conall delivered his *tecosc*.

[1] *Rev. Celt.*, XVI (1895), 405, 411, 414. With this last item Fland Mainistrech agrees, making the year of Lugaid's death the fifth year of Vespasian (A.D. 74). The first entry is an interlineation. See MacNeill, *Eriu*, VII (1914), 48.

[2] *Helden- und Königsage*, p. 426.

[3] They are brought together in the *Tochmarc Emire* (*ZCP.*, III (1901), 259, § 84), where Lugaid is again recognized as the *dalta* or pupil of Cuchulaind; in the *Aided Derbforgaill* (*Eriu*, V, 208), where, in another version of the same episode, Lugaid is Cuchulaind's *dalta;* in the *Fled Bricrend* (*Irische Texte*, II (1), 176, 2: *Cuchulaind mac Soaltaim 7 a dalta .i.Lugaid Reo nderc*); and in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (ed. Windisch, lines 4111, 4124), where Cuchulaind refers to Lugaid in his lament over the death of Fer Diad. I cannot accept Gwynn's suggestion (*Eriu*, VI, 132) that Lugaid Reoderg, king of Ireland, was perhaps confused by later writers with a distinct Lugaid, *dalta* of Cuchulaind.

[4] Ed. Best, *Eriu* VIII (1916), 170 ff; Best draws attention to the fact (p. 171) that the *Cath Airtig* is more akin to the historical annals than to the romances.

[5] Conall Cernach had previously tried to make Cuscraid king upon the death of Conchobar, but Cuscraid refused because he feared civil warfare: *Boi Conall Cernach ic ierraid na rige*

Conall Cernach, next to Cuchulaind the greatest hero of the Conchobar cycle, is the foster-brother of Cuchulaind,[1] in whose company he is often found in the older tales. According to certain sources, he is considered a greater warrior than Cuchulaind: in the *Aided Conchobuir* both Cuchulaind and Laegaire Buadach give up contending with him for the champion's prize when he produces the brain of Mesgegra;[2] in the *Aided Ailella* he is called the best warrior in Ireland (*loech is dech robai a n-Erinn*).[3] It is Conall Cernach who divides the boar of Mac Dáthó in the presence of the champions of Ireland after Cet mac Magach has brought shame upon his foster-son Cuscraid.[4] He avenges this insult by slaying Cet.[5] The excuse which he gives for rejecting the crown in favor of Cuscraid suggests that Conall Cernach is already growing old, although his deeds at the battle of Airtech are those of an active young warrior. In his old age, long after the deaths of Conchobar and Cuchulaind, he kills Ailill, and is slain in revenge by the Connaughtmen.

Cuscraid Mend Macha ("the Stammerer of Macha") is the most frequently mentioned of the sons of Conchobar and succeeds his brother Cormac (at the instance of Conall Cernach, as we have seen) in the kingship. According to Tigernach, or rather the late interpolator,[6] Cuscraid was the immediate successor of his father, reigning for three years, when he was killed by Mac Cecht in the battle of Airtech (*ca.* A.D. 30).[7] As Best has pointed out, Tigernach is here

dia dalta .i.Cuscraid. Ro foibredar Ulaid cath do tabairt do cheile umi sin, 7 ro dhiult Cumsgraid in cath do thabairt ar uamhan co tuitfedís clanna Rudraigi re'roile, 7 ni raibhi Conall Cernach do lathair annsin. Ro imderg 7 ro cairigh a dhalta tritsin .i. Cumsgraidh. "Conall Cernach was seeking the kingship for his fosterling Cuscraid. The Ultonians prepared to deliver battle to each other on this account, and Cuscraid refused to give battle for fear the clans of Rudraige would mutually fall. Conall Cernach was not present: he blamed and reproached his fosterling for the refusal" (*Bruiden Dá Chocae, Rev. Celt.*, XXI [1900], 150).

[1] Thurneysen, *Helden- und Königsage*, pp. 91–94.

[2] Conall slays Mesgegra in the *Cath Etair* (*Rev. Celt.*, VIII, 47 ff.); he returns to Emain with only Mesgegra's brain, as the head was too heavy for his charioteer to carry.

[3] *Goire Conaill Chernaig ocus Aided Ailella*, ed. Meyer, *ZCP.*, I (1897), 102 ff.

[4] *Scél Mucci Mic Dáthó, Irische Texte*, 1, §§ 14 ff.

[5] Our text (*Cath Airtig*, § 10) does not name Conall as the slayer of Cét, but the *Aided Ailella* does, *q. v.* On Cuscraid's name see *Cóir Anmann* § 279.

[6] See *Eriu*, VII (1914), 114.

[7] Tigernach makes Conall the avenger of the death of Cuscraid: *Cath Artig for coiced nOlnecmacht la Cuscraid mac Conchobair. Cuscraid obit la Mac cecht. Mac cecht do thuitim*

unreliable. The fact that the Four Masters, as well as the other annalists and Keating, make no reference to Cuscraid, and the fact that he appears frequently in the hero-sagas,[1] would seem to indicate that he is to be considered more a legendary than an historical figure, of relatively late development. Indeed, of the three instruction-texts in this group, the *Tecosc Cuscraid* is in its historicity the least indubitable.

The first-century group of *tecosca* is, then, confined to a relatively brief period of less than fifty years, probably embraced by the life-time of Morand. It is a period in which history has been obscured by a heavy veil of mythology so that the foremost men have assumed the proportions and characteristics of gods.[2] It is to be observed that the supernatural coloring is usually introduced by writers who are distinctly late, and for whom distance from the time of which they write has lent the enchantment of mythologizing. This supernatural element is largely non-existent in texts dealing with the third-century group, except in such fantastic late tales concerning Cormac as those published in *Silva Gadelica.*

The *Audacht Moraind* is considerably older than the other

fochetoir la Conall Cernach is Crannaig Maic cecht (*Rev. Celt.*, XVI, 410). In a poem by Cináed ua Hartacàin (*Rev. Celt.*, XXIII, 308, § 16) is given the same information:

Aided Cuscraid la Macc cecht
de Luin Cheltchair, croda in t-echt,
dorochair Macc cecht iartain
la Conall macc Amargein,

which Stokes translated: "The death of Cuscraid by Mac Cecht with Celtchar's spear — cruel the murder! — afterwards Mac Cecht has fallen by Conall son of Amargen." Thus Conall's fondness for his *dalta* Cuscraid is seen in two instances of vengeance, first on Cét mac Magach and later on Mac Cecht.

[1] In the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, Cuscraid twice receives praise from Fergus: 825, *ni fil ní nad gellfad dar cend a enig*, "There is nothing he would not hazard for the sake of his honor"; 5222, *is é laech formend mór dessid for a láim chlí Conchobair*, etc.

[2] The supernatural powers attributed to Cuchulaind are too well known and numerous to be repeated here. In the *Aided Ailella* the head of Conall Cernach is said to be so large that four year-old calves would fit in it. In the *Aided Derbforgaill* Cuchulaind and Lugaid see two swans which turn into human forms when struck by a stone. In the Morand materials there are a number of magic elements, though probably of late origin: the *íd Moraind*, or magic collar; the superstition of the nine waves (*Irische Texte*, III, 189), with which compare Best's translation of D'Arbois de Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle*, pp. 144, 145, 227. Morand and Crimthann Nia Ner are among the last of the 'mythological' figures, but in general they are treated like historical personages.

tecosca in the group. All three are uttered by famous leaders who are much better known to students of Irish literature than the princes they advise. In each case the person to whom the instruction is delivered is expressly called the foster-son or pupil (*dalta*) of his adviser.[1] The *Briatharthecosc Conculaind* resembles the *Audacht Moraind* in that it is given from a sick-bed. The *Tecosc Cuscraid* resembles the *Audacht* in that it is given by a popular hero who has refused the kingship in favor of the prince whom he supports. With Conall's self-depreciation in favor of Cuscraid is to be compared Cuchulaind's similar modesty, and praise of Lugaid Reoderg in the *Aided Derbforgaill.*[2] Furthermore, there are striking resemblances in phraseology between the *Briatharthecosc* and the *Tecosc Cuscraid,* which I have remarked elsewhere in my editions of those texts.

II. The Third-Century Group

The reign of Cormac mac Airt (sometimes called Cormac ua Cuinn, "grandson of Conn"), A.D. 227–266, is famous in Irish history for its prosperity and for the wisdom of Cormac himself. The Four Masters refer to the repute of Cormac as a legislator: "It is Cormac who composed the Teagusc-na-Rígh (OIr. *tecosc ríg*), to preserve manners, morals, and government in the kingdom. He was a famous author of laws, synchronisms, and history, for it was he that established law, rule, and direction for each science, and for each covenant according to propriety; and it is his laws that governed all that adhered to them to the present time." [3] Petrie [4] points out the three important literary activities of Cormac, which make him something of an Alfred for early Ireland, as follows: "(1) that Cormac was the author of the ancient tract called Teagasc na Ríogh, or Instruction of Kings; (2) that he was the author or compiler of laws which remained in force among the Irish down to the seventeenth century;

[1] Audacht Moraind, L1: *diaro-fóid Morand a dalta chuce;* Briatharthecosc Conculaind, 24: *Lugaid Réoderg dalta Conculaind;* Tecosc Cuscraid, 1: *tabraid dom daltae .i.do Chuscraid Mend Macha.* In the *Audacht,* however, the messenger, not the instructed prince, is Morand's *dalta.*

[2] For the close association of Conall, Cuchulaind, and Cuscraid, and the legend that each woman of Ulster loved one of that trio, see the *Cath Etair, Rev. Celt.,* VIII (1887), 60, 12 ff.

[3] O'Donovan's translation, under the year 266.

[4] "History and Antiquities of Tara Hill," *Royal Irish Acad. Trans.,* XVIII, for 1837.

(3) that he caused the ancient chronicles of the country to be compiled in one volume, which was afterwards called the Psalter of Tara." Of these the first work is our *Tecosca Cormaic;* [1] the laws referred to under (2) would include the *Book of Aicill*, the book of criminal law which constitutes the greater part of the third volume of the *Ancient Laws*, and perhaps other works now lost; [2] the *Psalter of Tara* is a lost work to which frequent reference is made in the extant manuscripts.[3] In the *Annals of Clonmacnois*, quoted by the Four Masters in a passage in which the translator has done no little violence to the English tongue, it is stated that "Cormac was absolutely the best king that ever reigned in Ireland before himself. He wrote a book entitled *Princely Institutions*, which in Irish is called *Teagasg Rí*, which book contains as goodly precepts and moral documents as Cato or Aristotle did ever write." [4] Keating's statement (II, 304) follows the same well-founded tradition: "Now this Cormac was one of the wisest kings that ever ruled Ireland; witness the *Teagasc Ríogh* he wrote for Cairbre Lifechair, and many laudable customs and laws devised by him, which are recorded in the Breitheamhnas Tuaithe."

The widespread acceptance of Cormac's reputation for wisdom

[1] Meyer, *Tec. Corm.*, p. ix, states that the title occurs in *H. 1. 15*, as *Teagasg Ríogh*, but Thurneysen, *Zu ir. Hss.* I, 4, points out that this is a wrongly entitled law-text, *Coic Conara Fugill* (ed. *Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1925, Nr. 7). The title *Teagasg Ríogh* is used for this text, however, by Hyde, *Lit. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 246. It occurs also in the glosses in *H. 3. 18*, col. 539a.

[2] The introduction to the *Lebar Aicle* (quoted again in *Laws* IV, 266, 27) tells of the supposed origin of the work: "The place of this book is Aicill, close to Tara, and its time is the time of Coirpre Lifechair son of Cormac, and its author is Cormac, and the cause of its having been composed was the blinding of the eye of Cormac by Aengus Gabuaidech . . . " (*Laws* III, 82 ff.). Compare the account in the *Life of Declan*, pp. 4–6 (*Irish Texts Society*, Vol. XVI).

[3] Cúan ua Lothcháin (*Metr. Dind.*, I, 14) likewise tells of the origin of this "Psalter":

Cormac, rochlái cóicait cath,
rosílaig Saltair Temrach;
isin tSaltair-sin atá
a n-as dech sund senchusa.

"Cormac, who won fifty battles, disseminated the Psalter of Tara; in this Psalter there is all the best we have of history." The first two lines of this quatrain, as well as the four preceding verses, are quoted without acknowledgment by Aodh ua Domnaill (*Contention of the Bards*, xv, 53 f., publ. Irish Text Soc., Vol. XX). See further on the Psalter, *Irische Texte*, III, 199, § 57.

[4] Four Masters, note *p*, under the year 266.

is attested by the numerous later works which refer to it. Two of our eighth-century poetic *tecosca* are written with him in mind.[1] The *Book of Uí Maine* contains a "Colloquy of Cormac and Cairbre" (*Agallam Cormaic 7 Cairpre*) which ascribes to Cormac § 4 of the *Bríathra Flainn Fína*. In the *Cath Maige Rath*,[2] a lengthy catalogue of the good qualities of King Domnall begins as follows: "He had the triumph of Conn in the field, and his valor in battle; the hospitality of Art the Solitary, and his courteousness to women; the wisdom of Cormac ui Chuind, and his royal forbearance; the skill in the art of defence of Cairbre Lifechair, and his dexterity at arms. . . ." In the *Contention of the Bards* there are constant references to Cormac's wisdom. The lines of Cúan ua Lothcháin,

Cormac, ba cundail a maith
ba súi, ba file, ba flaith;
ba fír-brethem fer Féne,
ba cara, ba cocéle,

are repeated, without acknowledgment, by Aodh ua Domnaill.[3] Lughaidh O Clérigh (IV, 28) has the following stanza:

Cormac breitheamh na mbreath bhfíor,
é ro tracht Teagasg na Ríogh;
ní faghthar ughdar as fhearr
ag dlighthibh aosta Eireann.[4]

That the poets of the Finn cycle recognized the popularity of Cormac, Finn's contemporary, is evidenced by their efforts to glorify Finn at Cormac's expense.[5]

[1] See below, pp. 434 ff.

[2] Ed. O'Donovan, p. 117. A later semi-historical account of the battle of Moyra, A.D. 637.

[3] *Metr. Dind.*, i, 14; *Cont. Bards*, xv, 53. Cf. p. 425, note 3.

[4] "Cormac judge of true judgments, it is he who expounded the *Tecosc Rig;* there is not found a better authority in the ancient laws of Ireland."

[5] Such attempts are seen in the *Acallamh na Senórach* (ed. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, IV, 1, 68, lines 2386 ff.:

"Caeilte," said Dermot, "was Cormac better than Finn, and was Cairbre better than Oisin?"

"By the king that is over me, Cormac was not better than Finn; nor was far-famed Oisin inferior to Cairbre Lifechair."

See further *Duanaire Finn*, XXIII, lines 1–10 (p. 61 f.); and Introd., p. xlviii.

The veneration in which Cormac was held resulted in two late developments: the ascription to him of supernatural powers and the tradition which compares him with Solomon. His absence from Tara for four (sometimes seven) months, alluded to in the *Panegyric of Cormac*,[1] apparently gave occasion for such fairy-tales as that of Cormac's adventure in the Land of Promise.[2] The comparisons between Cormac and Solomon, and the Tech Midchuarta and Solomon's Temple, are discussed at some length by Gwynn.[3] But such fabrications are of comparatively modern growth; the Cormac of the early texts is a historical character with few mythical embellishments.[4]

Tecosca Cormaic. The vogue which this work enjoyed in the Middle-Irish period has already received some consideration. The *tecosc*-poem beginning '*Dia mbad messe bad rí réil*' was written with Cormac's instructions in mind, as may be seen from the lines in stanza 4:

Tecosc Cormaic ba cor gáith
ar Coirpre Lifechair luath;

similarly the author of *Cert cech ríg co réil* suggests familiarity with them in stanza 53:

ó ré Cormaic cóir . Meic Airt uasail áin,
dlegar d'Ultaib riam . tabach giall ret láim.

In accordance with tradition, the most reasonable date to which the *Tecosca Cormaic* is to be assigned is the end of Cormac's reign

[1] *Silva Gad.*, I, 90.

[2] *Irische Texte*, III, 193 ff.; cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *The Irish Mythol. Cycle*, Best's translation, pp. 185 ff. Other fantastic legends are found in the *Birth of Cormac* (*Silva Gad.*) and the story of his death at the hands of druids (Keating II, 346), a legend not recognized in *Silva Gad.*, p. 256.

[3] *Metr. Dind.*, I, 70 ff. I cannot accept Gwynn's suggestion (*Hermathena* XLII, [1920], 88) that the *Tecosca Cormaic* "may be framed on Biblical models (Proverbs of Solomon)"; the *Tecosca* is as genuinely native a production as the *Audacht*. The connection with Solomon was doubtless brought in later, as were Biblical and Christian allusions, by a writer who saw the parallelism.

[4] E. Hull, *A Hist. of Ireland* (1926), pp. 21 f.: "The High-kingship of Cormac mac Airt in the third century may be accepted as historical." See also Eoin MacNeill's conclusions in Chapter I of his *Celtic Ireland* (1921).

in 266. The introduction to the *Book of Aicill* tells us that after Cormac had been deprived of one of his eyes by Aenghus, he retired to Aicill. "And the sovereignty of Ireland was given to Cairbre Lifechair, son of Cormac; and in every difficult case of judgment that came to him he used to go to ask his father about it; and his father used to say to him, *a mic ara feiser* . . . ("My son, that thou mayest know. . . .").[1] Keating makes the same statement, and adds "And it was there he composed the *Tecosc Ríg*, setting forth what a king should be, . . . and how he should rule the people through their laws."

After Eochaid Gonnat's brief reign of one year, Cairbre Lifechair reigned over Ireland twenty-seven years,[2] from 268 to 295. Certain texts mention him as one of the great sages of Ireland, but this may be merely due to the influence of the *Tecosca Cormaic;* he is more often thought of as an intrepid warrior.[3] The usual and older account of his death is that recorded by Keating (II, 300), that he fell by

[1] *Laws* III, 82 ff.; Keating, II, 344. The *a mic ara feiser* formula, which occurs frequently in the *Book of Aicill*, is not in the *Tecosca Cormaic*. This formula is suggested in line 20, *A chórus co fesser*, "Its regulation that thou mayest know," of the *tecosc* poem quoted from the *Fénechus* at the end of the *Crith Gablach* (*Laws*, IV, 340). This poem is edited and translated in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. XXXVI, Sec. C, pp. 308–311, by MacNeill, who dates it at the end of the seventh century. The metre is that of the *Tecosca Cormaic* as described by Meyer, p. xi. It begins:

Ma be rí ro-fesser	"If thou art a king, thou shouldst know
recht flatho	"the right of a prince (cf. *Tec. Corm.*, § 2),
fothoth iar miad	"the due (of each) according to rank (cf. *Tec. Corm.*, 6, 45),
mescbada (?) slóg	"the riotings of troops (cf. AM. 26),
sabaid cuirmmthige	"the chiefs of the ale-house (cf. *Tec. Corm.*, § 4),
cuir mesca.	"the agreements of intoxication (cf. AM. 26)."

I have made use of Thurneysen's emendations in *ZCP.*, XVI (1927), 202.

[2] Keating, II, 354. But the F. M. give the years of his reign as 268–284: "After Cairbre Lifechair had been *seventeen* years in the sovereignty of Ireland, he fell in the battle of Gabra-Aicle (so called from its contiguity to Aicill) by the hand of Semeon, son of Cearb, [one] of the Fotharta." All the annalists except Tigernach include Eochaid Gonnat; cf. F.M., A.D. 267. But the introduction to Aicill would indicate that Cairbre was the immediate successor of his father. The Panegyric on Cormac (*Silva Gad.*, II, 96) says that Cormac reigned over Ireland forty years, "excepting the two which Ulster usurped: that is to say, Fergus Blackknee for one year and Eochaid Gonnat for another. Twice in fact the Ulidians deposed Cormac." Cf. Tigernach, *Rev. Celt.*, XVII (1896), 14, 16.

[3] In the wars with the Fiana, which finally resulted in Cairbre's death. Compare Oisin's praise of Cairbre in the lament over the death of his son Oscar (*Silva Gad.*, II, 475, 21 ff.). See MacNeill, *Duanaire Finn*, p. xlviii, and the quotation from the *Cath Maige Rath* above, p. 426.

the hand of Oscar son of Oisin in the battle of Gabair,[1] but not before he had broken the Fenian power forever.

Senbriathra Fithail. This text, the third of the major *tecosca*, is unlike the *Audacht Moraind* and the *Tecosca Cormaic* in that it contains practically no internal evidence by which we can tell the time or the conditions under which it was uttered. Only once in the body of the text does the name Fithal occur, and there (§ 7, 6) in a section which is also attributed to Cormac and printed by Meyer as § 29 of the *Tecosca Cormaic*. In Part ii (§§ 10–12), to be sure, we have a dialogue (in question-and-answer form, like that of the *Tecosca*) between Fithal and his son (who is not named); but this part of the text is different in form from the formulistic body of the first five sections,[2] and in the manuscripts in which it occurs it is always arranged as a piece quite independent of the body. Thus we can rely for our knowledge that Fithal is the speaker of the great bulk of these maxims only upon the titles *Senbriathra Fithail* or *Fithal dixit* given in some of the manuscripts.

Fithal, we are told by Keating, was the chief brehon of Cormac.[3] In the *Ancient Laws* he is on several occasions referred to as the author of laws which were still in force: the *Finnsruth Fithil*, a law treatise on the manner of passing judgments, and the *Ai Emnach*, which "Fithal took from authority."[4] He is said to have passed judgment upon Aenghus Gabuaidech: "Fithal, the truly wise, . . . pronounced this judgment after the destroying of Cormac's eye, that

[1] As in the *Acallamh na Senórach*, *Irische Texte*, IV, 1, 222, lines 7940–52. But see MacNeill's introduction to the *Duanaire Finn*, p. xli, and *Cont. Bards*, IV, 65 (= Keating, II, 354). Tigernach (*Rev. Celt.*, XVII, 23) has: *Coirpre Lifeochair cecidit a Cath Gabra Aithle la Seniach mac Fir chirb do Fothartaib A.M. 4259.* See quotation from F. M., p. 428, n. 2 above. Cf. *Cont. Bards*, II, 28, 44.

[2] These sections constitute four fifths of the *Senbriathra* which cannot be with equal right assigned to the *Tecosca Cormaic*.

[3] Keating, II, 338: *is ré linn Chormaic do mhair Fitheal, agus is é fá hairdbreitheamh dhó.*

[4] *Laws* I, 120; IV, 90; I, 26. Owen Connellan in 1860 wrote: "Fithil, [Cormac's] chief Brehon or judge, also wrote some laws, copies of which may be seen in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin." Abbott's Catalogue makes no reference to any such laws. There is a stanza in *YBL.*, p. 340, beginning *Fithil mac Fachtna ba flaith*, but our Fithal (see p. 430 n. 1 below) is a Fithal mac Aoengusa not entitled to the designation *flaith*.

For a quotation from the lost *Finnsruth Fithail* (O'D., 711), see Thurneysen, *ZCP.*, XVI (1927), 216, 13 ff. Cf. also *Sanas Cormaic*, in *Anecdota from Ir. MSS*, IV, 86, no. 1013; and 47, no. 583.

for it was forfeited the south of Bregia, to Cormac and his race." [1] We are told (I, 24) that Fithal had "the truth of nature, so that he pronounced no false judgment." A gloss on the phrase *recht aicnid*,[2] "the law of nature," reads *.i. na mbreitheman morand ocus fithal, 7rl.*, "that is, of the brehons Morand and Fithal, etc.," which might be taken to indicate that, since they are named, these two brehons were considered the outstanding judges of ancient Ireland.

The name of Fithal's son is found nowhere in any of the copies of the *Senbriathra*, but that the son addressed is Flaithri is seen from the *tecosc* account preserved in Keating (II, 338 ff.) of the *Cetheoir Comairli Fithail* discussed below. According to Keating, Flaithri, like his father, was "a wise and learned man." [3] Yet he never seems to be mentioned except in conjunction with Fithal; hence it would appear that his reputation rests solely upon the *Senbriathra*.[4]

The close association between Fithal and Cormac is seen in a number of later poems. A poem said to be addressed to Cormac by Fithal, containing proverbial maxims, has been published by Meyer.[5] In the *Acallamh na Senórach* there is a quatrain by Caeilte:

Cuicer is gaithe um ceill ngrind
ro bói a n-aentig a nEirind,
Fithel agus Flaithri a mac,
Aillmhe is Cairbre is Cormac.[6]

"The five the most eminent for profound wisdom who lived in one

[1] *Laws*, IV, 264: *Fithal fir gaoth mac Aoengusa mic Muiredaigh mic Reth asbert an breth so iar choll sula Cormaic, curab inn do rochair deiscert mbregh a ndilsi do Cormac ocus dia sil.*

[2] As the introduction to *Laws* III points out, (p. li), this term is obviously a translation of the Latin *ius naturale* or *ius gentium*.

[3] Keating, II, 338: *agus do ba duine glic foghlumtha an Flaithrí sin.* Connellan, *Imtheacht na Tromdhaimhe* (Dublin, 1860), p. xviii: "Toward the end of the third century lived Flaithri, son of Fithil, who it appears was poet to the monarch Cormac, and therefore in all probability the head of the Bards of Ireland in his time."

[4] Compare the similar case of the wisdom attributed to Cairbre Lifechair, p. 428, above.

[5] "The Dialogue between King Cormac and Fithel," an interchange of quatrains, in *Hibernica Minora*, pp. 82 f.; I cannot think it genuine.

[6] In *Irische Texte*, IV, i, p. 72; *Silva Gad.*, I, 151; and quoted by Connellan, *Imtheacht na Tromdhaimhe*, p. 216, as "the five greatest statesmen in Ireland." But this is hardly correct, as Aillmhe was the daughter of Cormac, later the wife of Finn. O'Grady, in *Silva Gad.*, II, 578, lists her as a "wise man"!

house in Ireland: Fithal, and Flaithri his son, Aillmhe, and Cairbre, and Cormac." In the *Bruiden Becc na hAlmuine*, after Flaithri has rendered a decision which calls forth Cormac's disapproval, Fithal pronounces a judgment on the same matter and receives the commendation of Cormac and Cairbre.[1] In the story of Cormac's Sword, Cormac and Fithal pass judgment together.[2] And in the *Duanaire Finn* (I, 18, 24) is found the stanza:

Tiomairgther Flaithrí is Fiothal
go Cormac bfáthach bfíochmhar;
do breith na breithe nar lag
eidir Fionn agus Cormac.

From these references it may be seen how closely tradition links up the *Tecosca Cormaic* and the *Senbriathra Fithail.*

Cetheoir Comairli Fithail.[3] This short prose account, "The Four Counsels of Fithal" to his son Flaithri, occurs, as far as I know, only in Keating (II, 338–342), where it constitutes a unified episode thrust into the midst of the history of Cormac's reign. It is closely bound up with the *Senbriathra* tradition; whether it is of modern growth or whether it has its roots in antiquity it is impossible to say. In any event, it seems reasonable to suppose that Keating in his prose rendering made use of a text, not now extant, which was perhaps in complete accordance with the old *tecosc* structure.

Aibidil Cuigni maic Emoin.[4] Strictly speaking, this text does not belong to the *tecosc* group; like Part i of the *Senbriathra Fithail*, there is no internal evidence that it was the work of a father or tutor for the instruction of his son or his lord — in fact, we may

[1] *Silva Gad.*, I, 341 f.

[2] *Irische Texte*, III, 202, 9.

[3] There is no title given to this brief narrative in Keating; I have created it for convenience in reference.

Another prose *tecosc*, to which I have not had access, is listed by O'Rahilly, Fasc. I of *Catalogue of Irish MSS in the Royal Irish Academy*, p. 118, as occurring in *MS. G. VI. 1* (18th century), p. 72: "A short prose piece, *Comhairle Fhithil da Mhac*, beginning *A mhic, bean an séad is fearr da raibh ag fear aríamh.*"

Worthy of note are the modern dramatizations by Dinneen, both in Irish (*Comhairle Fithil*) and in English (*Fitheal's Counsels*), Dublin, 1909.

[4] See my edition in *ZCP.*, XVII (1927), 45–71.

safely conclude that it performed no such office. Nor does it possess, as some copies of the *Senbriathra* do, a title which gives a clue to the purpose for which it was written. But there are resemblances in both form and matter which make it certain that, if the *Aibidil* did not, in part at least, originally belong to the *tecosc*-tradition, it was in any event modeled upon it.

The *Aibidil* exists in only one copy. The name of the *soi-disant* author, Cuigne mac Emoin, is not to my knowledge to be found anywhere else; it is obviously the name not of the original author of the sayings, but of the scribe who brought them together from various sources. Of him we know only that, like the author of the *Audacht Moraind*,[1] he combined in all probability the offices of *fili* and *brithem*.[2] When he lived it is impossible to say; Meyer, in his *Primer of Irish Metrics*, includes him in his list of Irish poets without any additional information. I have included the *Aibidil* with the third-century group because it makes use of the strict formulistic arrangement found nowhere else and because it shows in its subject matter striking parallels to other members of the group.

Briathra Flainn Fína maic Ossu. This group of proverbial sayings is attributed in certain manuscripts to Flann Fína, or Aldfrith, king of Northumbria, who died in 705. The traditional ascription of these materials to Flann Fína, which has always gone unchallenged, is in my opinion untenable. Almost all the maxims here assigned to Flann Fína are also assigned to Fithal;[3] in fact, they comprise the bulk of the *Senbriathra Fithail*, being identical with §§ 1–6 of that text. The form and the whole tenor of the *Briathra Flainn Fína* are distinctly of the pagan tradition, and inconsonant with all we know of the Christian king Aldfrith. Consequently I include the *Briathra* with the third-century group, with which it is in complete harmony, rather than with the seventh-century group to which it has been formerly assigned.

[1] Cf. Thurneysen, *ZCP.*, XI, 78.

[2] There is another alternative: that a scribe Cuigne gave his name, in the hope of perpetuating it, to a work which he found under another title or which he himself collected from hither and yon.

[3] On § 4, ascribed also to Cormac, see above, p. 426.

Flann Fína mac Ossu was the name by which Aldfrith was known when he was living in Ireland, Fína being the name of his mother, who was a princess of Irish birth; [1] and Ossu (or Ossa) being the Irish spelling for Oswy, king of Northumbria from 642 to 671.[2] "It was probably his connection with Ireland through his mother," says Fowler, "that determined the place of his retirement and education." In Ireland, according to William of Malmesbury, Aldfrith acquired a love of learning and letters,[3] "on which account the very persons who had formerly banished him, esteeming him the better qualified to manage the reins of government, now sent for him of their own accord." On the death of his brother Ecgfrith, Aldfrith became king of Northumbria in 685, reigning until his death in 705.

On the great learning and wisdom of Aldfrith all authorities, English and Irish, are in accord. He is called *in t-ecnaid amra, dalta Adamnain*, "the wondrous sage, foster-son [4] of Adamnan"; *ard-súi Erenn eolusa*, "Ireland's high-sage of learning." [5] His reputation for sagacity might well account for the readiness of a Christian scribe to

[1] So Joyce, I, 413, and Fowler, *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae*, p. 73; Stubbs has a different version: "as Bede (*H. E.* iv, 26; *Vita Cuthb.*, c. 24) calls him *nothus*, his mother was probably a concubine." But on the use of this term *nothus* in connection with Aldfrith's father see *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, IV, 166: "In the *Life of Oswin* he is called *nothus*, a statement perhaps which shows the animus of the writer, as it is unsupported by historical evidence." This assertion is equally applicable in the case of Aldfrith. The English chroniclers make Aldfrith the son not of an Irish princess but of Oswy's second wife, Eanfleda, daughter of King Edwin and famous patroness of Rome who opposed the Irish missionaries. If this be true, how are we to account for Aldfrith's ardent support of the Irish cause?

William of Malmesbury also states that Aldfrith had been deemed unworthy of the government on account of his illegitimacy, and had retired to Ireland, either through compulsion or resentment: *Is quia nothus, ut diximus, erat, factione optimatum, quamvis senior, regno indignus aestimatus, in Hiberniam, seu vi seu indignatione, secesserat.* — Stubbs, *Will. Malmesb. Monachi de Gest. Reg. Angl.* (Rolls Series), I, 57. But here the chronicler confuses Aldfrith, the younger brother of Ecgfrith, with Alchfrith, the older brother of Ecgfrith, who disappeared from Northumbria about 665 (see *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, IV, 166). Plummer (Bede, II, 264) points out that Aldfrith was younger than Ecgfrith.

Cook likewise assumes the illegitimacy of Aldfrith in his article, "The Possible Begetter of the Old English *Beowulf* and *Widsith*" (*Trans. Conn. Acad.*, XXV [1922], 281-346).

[2] In a recent article (Speculum, II, 67 ff.) Cook traces the marked intercourse of the Irish with Oswy and the Northumbrians; see *art. cit.*, p. 70, note 1.

[3] On his patronage of letters and his relations with Adamnan, Aldhelm, and Benedict Biscop, see Stubbs, *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, I, 77.

[4] On the *dalta* relationship in *tecosc* texts, see above, p. 424.

[5] For further statements as to Aldfrith's wisdom by Bede, Alcuin, Aldhelm, and others, see Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica*, II, 263 f., 312.

attach his name to an unidentified text, as we know the *Briathra Flainn Fína* to be, consisting of a series of wise precepts. His ardent and vigorous espousal of Christianity earned for him the admiration of Bede and Aldhelm; his sympathy with the cause of the Irish missionaries resulted in his rupture with Wilfrid, the advocate of Rome. A Christianity which championed the Irish missionaries would easily explain the high praise bestowed upon Aldfrith by the Irish writers; but it does not account for the ascription to him of the pagan sentiments, without any Christian decoration whatsoever, found in the *Senbriathra Fithail.*[1]

III. The Eighth-Century Group

To the end of the eighth century belong two poems on the duties of a king written within a short time of each other, beginning *Dia mbad messe bad rí réil* and *Cert cech ríg co réil.* They differ from the pagan *tecosca* of the first three centuries in that they have a regular metrical structure[2] and in that they are a curious mixture of pagan lore with Christian touches, in which the pagan element, however, is strongly predominant. Each of them, but particularly the earlier, is based upon the pagan *tecosca*, as the presence of whole maxims from the *Tecosca Cormaic*, *Audacht Moraind*, and other texts shows. Each of them has high praise for Cormac, the earlier referring to the *Tecosca Cormaic* (st. 4) by title.

It is to be noted that in O'Donoghue's editions of these two texts his lists are incomplete.[3] In five manuscripts they are found side by side, thus showing that they were associated together at an early date.[4]

[1] Except, of course, on the ground that the Christian scribes were desirous of weakening the pagan tradition by putting words of wisdom on the tongue of a Christian prince instead of that of a popular pagan brehon. The method of taking over pagan customs rather than attempting to stamp them out was employed throughout Europe by the early church.

[2] The meters are different, the first poem being in *rannaigecht mór*, and the second in *dechnad mbec.*

[3] *Meyer Miscellany*, pp. 258 ff.; *Eriu*, IX (1923), 42 ff. O'Donoghue makes no mention of their existence together in *H.5.6;* of *Dia mbad messe* in *H.1.17*, or of *Cert cech ríg* in the *Book of Lismore* (see Stokes in introduction to *Saints' Lives*, p. xxix).

[4] In the *Books of Leinster* and *Lismore* and in *R.I.A. 23.N.11*, *Dia mbad messe* immediately precedes *Cert cech ríg;* in *H.1.17* (where both are fragmentary) and *H.5.6* it follows *Cert cech ríg.* They occur separated in *R.I.A. 23.L.34.*

Dia mbad messe bad rí reil. This poem of thirty-seven stanzas is ascribed in three manuscript copies to Dubh dá Thúath, who is included in Meyer's list of poets as Dubhdáthúath mac Stéléne, who died in 783.[1] The Christian element in this poem is very slight, the only traces of Christianity being two references to the church (st. 17, 27), a reference to "the true Lord" in st. 22, and the "Demon" of st. 36. On the other hand, frequent quotations from the *Tecosca Cormaic*, *Audacht Moraind*, *Senbriathra Fithail*, *Briatharthecosc Conculaind*, and the "Dialogue between Cormac and Fithal" show that the writer was steeped in the pagan tradition.

Cert cech ríg co réil. This poem of seventy-two stanzas was written by Fothad na Canóine, who lived in the time of Aedh Oirdnide, over-king of Ireland from 793 to 817.[2] The poem was noticed by O'Curry (*Beth. Cat.*, p. 330): " . . . commences Fothadh-na Canoine's Precept to Aodh (or Hugh) Oirdnidhe, Monarch of Erinn on his inauguration, A.D. 815," where he apparently takes the date from Keating's synchronism.[3]

In this work there are signs of the pagan tradition, particularly in resemblances to the *Tecosca Cormaic*, but the Christian element is much more noticeable than in the preceding poem. Even though the name of the author did not betray his calling, we should be certain after reading the text that it was the work of a churchman.

The Moling poem. A review of the early Christian poetic *tecosca* would not be complete without mentioning the Old-Irish poem attributed to St Moling, which is found only in the *Book of Leinster* following *Cert cech ríg co réil.*[4] In it Moling of Luachair, praising King Maenach of Munster for his severity toward crimi-

[1] *Primer of Irish Metrics*, p. 37. In *Laud 610* it bears the title, 'Fingin cecinit do Chormac mac Cuilennain'; see *Eriu*, IX (1923), 44.

[2] Four Masters; Keating gives the date of his accession as 815. It was this same Fothad who persuaded Aedh in 804 to release the clergy from military service; see his poem *Ecclas Dē bhí*, F.M., A.D. 799. Another Christian *tecosc* ascribed to Fothad na Canóine, the *Recht ríg*, consisting of eight stanzas and beginning *Dia mbat rí bit ríghcerdach*, occurs as stanzas 30–37 of the "Regula Mucuta Raithni" (*ACL.*, III, 314 f.). The metre is *cummasc etir rannaigecht móir ocus lethrannaigecht*, $2(7^1 + 5^1)$.

[3] Keating, IV, 139. See O'Donoghue, *Meyer Miscellany*, p. 259.

[4] Ed. Meyer, *Miscellanea Hibernica, Univ. of Illinois Studies*, II, 567 f.

nals, gives his "advice to a prince" in very much the same spirit as that of the opening lines of *Dia mbad messe bad rí réil* (cf. st. 6: *Dia mbad rim contúased rí*). It is a brief poem of seven stanzas, the last two of which belong distinctly to the *tecosc*-tradition. If its ascription to Moling is genuine, it is older than the two preceding poems, since it belongs to the middle of the seventh century; the Four Masters place the death of Maenach at 660 and that of Moling at 696.[1]

IV. Late Survivals of the *Tecosc*–Tradition

No better confirmation of the esteem in which the early *tecosca* were held could be desired than the *Tegasc Flatha* of the seventeenth-century poet Tadhg mac Daire, or mac Bruaidheadha. This "advice to a prince" of fifty-five stanzas purports to be an inauguration ode addressed "according to ancient Irish usage" to Donagh O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, "when elected Prince of his Nation." [2] The greater part of it is devoted to an enlargement upon the traditional precepts found in the *tecosca* ascribed to the first three centuries. Phrases from the *Audacht Moraind* and the *Tecosca Cormaic* occur frequently; what is even more of interest for us is the poet's appeal to the tradition of more than fifteen centuries' standing, in verification of his right to instruct his chief, in which he enumerates six *tecosca* assigned to very early times. These are the *Tegasc Torna* (addressed by Torna to his *dalta*, Niall of the Nine Hostages, king of Ireland in the fourth century), *Tegasc Cormaic* (to Cairbre Lifechair), *Tegasc Fithil*, *Tegasc Cuinn Chédcathaig* (the advice of the poet

[1] Keating also records their deaths, III, 136, 142. A visit of Moling to Fingin mac Aedha, the father of Maenach, is recounted in the *Geinemain Molling ocus a Bethae*, ed. Stokes, chapters ix, x.

[2] Serious doubts as to whether the poem ever had a part in any formal inauguration of "the Great Earl," as he was called, are expressed and convincingly substantiated in the "Introduction to MacBrody's *Tegasc Flatha*," *Gael. Journal*, I, 344 ff.

An Irish manuscript in the possession of Mr George A. Plimpton of New York, which I have had an opportunity to examine through his kindness and that of Mr F. N. Robinson, contains a copy of twenty-five scattered stanzas of MacBrody's *Tegasc*, interesting particularly on account of the scribe's ascription of the poem to the eleventh century! The title-page reads: "Teagusg Flatha, / C,R, [for *Consilium Regis?*] / Lessons for a Prince, / Part I [*sic*] / This Poem was written by Tadhg Mac Daire,/ it is addressed to Donogh, the second son of Brien Boroimhe, who succeeded Maolseachluin A.D. 1048."

Cithruad[1] to Conn, king of Ireland in the second century, and grandfather of Cormac), the *Audacht Moraind* (to Feradach Findfechtnach, but not given a specific title here),[2] and the *Degbriathra an fhiledh Ferchert* (to Labrad Loingsech, king of Ireland, according to Keating, about B.C. 350). Of these we recognize the *Tecosca Cormaic*, the *Senbriathra Fithail*, and the *Audacht*, the three major works considered in our study. The *Tegasc Torna* is a poem of late origin which purports to be the advice of Torna Éices to Niall Noigiallach, called in *H.1.7* the *Teagasg Rígh Torna Éigeas do Niall naoighiallach.*[3] Of the *Tegasc Cuinn* [4] I have found no extant trace. Ferchert is perhaps a scribal error for Ferchertne, called Ferchertne File, who is often mentioned as a poet in the time of Labrad, as, for example, in the *Orgain Dind Ríg*,[5] and in the Laws as one of the pagan authors of the *Senchus Mór;*[6] but of a *tecosc* or *Degbriathra* by him I have found no other mention.

The vogue of the *tecosc*-tradition is evident in Middle-Irish and later. Without attempting to make an exhaustive list of works which show its influence, mention should be made of the seventeenth-century *Contention of the Bards*, to which we have already given some attention; the eighteenth-century *Comhairle na Bārrsgolóige dá Mhac* ("The Advice of the Wise Man to his Son") and the northern *An Teagasg Ríogh*, versified modernizations of the *Tecosca*

[1] Cithruad is not listed by Meyer among the poets of Ireland. In the *Forbuis Droma Damhghaire* (*Rev. Celt.*, XLIII, 18, § 12) he is named as one of the principal druids of Cormac, having previously filled the office of prophet under Conn. Cf. *art. cit.*, p. 112, § 119.

[2] The stanza referring to the *Audacht* reads:

Go mbadh cosmhuil 's cuid do'n rath
fuair Ferádach finn fachtnach,
sa lán d'á roith-ráidhibh ruinn
tré ghlór mhórchille Mháruinn.

[3] This poem, consisting of thirteen stanzas, begins *Gabh mo thegasc a Néill náir, a mhic Eathach muidhmhedhain.* It has not been included among the *tecosca* of this study on account of its obvious spuriousness. O'Flaherty seems to have been the first to question its genuineness, and O'Curry (*Mann. and Cust.*, II, 59 ff.) expresses doubts as to its authenticity. Abbott's *Catalogue* erroneously states that it is published in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy;* it is merely mentioned there in a note (II, 345).

[4] A poem of six stanzas ascribed to Cithruad, beginning *A mhic déana síth re maic Niadh*, occurs in the 18th-century *MS.H.17*, f. 85 b. For another *tecosc*-reference to Conn, see below, p. 438, n. 3.

[5] *ZCP.*, III (1901), 4, § 8; see Thurneysen, *Helden- und Königsage*, p. 520, note 1.

[6] *Laws*, I, 18 and 24; also Keating, III, 34.

Cormaic;[1] and the so-called *Comhairle Choluim Cille.* In English there is the fifteenth-century translation of the *Secreta Secretorum*, alleged advice from Aristotle to Alexander, made by James Yonge in 1422 under the title *The Gouernaunce of Prynces, or Pryvete of Pryveteis* and dedicated to James Butler, then Earl of Ormond.[2] Besides such works as these, which consist entirely of didactic matter, there are in the later native literature numberless shorter tributes, in the form of quotations and references, to the Irish love for proverbial wisdom.

In the foregoing summary of the *tecosc* materials in early Irish literature no attention has been given to such late texts as the *Cath Maige Léna* and the *Cath Maige Rath*, in which the reader will find lengthy harangues delivered to kings by their foster-fathers on the eve of battle; these lack the pithiness of the older instruction-texts,[3] and the authors belong rather to the rhetorical prose school exemplified in Lughaidh O Clérigh's seventeenth-century life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell.[4]

* * * * * * *

The customs of ancient Ireland, as Joyce has pointed out, grew up unhampered by any external interference until the incursions of the Danes in the ninth century. The *tecosca*, which belong to a period many centuries prior to the Danish invasions, not only suggest the relationship between the pagan kings and their subjects, but also reveal many usages and beliefs which were current before the

[1] I have examined in one of Mr Plimpton's Irish MSS a copy of this modern *Comhairle*, "metaphrased" by Patrick O'Mahoney. The copy is dated Dec. 23 and the metaphrase Dec. 24, 1822.

For a discussion of these collections see O'Rahilly, *Dánfhocail*, pp. 83 ff.

[2] *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, ed. R. Steele (*E.E.T.S.*, 1898). The introductory note states that this is "perhaps the only lengthy work known written in the English of the Pale early in the 15th century." That it appealed to the Irish taste is further indicated by the fact that it is "a direct translation of the French version made by Jofroi of Waterford."

[3] In the *Cath Maige Léna* (ed. O'Curry, 1855) the king Conall (p. 100, 5 ff.) makes a long and vapid speech of advice to Conn Cedcathach, king of Ireland in the second century, and grandfather of Cormac mac Airt. Conall's rhetoric earns the ridicule of Conn (p. 104). So in the *Cath Maige Rath* (ed. O'Donovan, 1842, pp. 154 ff.) Conall Clogach utters a rhapsody for which he receives the rebuke of Domnall, king of Ireland from 626 to 639 (F.M.).

[4] *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh ui Dhomhnaill*, ed. D. Murphy, 1893. See above, p. 418.

advent of Christianity and which persisted in many cases until modern times.

Foremost among these is the belief found no less commonly among the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans, that a just ruler brings to his people prosperity and fair weather.[1] Thus in the *Audacht Moraind* Feradach is advised that "through the righteousness of the ruler" is there "peace, prosperity, tranquillity" (13); "all land is fruitful" (14); "high-standing grain is abundant" (15).[2] In the introductory section of the *Tecosca Cormaic* it is "through the righteousness of a ruler" again that "fertility during his reign, . . . mast upon trees,[3] fish in river-mouths,[4] a fruitful earth," are brought about. The *Tecosc Cuscraid* has: "Let the law of thy rule be consolidated lest thy disqualifications ruin the heavy fruits of the people that increase under thy protection" (7). So in the last stanza of the poem *Dia mbad messe bad rí réil:* "The righteousness of the prince . . . brings milk into the world; it brings corn and mast." [5] Many other references to this belief could be drawn from the *tecosca* alone,[6] but the above examples are adequate to prove its prevalence. It is similarly found frequently in other early Irish works. Its validity is accepted by the compilers of the *Ancient Laws*, where the name of Fachtna Tulbrethach ("hastily-judging") is explained by the statement that "when he had passed a false judgment, if in the time of fruit, all the fruit of the territory in which it happened fell off in one night; if in time of milk, the cows refused their calves; but if he

[1] "Belief was general in olden Ireland that fruitful seasons were an accompaniment and consequence of kingly worth and virtue. Regal unrighteousness, on the other hand, led to dearth of fruit and to national misfortune."— *Life of Declan* (*I.T.S.*, XVI, 152). According to Triad 202 (ed. Meyer) the three things that constitute a king are "a contract with (other) kings, the feast of Tara, and abundance during his reign."

On the occurrence of this belief outside of Ireland see further F. N. Robinson, "Human Sacrifice Among the Irish Celts," *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), p. 191, note 4.

[2] *AM.*, §§ 9–29 of redaction A, almost half the entire text, deal with the prosperity effected by an upright prince.

[3] Cf. *Ibid.*, B 17; A 16.

[4] Cf. *Ibid.*, A 23.

[5] Cf. the translation of the *Secreta Secretorum* (*Rawl. B 490*), p. 168: "And therefor Sayde the Pepill of Iude, that ryghtfulnesse of a prynce ys more profitabill to his subiectis, than Plente of mettes and drynkes."

[6] For example, *Cert cech ríg*, 15, 16; *AM.* A 52, B 18, 46; etc. Corm. Cuil. 3 has *eochair thoirrchius téchta*, "the key of fruitfulness is lawfulness" (*ZCP.*, VI, 270).

passed a true judgment, the fruit was perfect on the trees" (I, 24, 17). And among the "seven proofs which attest the falsehood of every king" are included "dearth in his reign; dryness of cows; blight of fruit; scarcity of corn" (IV, 52, 5).[1] That the belief was held until modern times is shown by the frequent references to it in the Four Masters and Keating.[2] Constant mention of it is made in the seventeenth-century *Contention of the Bards*, where we are told (VI, 81) that "famine usually results from unrighteousness." [3] Other allusions to it are to be found in the earlier literature, too numerous to receive attention here.

This belief in the efficacy of righteousness is of special interest because of its application to the reigns of two monarchs connected with the *tecosc*-tradition. Feradach Findfechtnach is, as we have already seen, one of the two early rulers preëminent for his fruitful rule; Cormac mac Airt is the other. But the reign of the latter, unlike that of Feradach, was not regarded as prosperous by the older annalists; rather it was known to be marked by continual warfare.[4] Thus we are forced to the conclusion that the late tradition, found not in historical works but in the romances,[5] that Cormac's rule was a peaceful one, was the result of his increasing repu-

[1] Cf. *Laws*, III, 24, 14, where it is said that the chiefs "remove foul weather by good customs." See also *Triads*, 166, 186.

[2] See F. M. under A. M. 5160, A.D. 10 (note), 14, 15, 76, etc. An interesting possible outgrowth of this belief, which I quote here because it suggests a conceivable relationship between Ireland and Northumbria, is found in the statement by Keating (III, 262), which he has quoted from *Cogad Gaed. re Gall.* (ed. Todd, p. 138), that in the "prosperous and peaceful" reign of Brian Boru a lone woman travelled from the north of Ireland to the south without being robbed or harmed. See also *Cath Maige Rath*, ed. O'Donovan, p. 105. I have happened upon the same legend in Bede's *Hist. Eccl.* (ed. Plummer, I, 118): *Tanta autem eo tempore pax in Brittania, quaquauersum imperium regis Aeduini peruenerat, fuisse perhibetur, ut, sicut usque hodie in prouerbio dicitur, etiam si mulier una cum recens nato paruulo uellet totam perambulare insulam a mari ad mare, nullo se ledente ualeret.* The daughter of this Edwin was, according to the English chroniclers, the mother of our Flann Fína (see above, p. 433, note 1).

[3] See further III, 20b; VI, 67, 80, 180, 198; XV, 47, 49.

[4] The account of Cormac's reign in Tigernach is little more than a rehearsal of his military and naval engagements, at least thirty-nine battles or slaughters being listed.

[5] Such are the *Scél na Fír Flatha* (*Irische Texte*, III, 185 ff.) and the "Panegyric of Cormac" (*Silva Gad.*, II, 96 ff.). The introduction to the former states that "at the time of Cormac ua Cuind the world was full of every good thing (*lan do gach maith* = AM. A 52). There were mast and fatness and produce. There were peace and ease and happiness (*sidh 7 saime 7 subha*, borrowed obviously from AM. B 14). There was neither murder nor robbery at that season, but everyone (abode) in his own place." The Panegyric account is more highly colored

tation for wisdom, due largely to the vogue of the *Tecosca* ascribed to him.

The credence given to the idea that a king's merit vitally affected his reign would naturally lead to a demand for rigid requirements in a candidate for the office, which with the Irish was not hereditary but elective.[1] What was expected of a king is stated in the *Tecosca Cormaic*, § 5, a passage which is quoted in somewhat different form in the tract on Succession (*Laws* IV, 376). But this brief passage gives only a meager outline of the requirements, which are further enlarged upon in §§ 1–4, 6–8, 11, 12, 18, 19, 34.[2]

The importance of giving heed to advice and instruction is stressed in the *tecosca*. In the *Audacht*, § 3, Morand says, "Good, lasting, long-lived, and steadfast is the righteousness of the ruler who listens to wisdom." In the *Tecosca Cormaic* (3, 49) the prince is advised to listen to his elders; similarly in the *Briatharthecosc Conculaind* (25, 26): "Be humble when you are instructed by the wise; be mindful of admonition from your elders."[3] So in a brief religious *tecosc* in 23. N. 10 (*Eriu*, V, 142, 1), *righ gan comairledh*, "a king without counsel," is regarded as "hateful to God."

In the *Ancient Laws* (V, 172, 14 ff.) a king who tolerates satires is not entitled to honor-price. The faith placed by the pagan Irish in the power of satire and the fear in which it was held is reflected in the *tecosca*. The saying of the *Tecosca Cormaic* (31, 8), "Everyone is fair-famed until he is satirized," would suggest that the good

and too long to quote here. I give an instance of its extravagance: "In his time it was with the finger-tip that men might gather honey, seeing that for the righteousness of Cormac's governance it was rained down from heaven." The falsity of these assertions is readily seen by turning to the annalists or Keating.

[1] On the election of kings, see Joyce, I, 43.

[2] With these requisites for a king compare Part ii of the *Senbriathra Fithail*, and *Laws*, IV, 50, 22 ff.; 334, 6 ff. For other requirements, particularly hospitality, see Joyce, I, 58. The unidentified quotation from Cormac, apparently of later date, that "a prince should light his lamps on Samain day, and welcome his guests with clapping of hands and comfortable seats, and the cup-bearers should be active in distributing meat and drink," is based upon *Tec. Corm.* § 4. See further the Latin extract from the Irish canons in Stokes, *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, p. 507.

[3] See further *Tec. Corm.*, 15:36; *Senb. Fith.*, 1:6, 7, 10; *Dia mbad messe*, 23. More modern proverbs are *Ni glic nach gabhann teagasg*, "He is not wise who will not be instructed" (*Dánta Grádha*, p. 42), and *An té ná gabhann cómhairle gabhadh sé cómhrac*, "Let him who will not have advice have trouble (conflict)" (Mícheál óg O'Longáin).

prince, by gaining a reputation for uprightness, will avoid being the victim of satirists. In the semi-Christian poem *Dia mbad messe bad rí réil* (10) one of the "three shouts of discomfiture for a prince" is "the shout of satires to wound him." Many instances of the belief in the effectiveness of satire are brought together by Mr F. N. Robinson in his article on "Satirists and Enchanters in Early Irish Literature," [1] in which (p. 129) is pointed out the close relationship of satire to the *tecosc*-literature.

But the greatest danger against which the Irish felt it incumbent upon them to warn their princes was the treachery of women. By far the longest section (§ 16) of the *Tecosca Cormaic* devotes itself to an enumeration of female vices. "O grandson of Conn, O Cormac," says Cairbre, "how do you distinguish women?" "I distinguish them," replies Cormac, "but I make no difference among them." In addition to other faults, they are "deaf to instruction, blind to good advice" (67, 68), "unskilled in obedience" (80), stubborn, quarrelsome, and above all, "not to be trusted with a secret" (21). This last, indeed, is the greatest of their shortcomings, and is referred to time and again in the old texts. Of the four counsels of Fithal to his son Flaithri, the second, the value of which Flaithri proves, is "not to entrust a dangerous secret to his wife" (Keating II, 338). In the poem *Dia mbad messe bad rí réil* (2) is the saying "That which I wished to conceal, I would not relate where women are." In the *Scél Mucce Maic Dáthó* the words *Ni thardda do rún do mnaib, rún mna ní maith concelar*, "Entrust not thy secret to women; the secret of a woman is not well concealed," are attributed to Crimthann Nia Náir.[2]

[1] *Studies in the History of Religions, presented to C. H. Toy* (New York, 1912), pp. 95–130. For other references to satire see *Tec. Corm.* 13:33; 27:4; *Dia mbad messe*, 32.

[2] *Irische Texte*, I, 97. The ascription to Crimthann looks like an anachronism, as the action of the *Scél Mucce* antedates the time of Crimthann, king of Ireland from 8 B.C. to 8 A.D. (F.M.). The fantastic tale, *Mesca Ulad*, makes Cuchulaind the slayer of Crimthann; the accepted tradition (Keating, II, 234) is that Crimthann met his death by falling from his horse. The above quotation, in almost the same form, is ascribed in *Laud 610* (*Rev. Celt.*, VI, 188) and in the *Aided Conroi* (*ZCP.*, IX, 192; *Eriu*, II, 34) to Curoi macDaire.

In the *Brisleach Mhór Mhaighe Muirtheimhne*, p. 30, Cuchulaind says, *Is deacair taobh do thabhairt le mnaoi tar th'éis go bráth;* in the *Buile Suibne Geilt*, p. 110, is found *As mairg dobheir taobh re mnáoi tar éis na mbriathar sin.* A modern Irish version (*Gael. Jour.*, VI, 61)

No one of the *tecosca* is without its reference to the treachery of of women. The idea was not, of course, original or unique with the Irish,[1] but it was exceptionally popular with them.

It is not the purpose of this sketch of customs and traditions to be exhaustive. Some of the outstanding ones have been cited to give an idea of the pagan character of the pre-Patrician *tecosca* in which they occur. The task of accounting for the Christian elements in the texts is a simple one.

Of the *Audacht Moraind*, two redactions, B, which is the oldest,[2] and L, have no Christian touches. The A redaction has, as Thurneysen has shown (ZCP. XI, 74), been given a Christian conclusion (§§ 55–57) by a later scribe. It is to be further remarked that this reviser failed to expunge certain elements, notably the *ní-ria seniris ar núahiris* of § 43: "he must not give up the old faith for a new faith." There is a further interpolation of the Christian writer in A 38: *do-fechar ó Día co nómad nóe;* the whole section here is perhaps a late addition, as there is no corresponding section in redaction B (in L 28, which according to Thurneysen forms no distinct section in the manuscript, *ó Día* is not found).

The *Tecosca Cormaic* shows several indications of later "doctoring" by Christian scribes. It is to be observed that these, with one exception, are found at the very end of the section (§§ 1, 12, 28) as additions; § 1, 18 seems to have been deliberately introduced into the middle of the section by a scribe who was not satisfied with the heathenish tenor of his original.

The remaining *tecosca* assigned to the first three centuries show

reads: *Má 's mian leat sgeul do chur amach, innis mar rún do mhnaoi é*, "If you want to publish a story, tell it to a woman as a secret." See also Douglas Hyde's *Amhráin Chúige Chonnacht*, no. 24.

[1] Witness the alleged advice from Aristotle to Alexander in the *Secreta Secretorum*, p. 20: "Alexandre, dere sone, trust neuyr in women, in her werkys, in her service, ne in her company, ne dwelle thou nought with hem; and if thou must nede haue company of sum woman, loke that thou preve hir welle and longe, and in diuerse wise, or thou trust to moche in her."

The treachery of women is often referred to in Old-English gnomic poetry (cf. *Beowulf*, 1941 ff.); the Old-Norse *Hávamál* is replete with allusions to it. Cf. the Welsh proverb, *Na fid dy wraig dy gyfrin.*

[2] Thurneysen in his edition of the *Audacht* referred to the A redaction as older than B; Pokorny (*ZCP.*, XIII, 43) showed that this theory was incorrect by adducing archaic forms and giving conclusive textual reasons, in which Thurneysen later (*ZCP.*, XIII, 298) concurred.

no signs of Christian insertions or additions. It is noteworthy that such signs are evident in the *Audacht Moraind* and *Tecosca Cormaic*, attributed readily enough to heathen monarchs, whereas the *Briathra Flainn Fína*, alleged by some scribes to be the composition of the devout and untiring disciple of St Adamnan, contains no slightest trace of Christian sentiment! That the *Audacht* and the *Tecosca Cormaic* should be the only texts thus tampered with, leads us to a curious bit of late lore.

At the end of his somewhat lengthy account of the reign of Cormac, Keating (II, 344), following sources which are still extant, makes the following statement: "On account of the excellence of Cormac's deeds, and judgments, and laws, God gave him the light of the Faith seven years before his death. And, accordingly, he refused to adore gods made with hands; and he set himself to reverence and honor the true God; so that he was the third man in Ireland who believed before the coming of Patrick. Conchobar mac Nessa was the first to receive the faith when he heard from Bacrach the druid that the Jewish people would put Christ to death by torment; Morand mac Maoin was the second person; and Cormac mac Airt was the third." We may dismiss the reference to Conchobar's faith by deriving it from the story, of Christian origin, of the *Aided Conchobuir*.[1] The attribution of Christianity to Morand and Cormac must, it seems, have had its origin in the attempt of later writers to reconcile the fact that these rulers lived in pagan times with the Christian sentiments of the revised and widely known *Audacht* and *Tecosca*. The only conclusion, naturally, to which they could come was that "God had given them (Morand and Cormac) the light of the Faith" in advance of the rest of the world, and upon this conclusion they wrote the legend which in time came to the ken of Keating. That this legend was not the work of one writer but of more gradual development may be seen by the fact that it was applied to Morand before it was assigned, by analogy, to Cormac. For in the *Aided Conchobuir* (p. 8, § 12) we are told that Conchobar was "one of the *two* men that had believed in God in Ireland before the coming of the Faith, Morand being the other man." Thus it

[1] See Kuno Meyer, *Death-Tales*, pp. 2 ff.

seems reasonable to suppose that Cormac was the last of the trio to be embraced by the legend, which is later used by Keating as a source for his account.[1]

[1] A further embellishment added in Keating's account is the anecdote (II, 346) that Cormac's death was caused by Maelgenn the druid when Cormac refused to worship the golden calf of the druids. It was apparently this late version of the death of Cormac that led O'Donovan in the introduction to his edition (*Dublin Penny Journal*, I [1832], 213 f.) to observe that Cormac "attempted to reform the religion of the Druids, and to substitute for their polytheism the more rational and sublime belief of one infinite Being who was the author of the universe"; and that even after Cormac's retirement from public life "the Druids still continued his most inveterate enemies, for they saw that even though he had resigned the government he nevertheless continued to instil his *novel* doctrines . . . into the mind of the monarch, his son; and finding that the conduct of Cairbre was regulated by his father's instructions, they conspired against the life of the latter, and there is every reason to believe that they effected their purpose by poisoning him." But as O'Carroll points out (*Gael. Journal*, I, 370), there is no reference to any such antagonism towards the druids to be found in the *Tecosca Cormaic*.

Keating has drawn evidently on the Four Masters, who under the year 266 attribute the death of Cormac to the enmity of Maelgenn and the druids. But Tigernach (*Rev. Celt.* XVII [1896], 20) gives two distinct and conflicting accounts of the death (neither of them by poisoning): "Cormac, grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, died at Cletech on a Tuesday, the bone of a salmon having stuck in his throat. Or, it was the elves (devils) that destroyed him after he was betrayed by Maelchenn the druid, since Cormac did not believe in him." This second and more romantic account is precisely the one we should expect the Four Masters, to select for incorporation in their *Annals*.

An interesting late legend based upon Cormac's acceptance of Christianity is found in *Kilbride MS. V, no. 1*, fol. 7b. (See Mackinnon, *Catal. of Gael. MSS in Scotland*, p. 131.)

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NOTES

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH AND JOSEPHUS

THERE has been a tendency in recent Arthurian scholarship to explain the name of Arthur himself as being of Latin rather than Celtic origin, and examples have been adduced of its occurrence in Tacitus and Juvenal.[1] Still more recently it has been pointed out that it is the name also of a Roman general who served in Britain.[2] To these examples may be added still another worthy of note since it occurs in literature probably known to Geoffrey of Monmouth and, although it did not furnish him with the name of Arthur, — for that was common enough before he wrote, — may have suggested to him the name of Arthur's opponent, Lucius.

Josephus in his history of the Jewish War (Book vi) narrates how on one occasion the Jews entrapped a Roman force by setting fire to a portion of the defences upon which they had gained a foot-hold, and a certain Longos (or Longinus) killed himself rather than surrender, and then continues:

τῶν δὲ τῷ πυρὶ περισχεθέντων Ἀρτώριός τις πανουργίᾳ διασώζεται· προσκαλεσάμενος γάρ τινα τῶν στρατιωτῶν Λούκιον, ᾧ συνεσκήνει, μεγαλῃ τῇ φωνῇ "κληρονόμον, ἔφη, καταλείπω σε τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κτημάτων, εἰ προσελθών με δέξαιο." τοῦ δὲ ἑτοίμως προσδραμόντος ὁ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτὸν κατενεχθεὶς ἔζησεν, ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους τῷ λιθοστρώτῳ προσαραχθεὶς παραχρῆμα θνήσκει.[3]

If Geoffrey knew this passage he probably read it not in Greek but in one of the Mediaeval Latin versions, such as the one variously credited to Rufinus of Aquilea and to Saint Ambrose of Milan. In that, this passage is abridged, but retains its essential features.

Artorius autem satis astute voce magna clamavit Lucium, dicens: Hæres mihi eris, si me decidentem exceperis. At ille miserandus occurrit ruenti, atque in se morituri necem transfudit. Vere bellicum testamentum, non atramento scriptum, sed sanguine; nec in charta, sed in mucrone. Quod hæredem promisit, magnum plane ingenium, ut inveniret voluntarium mortis vicarium.[4]

There is little difficulty involved in showing that this work, in one form or another, might have been accessible to Geoffrey. When his friend

[1] James Douglas Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1923), I, 3.

[2] Edw. Foord, *The Last Age of Roman Britain* (London: Harrap, 1925), p. 234. Kemp Malone, "Artorius," *Modern Philology*, XXII (1925), 367 ff.

[3] *Flavii Josephi Opera*, ed. B. Niese (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), vi, 537.

[4] Migne, *Pat. Lat.* XV, col. 2183.

Robert de Chesney became bishop of Lincoln, he presented to the cathedral there, among other books, a copy of "Josephus."[1] I know of no indication which version this represents, but it was probably a Latin one. There is nothing forced in the supposition that Geoffrey knew and used this book while he and Robert were together at Oxford, if indeed no other copy was to be found there. Geoffrey did not, of course, get the name Arthur from this passage in Josephus — that was already known before he began to write — but I do believe that when he came to write of Arthur's wars with the Romans this passage occurred to him, and that it seemed to him somewhat of a joke to give the name of Lucius to the Roman general whom Arthur defeated and killed.

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LUCIAN AND LIUTPRAND

THERE is so little positive proof that Lucian was known to Western Europe in the Middle Ages that even the slightest bit of evidence on this point may be of interest. In the *Antapodosis*, written in the second half of the tenth century by Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, there is a passage in which a morsel of Lucianic wit is transferred from Constantinople to Italy and from Greek to Latin. Liutprand, who had been an envoy to the court at Constantinople, is relating a humorous anecdote about Leo VI, Emperor of the Byzantine Empire from 886 to 911. The Lucianic passage appears in some remarks addressed to one of the palace guards. The Emperor says:

> Sed quia vigilandi facultatem sive auspicandi scientiam habere non posses, nisi divino tibi esset munere datum, seu verum sit, ut speramus, immo credimus, seu falsum, *καθὼς ὁ Λουκιανός*, cathos o Lukianos, id est sicut Lucianus de puodam dicit, quod dormiens multa reppererit, atque a gallo exitatus nihil invernerit, tu tamen quicquid videris, quicquid senseris, quicquid etiam inveneris, tuum sit.[2]

This is of course an echo of the opening passage in Lucian's *Ὄνειρος ἢ ἀλεκτρυών* (The Cock):

> ΜΙΚΥΛΟΣ. *Ἀλλὰ σέ, κάκιστε ἀλεκτρυών, ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἐπιτρίψειε φθονερὸν οὕτω καὶ ὀξύφωνον ὄντα, ὃς με πλουτοῦντα καὶ ἡδίστῳ ὀνείρῳ ξυνόντα καὶ θαυμαστὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εὐδαιμονοῦντα διατορόν τι καὶ γεγωνὸς ἀναβοήσας ἐπήγειρας, ὡς μηδὲ νύκτωρ γοῦν τὴν πολὺ σοῦ μιαρωτέραν πενίαν διαφύγοιμι.*[3]

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[1] *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* (Rolls Series, No. 21), VII, 169.

[2] Quoted from K. P. Harrington, *Mediaeval Latin* (Allyn and Bacon: Boston, 1925), p. 172, ll. 8–15. See also M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1923), II, 168, 169.

[3] C. R. Williams, *Selections from Lucian* (Boston, 1882), p. 62, ll. 1–6.

In the English version by the Fowlers the passage is as follows:

Micyllus. Detested bird! May Zeus crunch your every bone! Shrill, envious brute: to wake me from delightful dreams of wealth and magic blessedness with those piercing, deafening notes! Am I not even in sleep to find a refuge from Poverty, Poverty more vile than your vile self? [1]

This case suggests the possibility that other Lucianic influences penetrated Mediaeval Latin literature through similar channels. It is also interesting to note that in Constantinople Lucian could be used for casual quotation as late as the tenth century.

[1] *The Works of Lucian*, tr. by H. W. and F. G. Fowler (Oxford, 1905), III, 105.

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KING ARTHUR AND POLITICS AGAIN

At the risk of seeming ungrateful, I should like to append a few words to Mr Nitze's generous and appreciative review of my article "King Arthur and Politics" (Speculum, II [1927], 317–321, 33–51). Mr Nitze takes me gently to task for suggesting that my line of inquiry was a novel one, and yet bringing Charlemagne into the picture, as had been done by my betters some time ago. Either my paper is less "well-ordered" than Mr Nitze gives it the credit of being, or he has read it a little askew. What I tried to indicate as a novelty was my approach to the question: the attempt to reconstruct the political hot-bed out of which, I believe, sprang Geoffrey's book and the romances. Certainly I did not boast that all the results of my inquiry were to be original; but I am sorry if I seemed to fail in courteous acknowledgment where acknowledgment was due. Wishing to reduce annotation to a minimum, I took for granted the reader's knowledge of Foerster and Bruce (as well as other scholars), and attempted to state the case plainly. Mr Nitze must take my word for it that I can annotate mightily when I try. He admits that my historical discussion is something new — which is really what I said.

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A NOTE ON THE *NUGAE* OF G. H. GEROULD'S "KING ARTHUR AND POLITICS"

Professor G. H. Gerould's article "King Arthur and Politics"[1] is a powerfully written argument to prove that Geoffrey's *History* and the Arthurian romances were fostered by the house of Henry II for political purposes. The general truth of this thesis, of which there is no question, does not in the least require us to believe that Chrétien invented the Arthurian romances, but Mr Gerould in one sentence revives Foerster's old and rather battered theory. His first statements express belief in the *Britonum fabulae:* "stories about Arthur were circulating both in Wales and in Brittany when Geoffrey wrote" (p. 48); "material was readily accessible from Cornwall as well as Wales and Brittany" (p. 49). Later, however, comes the sentence which seems to imply that this material had no significance for Chrétien: "Without [Geoffrey] there might never have been any Arthurian romances at all" (p. 49).

The idea behind this sentence probably is that, judging from derogatory epithets often aimed at them by contemporary writers, the *Britonum fabulae* must have been short and devoid of incident. William of Malmesbury (1125) called them "nonsensical stories" (*nugae*); "the Britons rave (*delirant*) about Arthur"; "fallacious fables dream (*fallaces somniarent fabulae*) about him."[2] They are "idle songs" (*naeniae*).[3] Wace (1155) said that writers of fables embellished the story of Arthur until they made it all seem like fable.[4] William of Newburgh (*ca.* 1200) abused the *Britonum figmenta.*[5] Giraldus Cambrensis (*ca.* 1219) said, *Fabulosi Britones et eorum cantores fingere solebant.*[6] Jean Bodel, in the middle of the thirteenth century, wrote, *Li conte de Bretaigne sont si vain et plaisant,*[7] and contrasted them with other stories in French that were instructive and true.

I venture to suggest with confidence another explanation for these contemptuous epithets which seems to me better to account for all the facts. What discredited the *Britonum fabulae* in the eyes of substantial men was that they were frankly impossible; they dealt with disappearing castles, magic fountains, and enchanted forests; in a word, they were

[1] *Speculum,* II (1927), 33 ff.

[2] *De Gestis Regum,* i, 8, ed. Stubbs, 1887 (Rolls Ser. No. 90, 1, 11–12).

[3] *Ibid.,* iii, 287, ed. Stubbs, 2, 342.

[4] *Roman de Brut,* ed. Le Roux de Lincy, II, 76, v. 1037.

[5] *Historia Rerum Anglicarum,* Proemium, ed. Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen* (Rolls Ser. No. 82, 1, 12).

[6] *Speculum Ecclesiae,* ii, 9, ed. J. S. Brewer (Rolls Ser. No. 21, 4, 48).

[7] *La Chanson des Saxons* (*Li Saisnes*), v. 9. Bodel spoke of French versions. Perhaps some of the other phrases quoted were aimed at French *contes.*

fairy tales. Their incredibility, not their lack of coherence or content, was the target for these slighting epithets.

It will be objected that Geoffrey was accused of invention, and that, therefore, his *fabulae* could not have amounted to much; but the reply is that, although Geoffrey without doubt invented many things, e.g., the feudal magnificence of Arthur's court, the attacks upon him can better be interpreted in another sense. Those writers who expressed astonishment at Geoffrey's account of Arthur may not have meant that fables about him were new, but that the idea of putting this fairy king into history was astounding. Conversely, those who attacked Geoffrey as a liar did not so much mean that he invented details about Arthur as that he lied in making the shadowy king of *Britonum fabulae* into an historical person.[1] Geoffrey's bitterest assailant, William of Newburgh, does not lay the entire blame for invention upon Geoffrey: *partim ab ipso, partim et ab aliis, constat esse conficta;*[2] and he seems to be most angry about something that was not Geoffrey's invention at all, namely, that although he thrust the fairy king into history, he allowed him to retain the fairy characteristic of not dying: *Propter metum Britonum non audens eum dicere mortuum, quem adhuc vere bruti Britones exspectant venturum.*[3] Here we have the attitude of an educated Englishman who considers fairy tales beneath his notice, and congratulates himself that he is not a stupid Welshman (or Breton) who cannot distinguish them from fact.

Giraldus Cambrensis said that the Britons fatuously[4] hope for the return of Arthur, and referred slightingly to their story that a certain imaginary goddess,[5] named Morganis, carried him to Avalon. Giraldus' oft-quoted anecdote about Melerius deserves inspection:

> Fuit diebus nostris vir quidam Kambrensis, cui nomen Meilerius, futurorum pariter et occultorum scientiam habens; cui talis hanc eventus scientiam dedit. Nocte quadam, scilicet Ramis palmarum, puellam diu ante adamatam, sicut forma praeferebat, obviam habens loco amoeno, et ut videbatur opportuno, desideratis amplexibus atque deliciis cum indulsisset, statim, loco puellae formosae, formam quandam villosam, hispidam, et hirsutam, adeoque enormiter deformem invenit, quod in ipso ejusdem aspectu dementire coepit et insanire. Cumque pluribus id annis ei durasset, tandem in ecclesia Menevensi, meritis sanctorum loci ejusdem, optatam sanitatem recuperavit. Semper tamen cum spiritibus immundis magnam et mirandam familiaritatem habens, eosdem videndo, cognoscendo, colloquendo,

[1] "Fabulas de Arturo, ex priscis Britonum figmentis sumptas et ex proprio auctas, per superductum Latini sermonis colorem honesto historiae nomine palliavit." William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, Proemium, ed. Howlett, I. 12.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[4] "Fatue," *Speculum Ecclesiae*, ii, 9.

[5] "Dea quaedam phantastica."

propriisque nominibus singulos nominando ipsorum minesterio plerumque futura praedicebat. . . . Librum quoque mendosum et vel falso scriptum, vel falsum etiam in se continentem inspiciens, statim licet illiteratus omnino fuisset, ad locum mendacii digitum ponebat. . . . Contigit aliquando, spiritibus immundis nimis eidem insultantibus, ut Evangelium Johannis ejus in gremio poneretur; qui statim tanquam aves evolantes omnes penitus evanuerunt. Quo sublato postmodum, et Historia Britonum a Galfrido Arthuro tractata, experiendi causa, loco ejusdem subrogata, non solum corpori ipsius toti, sed etiam libro superposito, longe solito crebrius et taediosius insederunt.[1]

W. H. Schofield commented thus: "Melerius, a Welshman, had for some time intercourse with what was evidently a fairy mistress." [2] Schofield's interpretation of this as a degraded fairy mistress story is hard to challenge. In G. L. Kittredge's phrase, "Philosophy and Christianity account for the phenomena [of fairy stories] as diabolical illusions." [3] Giraldus no doubt insinuates that Geoffrey had invented a good deal, but the point of the anecdote, which seems to have been missed by all commentators, is certainly not that Geoffrey had no sources, but that his sources were fairy stories. In short, it is not implied that Geoffrey invented the lies. The thronging spirits that settled upon Geoffrey's book are comrades of Melerius' fairy mistress. They were drawn to the book not only because it was false, but because it was false in a special way, namely, its sources were unorthodox: *De Praestigiis Daemonum*.[4]

The gist of the whole matter is that the contemptuous epithets directed at the *Britonum fabulae* do not tell us anything about their length or con-

[1] *Itin. Kambriae*, i, 5, ed. J. F. Dimock (Rolls Ser., XXI, 6, 58).

[2] *Mythical Bards and the Life of William Wallace* (Cambridge: Harv. Univ. Press, 1920), p. 57.

[3] A *Study of Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge: Harv. Univ. Press, 1916), pp. 238, 239. Mr Kittredge makes no mention of Melerius, but his pages are the best possible comment on the regular mediaeval transformation of fairies to devils.

[4] The title of John Wier's book, 1563.

Aed mac Crimthainn, who in 1150 copied the *Táin Bó*, put at the end a note in which he applied this phrase to fairy elements in the Irish epic:

"Ego qui scripsi hanc historiam aut verius fabulam, quibusdam fidem in hac historia aut fabula non accommodo. Quaedam enim ibi sunt praestigia demonum, quaedam autem figmenta poetica, quaedam similia vero, quaedam non, quaedam ad delectationem stultorum." Ed. E. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Extraband, 1905, p. 911.

The Scotch theologian, John Major, in his *History of Britain*, written in 1521, speaks of Arthurian fairy stories in a similar vein. After saying (II, 5, p. 81): "To find out anything from the *Prophecies of Merlin* [*de illius prophetiis augurari*] is like trying to pierce a thick cloud," he declares: "Quite otherwise does it stand with John the Evangelist in the Apocalypse, a book which the church has received as divinely inspired." In the next chapter he continues (II, 6, p. 85): "The stories told about Arthur . . . and what they say happened in Britain at that time . . . all these I count as fable, unless indeed they were brought about by craft of demons." *Historia Maioris Britanniae*, trans. A. Constable (Publ. Scottish History Soc., Vol. X, Edinburgh, 1892).

tent, but only about their character, namely, that they were incredible. Similar abusive epithets were applied to the Finn stories: "Vain, hurtful, lying, earthly stories about . . . Finn mac Cumhaill with his Fianna." [1] Great numbers of Finn stories exist, we know that they are absolutely incredible, most of them relate fairy adventures in which Finn's warriors are the protagonists, they furnish no coherent biography of Finn, but they lack neither length nor charm.[2] There is other evidence to show that the *Britonum fabulae* were not negligible. Idle songs devoid of incident would not have fascinated people as the *fabulae* evidently did. Accompanying music may have helped, but a charm was plainly inherent in the stories. Moreover, there seem to be no facts to dispute a natural presumption that *Kulhwch and Olwen*, which was composed before Geoffrey (*ca.* 1125), [3] is a fair sample of the *Britonum fabulae*. *Kulhwch and Olwen* lacks neither length nor incident.

Foerster's theory almost ignored the *fabulae*, and held that Chrétien, using every hint that he could find in Geoffrey, — chiefly such names as Guanhumara, Caliburn, — and every suggestion added by Wace, such as the mention of the Round Table, gleaning little from the *Britonum fabulae* except a few more names, invented the Arthurian romances. This theory assumes that Chrétien's declarations about sources, his statements that previous writers had told the stories, and his manner of introducing Guenievre, Gauvain, the Round Table, etc. — as if they were well known to everybody; — [4]

[1] Bishop John Carswell in the preface to his Gaelic version of John Knox's Liturgy, Edinburgh, 1567. (Quoted from J. L. Roberston, *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, XXII, 1897–1898, 293.) Some years earlier in 1526 Hector Boece wrote:

Coniiciunt quidam in haec tempora Fynnanum filium Coeli (Fyn mak Coul vulgari vocabulo); . . . circularibus fabulis et iis quae de Arthuro Britonum rege, passim apud nostrates leguntur, simillimum, magis quam eruditorum testimonio decantatum. Hujus itaque viri mirabilibus, quod ab historica fide haud parum abhorrere omnibus sunt visa, consulto supersedentes, Eugenii regis gesta deinceps prosequemur. *Scot. Hist.*, fol. 128, Paris, 1575.

[2] Collections in J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne*, 1872; John MacNeill, *Dunaire Finn*, 1908; S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, (1892,) 101–265, etc.

[3] On this date see Loth, *Revue Celtique*, XXXII (1911), 436, and *Les Mabinogion* (2d ed., Paris, 1913), I, 40; Thurneysen, *Zs. f. Celt. Phil.*, XII (1918), 283.

[4] In a prologue to his first romance, *Erec* (*ca.* 1168), Chrétien says (vv. 19–22) that professional story-tellers have already told the story:

D'Erec, le fil Lac, est li contes,
Que devant rois et devant contes
Depecier et corronpre suelent
Cil qui de conter vivre vuelent.

In *Erec* he mentions the Round Table twice (vv. 81, 1687), and speaks as if it were well known to his readers. Some may have read about it in Wace, but Chrétien could hardly have expected all his readers to know Wace. It is more probable that they were familiar with the *fabulae Britonum* mentioned by Wace and told in French. On these points see G. Huet, "Notes d'Histoire Littéraire," *Le Moyen Age* XIX (1916), 234–249.

were merely artistic devices intended to pique the curiosity of his readers. Moreover, although, as twelfth-century writers affirm, the *fabulae* were fairy stories; and although large portions of his romances are evidently fairy stories (the characters having been transformed, according to our hypothesis, into knights and ladies), this theory assumes that Chrétien did not much use the *fabulae*, but invented for himself. Those who urge this theory always say that Chrétien and his followers were "not too particular about the genuinely Celtic provenience of the material they used" (p. 50), they "adapted and invented without scruple" (p. 49). These statements are true, and I would even add: Chrétien would have liked to invent the Arthurian romances — my point is simply that he could not. He invented a good deal, but nobody could invent, all at once, fairy stories that have retained their vitality for seven hundred years.

The development of Arthurian romance occurred rather as follows. Fairy stories are for always, but sophisticated people did not, and do not, care to hear or read pure fairy stories. To dignify them for the cultivated reader, fairy stories must be connected with history. This first and most important step was taken by Geoffrey. Next, fairy stories must be made a vehicle for the social ideals of the age. Chrétien more than any other known author accomplished this feat. This has to be done anew for every age. Thus Tennyson inserted the ideals of the Victorian Age, and Mr E. A. Robinson, in his *Lancelot*, *Merlin*, and *Tristram*, is putting in the ideals and the psychology of our time. Finally, it was probably inevitable that the fairy stories should be connected with the story of Christ. These changes are all brought about by a desire to dignify fairy stories which are too charming to be forgotten, and to make them appeal to the intellect and moral sense, as well as to the fancy, of people of the time.

The first and greatest step was taken when Geoffrey audaciously thrust the fairy Arthur into history. My difference from Mr Gerould is merely one of emphasis. It seems to me that the greatness of Geoffrey's exploit in making a place for the fairy king in history rather overshadows any influence that the patronage of Henry II may have had. Once Geoffrey

Geoffrey's references to Arthur's lavish giving are best explained by supposing that he borrowed from the recitals of professional story-tellers, who for business reasons continually extolled "largess": "Denique fama largitatis atque probitatis illius per extremos mundi cardines divulgata" (ix, 11, ed. San Marte, p. 129); "Nec mirum, largitas namque Arturi pe totum mundum divulgata, cunctos in amorem illius illexerat" (ix, 12, p. 133).

Cf. also J. L. Weston, "The Relative Position of the Perceval and Galahad romances," *Mod. Lang. Review*, XXI (1926), 385–389. Miss Weston says, following G. C. Coulton, that at the end of the eleventh century hermits dwelling in the woods were common in France, but not in the twelfth century; that the *Perceval* (Chrétien and continuators) introduces solitary hermits; and argues from this that Chrétien must have followed French *contes* which pictured conditions of an earlier time.

had made Arthur respectable by carving for him a niche in history, the stories were pretty sure to be taken up by Norman poets. The *fabulae* made their way because they were '*plaisant*'; that the house of Anjou made them fashionable was a secondary matter. The sentence from Mr Gerould with which we began, "without Geoffrey there might never have been any Arthurian romances at all," is so far true that without the patronage of the House of Henry II the Arthurian romances might never have been told by poets of the assured position of Chrétien, or have attained the finished forms in which they are preserved.

If anybody says that to suppose that the Arthurian romances made their way by their inherent charm is to adopt a botanical analogy, I would offer him the other horn of the dilemma, and inquire if he is prepared to urge that stories invented by Geoffrey and Chrétien for political propaganda could have had such vitality that they spread all over Europe and are alive even today. The truth may lie somewhere between these two extremes.

Indications are that many French Arthurian romances existed before Chrétien, but since they are lost, we must give all credit to him for his splendid portrayal of the social ideal of French aristocracy through the medium of the Arthurian romances. In any case he had considerable originality, and the pictures of tournaments and the psychological discussions of courtly love that he added to the *Britonum fabulae* bring us very close to the heart of the ruling classes in the twelfth century. In Mr Gerould's entire paper only one sentence seems to me quite wrong: "Chrétien de Troyes . . . may well have been the chief instrument by which the matter of Britain passed into the realm of pure fancy" (p. 51). The *fabulae* were entirely in the realm of pure fancy and Chrétien merely left his refashioned versions there. His romances do not take us far from the enchanted forests of Celtic fancy, although, in order to preserve in his readers a sense that Arthur was a historical monarch, he may have borrowed a few references to cities and events from Geoffrey and Wace. The direct influence of Geoffrey and Wace upon Chrétien was slight.[1] The argument that solely because of the lofty position given to Arthur by Geoffrey the romances assign all his adventures to knights (p. 49) is not very convincing, because this tendency to remove exploits from the central figure appears in the Irish Finn stories. A remark in *Kulhwch and Olwen* shows the same ten-

[1] Cf. J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 37: "The influence of the chronicles upon [Chrétien] is important, but it is not in supplying the latter with specific narrative *motifs* for development, but rather in giving *éclat* to Arthur and his court and turning the attention of the literary world of the time in the direction of stories already connected with his name"; see also A. B. Hopkins, *The Influence of Wace on the Arthurian Romances of Crestien de Troies* (Chicago diss., 1913).

dency at work in Welsh before Geoffrey wrote; two of his warriors took over an adventure from Arthur saying: "It would not be fitting or seemly for us to see thee squabbling with a hag." [1]

The main argument of Mr Gerould's article is strongly put and undoubtedly sound. Probably he does not intend the few sentences that I have challenged to be taken literally, and has no wish to revive Foerster's theory that Chrétien invented Arthurian romance.

[1] *Mabinogion*, Lady Guest's trans., ed. Nutt (1902), p. 146; cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, *ed. cit.*, I, 345.

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A NOTE ON WILLIAM OF OCKHAM

The appearance of a new edition of an opusculum of William of Ockham from the Oxford University Press will serve doubtless to rekindle the hopes of those who look forward to a critical edition — or even a convenient reissue — of the works of that philosopher. The *De Imperatorum et Pontificum Potestate* is given there, ably edited by C. K. Brampton who some five years ago issued the *Defensor Minor* of Marsilius of Padua. Unfortunately there are a few oversights which should be pointed out in Mr Brampton's edition. Both the Preface and the Introduction speak of this as an hitherto unpublished work, and the preface adds that it was edited for the unique manuscript of the British Museum. Neither statement is correct. The British Museum manuscript was edited in 1914 by Richard Scholz in his *Unbekannte Kirchenpolitische Streitschriften* (Rome: Loescher and Co., 1911–14), II, 453–480. This would be a relatively unimportant oversight, since there are only minor variations between Scholz's edition and Mr Brampton's, if there were not the further fact that a much more complete manuscript has been discovered and edited. This manuscript was found at Deventer by Dr W. Mulder; it takes up the version of the British Museum manuscript (which ends in an unfinished sentence) and completes it with a section almost as long as that edited here by Mr Brampton. These findings, together with the unpublished portion of the manuscript, appeared in 1923 and 1924 in the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XVI, 468–492, and XVII, 72–97.

The student of Ockham is consequently left uncertain concerning the edition of even this one work. It seems probable that there may be other copies of it — and certain that there are other unpublished works related to it — in the libraries of Germany. It is a suspicion which is stirred up constantly and makes one hesitate concerning unique manuscripts of Ockham in the British Museum. For example, Dr Greiner, writing on the

Ulms Bibliothekwesen in the *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte* (XXVI [1917] 71), mentions a manuscript of Ockham's, *De Potestate Papae;* there is no indication of its contents, and one would rest easier in one's Ockham scholarship if some report of it were made available. Again, Karl Müller in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (VI [1884] 102, 103) alludes to a manuscript in the Vatican of Nicholaus Minorita, which contains an unpublished anonymous work written about 1338. Müller gives the *incipit* and the *explicit*, from which it is clearly apparent that it is a different work from the one here in question. But it is directed against John XXII — *De Potestatis Plenitudine Papae* — and Scholz is of the opinion that it may be a work of Ockham's. Mr Brampton, it should be said, quotes from Müller's work in another connection, and it seems proper to suggest that, since he has already done such admirable work in the fourteenth-century controversy between church and state, he would increase the debt of scholars to him by a report or even an edition of that work. Meanwhile it is to be hoped that interest in William of Ockham may be aroused, at least to the extent of leading to the issue of some of the other of his works which deserve critical reëditing. An edition of the *Quodlibeta* or of the *Summa Totius Logicae* would be particularly welcome.

There is one other feature of Mr Brampton's edition against which one might protest, though here the objection is more personal and is made with some hesitation. Mr Brampton prefers to relegate all scholarly details to his notes, and consequently his introduction undertakes a sweeping resumé (prompted, it seems, by a desire to show that this is not an arid controversy but a problem fraught with human interest) of the history of the papacy. This opens it to a double criticism. On the one hand, to pass from Paul to Protestantism in thirty pages necessitates a continuous stretch of generalizations most of which, without qualification, indifferently may or may not be true, and the sum of which tends definitely to lend to Ockham's work other morals than are explicitly contained in them. On the other hand, it makes impossible any discussion of immediate historical and philosophic details, so that, for example, an introduction to Ockham may be written with no mention of Konrad von Megenberg. This, however, may be a matter of taste, and in his notes Mr Brampton is accurate and unashamed to be learned.

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THE TEXT OF DANTE'S *MONARCHIA*

THE accepted text of the *Monarchia* seems marred by faulty readings which a sufficient understanding of the subject matter of the book ought easily to remedy. The character of these more or less obvious errors will be indicated by the following examples.

There are, first of all, passages in which the consistent MS. reading seems to have been rejected through a misunderstanding of the text. Such, for example, the admonition (ii, 10), "Videant nunc iuriste presumptuosi quantum infra sint ab *illo speculo rationis* unde humana mens haec principia speculatur, etc. . . ." where "*illo speculo,*" the reading of all MSS antecedent to the Editio Princeps, has been replaced by the editors with *illa specula,* and a philosophic image has been arbitrarily rejected in favor of a pictorial metaphor.

For Dante here echoes the old view which looks upon knowledge as the beholding of a reflected image of an invisible reality, and he does so by repeating the familiar connection of speculari with speculum. This derivation had been a commonplace ever since St Augustine (*Trin.* xv, 8), commenting on St Paul's "revelata facie gloriam domini speculantes in eandem imaginem transformamur," said, "Speculantes dixit, per speculum videntes non de specula prospicientes." Coming down to the thirteenth century we find in St Thomas (*Sum.* ii, 2.180, 3): "speculatio dicitur a speculo non a specula," and again (in 2 *Cor.* iii, 3): "Speculantes non sumitur hic a specula sed a speculo id est ipsum Deum gloriosum cognoscentes per *speculum rationis* in quo est quaedam imago Ipsius." Endless other examples might be quoted, but this one suffices in that it contains the very words of Dante *speculum rationis.*

What, then, is the meaning of *speculum rationis,* and how does it fit the passage of the *Monarchia*?

We might proceed from the analysis of the Thomistic "omnia sic uidentur in Deo sicut in quodam speculo intelligibili," but the full force of Dante's phrase can be best brought out by recalling that this *speculum* is the objective logos placed before our mind's eye, and reflecting to it that absolute reality which is beyond our mortal ken; that it is the mirror where we see that divine image into which, as St Paul says, we must transform our being if we really mean to live humanly; that image is (see St Augustine, *loc. cit.*) "quam speculamur quia eadem imago est et gloria Dei." From this *speculum,* then, is mirrored to us the rationality of the universe and the Providence of God. And as the separate souls of Paradise look to the "specchi . . . onde refulge a *lor* Dio giudicante," here the "Ver-

bum mentis in quo tamquam in speculo videmus Verbum Dei" (Aug. *Trin.* xv, 10) inspires Dante with the scornful rebuke addressed to the jurists who can only explain *secundum sensum.*

By a similarly unjustified process (ii, 9), in the passage, "unde caueant pugiles, ne pretium constituant sibi causam quia non tunc duellum sed forum sanguinis et iustitiae esset," the word *iustitiae* of all MSS is arbitrarily changed to *iniustitiae*, a change which is repeated a few lines below in the same chapter where the MSS read: "Habeant semper si duelliones esse uolunt non sanguinis et *iustitiae* mercatores, etc."

This emendation destroys the force of Dante's thought and replaces it with a flat and somewhat meaningless phrase. Dante here wants to bring out the fact that justice is not for sale, and that it is not a merchandise to be found in the market place (*forum*). Just as Ennius, in the passage quoted by Dante, rebukes those who, instead of waging war, become *cauponantes bellum*, so Dante himself flays here the *cauponantes iustitiam*, the "*iustitiae mercatores*," as he calls them. If we accept the line, "Là dove Cristo tutto di si *merca*," we ought to have no difficulty in understanding how objectionable hucksters of justice are and how worthy of Dante's indignation, without trying to divert his invective against the "sale of injustice" which, if it were not meaningless, would be an act infinitely less offensive than the "sale of justice."

In Book ii, Chapter 6, the MS. reading, "Cum ergo finis humani generis sit aliquod medium necessarium ad finem naturae universalem," is emended to read, "Cum ergo finis humani generis sit *et sit* aliquod medium, etc.," without, it would seem, much justification. Dante is here speaking of an *ordo*, the *ordo naturalis*, inseparably connected with *ius*. This order which unites things, this form which makes the universe like God, contains elements arranged and graded in virtue of their relation to the end of the order itself, and having each and every one of them a particular end of its own which is therefore a means, a medium, for the attainment of the ultimate end of the *ordo*. And so for humankind, for, as our author elsewhere says (*Mon.* i, 7), "humana universitas est quoddam totum ad quasdam partes, et est quaedam pars ad quoddam totum," and "pars ad totum se habet sicut ad finem." Dante therefore says with the utmost precision and clarity, "Cum ergo finis humani generis sit aliquod medium," to mean: "since the end of humankind is a necessary means for the attainment of the ultimate ends of universal nature, etc."

It seems hard to find a reason for the emendation except the fact of the roundabout translation of Ficino. We say, "The earth is a part of the universe"; we do not say, "The Earth is, and it is a part of the Universe"; likewise we should not say, "Since the end of humankind is, and it is a means, etc."; and if we did say it (as sometimes we might if that first clause

had to be followed by a demonstration), in scholastic Latin we should very likely put it, "Cum ergo humani generis finis quidam sit," or "Cum ergo sit aliquis finis, etc.," and not "Cum ergo finis humani generis sit."

In Book iii, Chapter 12, the MS. reading: "Et hoc erit vel ipse deus in quo respectus omnis universaliter unitur vel aliqua substantia deo inferior in qua respectus superpositionis a simplici respectu descendens particuletur," has been emended by adding per *differentiam superpositionis* immediately before *a simplici respectu.*

Again it is difficult to see the justification of this insertion. For it is by no means necessary every time a species is deduced from its genus that the differentia be mentioned. We can say: "In qua animal rationale a simplici animali descendens particulatur," without at all mentioning the differentia that draws the species *homo* from the genus *animal*, viz., the *rationale.* In the present case the genus generalissimum is the *ad aliquid* (relativa); the genus subalternum is *respectus simplex;* the species of this genus is the *respectus superpositionis.* The insertion of Ficino, accepted by all subsequent editors, seems to be in the nature of an explanatory gloss, and one that is not completely accurate.

On the other hand, certain readings have been retained in the text of the *Monarchia* which do not seem to be tenable. Such, for example, the sentence (*Mon.* iii, 3): "His itaque sic exclusis, excludendi sunt alii qui corvorum plumis operti *oves* albas in grege Domini se iactant."

It seems strange for *black crows* to palm themselves off as *white sheep.* What Dante here perhaps wrote is: "Sunt alii qui corvorum plumis operti *aves* albas in grege domini, etc." The presence of *grege* no doubt would favor *oves;* and the familiar allegorical references to "white sheep" and "black sheep" and "sheep of the Lord" would also incline the same way. But on the other hand, the mention of the "crow's feathers" points in the direction of the famous apologue which seems to give the tone to the entire sentence. And, above all, the words of Dante are identical with a famous quotation of Horace where we have the counterpart of Dante's *corvorum*, of his *plumis*, of his *grege*, and, it would seem, of his *aves*, too (Horace, *Ep.* i, 3, 19, "Ne si forte suas repetitum venerit olim *Grex avium plumas* moveat *cornicula* risum Furtivis nudata coloribus)."

We should then have a classical echo and a pagan proverbial expression which Dante in his customary manner integrates into a Christian thought by the addition of the word *Domini.*

In *Mon.* iii, 5, in the sentence: "Et si ferrent instantiam dicentes quod *f* sequitur ad *c* hoc est auctoritas ad nativitatem et *pro* antecedente bene infertur consequens ut animal *pro* homine dico quod falsum est," the preposition *pro* seems to be amiss. Dante is arguing from the "locus a positione antecedentis: Si est homo est animal. Sed est homo, ergo est animal."

(This is the invariable example used scholastically to exemplify the *positio antecedentis*. See, among others, *Totius Logicae Summa* (published with the works of St Thomas), chapter sixteen.

Valid formal inferences, as all know, and Dante tells us, are drawn either by affirming (*ponere*) the antecedent ("ad positionem antecedentis sequitur positio consequentis," Albertus, *ad II. Priora*, iii, 1) or by negating (*destruere*) the consequent (e. g., "Si non est animal non est homo"). In the case under consideration Dante uses the former as he does in *Mon.* ii, 12, and in *Mon.* ii, 55, where he says, "cum ergo iuris finis quidam sit, ut iam declaratum est, necesse est fine illo *posito* ius *poni* cum sit proprius et per se iuris effectus. Et cum in omni consequentia impossibile sit habere antecedens absque consequente ut *hominem* sine *animali* ut patet construendo (affirming the antecedent) et destruendo (negating the consequent) impossible est iuris finem quaerere sine iure cum quaelibet res ad proprium finem se habeat velut *consequens* ad *antecedens*."

In the passage under consideration, therefore, the logical cogency of the argument demands not *pro* but *posito* (abbreviated), so as to mean "and if they should object, saying that *f* follows from *c*, that is, authority from nativity, and that from the positing of the antecedent the consequent is correctly inferred as *animal* is inferred from the positing of *man*, I say that this false, etc." The statement then acquires rigor and is in accordance with the strictly logical language of the text, whereas it seems difficult to see how any but a vague, inappropriate, and untechnical sense could be got out of the phrase, "*pro* antecedente bene infertur consequens."

In Book i, Chapter 3, the Oxford text (following Witte) reads: "Essentiae tales [the intelligences or angels] species quaedam sunt intellectuales et non aliud et earum esse nil est aliud quam *intelligere, quod est sine interpolatione*, aliter sempiternae non essent." Rostagno follows this. Bertalot reads: "Et earum esse nichil est aliud quam intelligere *quid est quod sunt*, quod sine interpolatione," accepting the reading of MSS *BDEHLM*, as he calls them, against *quod est* of *AFGPT*. It seems as if the confusion of the theological knot (cut by Witte, and tentatively solved by the others) arose from a phrase which, because of its technical difficulty, was misconstrued by the scribes.

The phrase would seem to be *quod quid est*.

For Dante here makes two distinctions between angels (separate intelligences) and men. The first, that angels do not have *intellectus possibilis*, following Thomas, who says: "In substantiis separatis non est intellectus agens et possibilis nisi forte aequivoce . . . substantiae separatae sunt substantiae viventes nec habent aliam operationem vitae nisi intelligere. Oportet igitur quod ex sua natura sint intelligentes *actu* semper . . .

igitur operatio propria (of the *substantiae separatae*) est in eis continua et non *intercisa.*" (*Contra Gentiles*, ii, 96, 97.)[1]

The other point is that, whereas man's comprehension needs the processes of *componere*, *dividere*, and *discurrere*, the angels' activity is not so broken up; for "cum in angelo sit lumen intellectuale perfectum, cum sit speculum purum et clarissimum, relinquitur quod angelus sicut non intelligit *ratiocinando* ita non intelligit *componendo*, et *dividendo*" (*Summa*, i, 58, 4). What, then, is angelic *intelligere* in contrast with the human processes of predication and ratiocination, and what is its object? To put it in the language common to all scholars after the translation of Aristotle's *De Anima*, the "proprium obiectum intellectus est *quod quid est*, id est substantia rei, ut dicitur in tertio de Anima" (*Contra Gent.*, iii, 56). And therefore "angeli cognoscunt simpliciter cognoscendo *quod* quid est" (*Summa* i, 58, 4) is for "angelus intelligendo *quod quid est* intelligit quidquid nos intelligere possumus, et componendo et dividendo, per unum suum simplicem intellectum" (*loc. cit.*), and "Sic enim se habent intelligendo substantiae separatae, si penitus sunt sine materia, sicut cum nos intelligimus *quod quid est*" (St Thomas, *De Anima*, iii, lectio 11).

If, then, we have an object to the *intelligere* in the passage of the *Monarchia* here discussed — and the MSS indicate that there is one — it seems as though it should be *quod quid est.* Bertalot's reading, "intelligere quid est quod sunt," would mean either that the angels have knowledge of nothing excepting their quiddity — which could hardly be accepted — or else that angels do know other things, but through their essence and not through species, which can be said of God alone.

In Book iii, Chapter 2, the sentence (Bertalot's text): "Si enim deus non vellet impedimentum finis, prout non vellet, sequeretur ad non velle, nichil de impedimento curaret sive esset sive non esset," makes no sense either in itself or in relation to the rest of the chapter. Rostagno's reading (*curare* instead of *curaret*) patches it up without reference to the logical deduction. What, however, the sense here rigorously demands is "prout non vellet sequeretur ad non *nolle*" — "in so far as not wanting was a consequence of non nolle." But what does this mean?

Dante is here building up his argument by showing the falseness of the statement, "deum *non nolle* quod naturae intentioni repugnat" (Chapter 2, 2). He proceeds to analyze the possible consequential implications of *non nolle*, and says that it may mean either *velle*, "to want," or *non velle* in the sense, however, of suspended volition, of indifference, but *not* of active opposition. And to make his meaning clear he gives an example, which is "sicut ad non odire necessario sequitur amare aut non amare" —

[1] See, however, *Summa*, i, 54, 2.

"not hating implies either loving or not loving" where *not loving* again is neutral, and devoid of any active opposition, which Dante makes clear by adding "non enim non amare est odire, nec non velle est nolle ut de se patet" — "for obviously not loving does not mean hating nor does not wanting mean *nolle*." Dante then clearly gives to *nolle* a meaning of active negative volition, whereas to *non velle* he gives the meaning of inactive indifference.

Having thus deduced the possible meanings of *non nolle* of the sentence on which his argument rests, Dante logically goes on to say that, whether we accept the one or the other, in both cases the sentence, "Deum *non nolle* quod naturae intentioni repugnat," implies a contradiction.

Accepting the first possibility, namely, *non nolle* equals *velle*, he goes on to prove that: "si deus *vellet* impedimentum finis," i. e., "if God wanted the impediment of Nature's ends" (that is, if God wanted "quod naturae intentioni repugnat"), the inevitable conclusion would be "Deum velle *non esse* finem naturae quem dicitur velle *esse*," which must be rejected as being a self-contradictory statement.

Taking up the remaining possibility, viz., *non nolle* equals *non velle* (in the neutral sense described), he says: "Si autem deus *non vellet* impedimentum finis prout *non velle* sequeretur ad *non nolle*," to be translated: "But if God did *not want* the impediment, *not wanting* following here from *non nolle*," or more freely rendered, "If God *did not want* the impediment of natural ends, and by *not wanting* I am now considering the remaining possible meaning that could be derived from *non nolle*, etc." He then shows that this too leads to a conclusion which is contradictory, viz., "deum velle quod non vult," and rejects it.

By following out the two possible senses of *non nolle*, the statement "Deum non nolle quod naturae intentioni repugnat," has been shown in both cases to be false, therefore its opposite, *contradictorie*, is true.

That *non vellet* is the subject of *sequeretur*, and not what the editors make it, is shown even superficially by the logical deduction: "ad non nolle alterum duorum sequitur . . . aut velle [subject] aut non velle [subject] sicut ad non odire sequitur amare [subject] aut non amare [subject] . . . prout non vellet [subject] sequeretur ad non velle." In this last sentence we should expect *non velle* instead of *non vellet*, but the subjunctive might perhaps be retained as though quoted. But whether one or the other, the meaning is clear.

There is a whole group of textual questions dealing with the more technically logical parts of the *Monarchia* which will be taken up in a later note.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE POEMS ASCRIBED TO FREDERICK II, 'REX FREDERICUS,' AND KING ENZIO

In two earlier articles [1] I have published the four poems ascribed in the MSS to Frederick II and 'Rex Fredericus,' and the three poems and fragment ascribed to King Enzio, together with notes and critical apparatus. In the present article I propose to review the question of attributions of the poems in the various MSS and to study the problem of the authorship of the poems.

The first lines of the several poems, together with the numbers by which they will be referred to in the discussion, follow:

1. *De la mia disïanza*
2. *Poi ke tti piace, Amore*
3. *Dolze meo drudo e vaténe*
4. *Oi llasso, nom pensai*
5. *Amor mi fa sovente*
6. *S'eo trovasse Pietança*
7. *Tempo vene ki sale e ki discende*
8. *Allegru cori, plenu* (fragment)

For convenience in reference, a list of the MSS in which one or more of the poems occur and to which reference is made in this study is given here, with the approximate date of compilation:

P — end of the thirteenth century
LR — end of the thirteenth century
V — *ca.* 1300
VB — 1325–1335
Ch — second half of the fourteenth century
Ma — first half of the fifteenth century
V^2 — first half of the sixteenth century

In the case of four of the poems of the present edition, there is lack of agreement in the attributions in the various MSS. Poem No. 2 is attributed in *P* to 'Rex Fredericus'; in *Ch*, V^2 and *Ma*, to 'Federigo Imperadore.' In MS. *V*, the first heading has been erased, leaving still legible, however, in the hand-writing of the original copyist, the words, 'Ser guilg . . .' Over this was written, still in the hand of the scribe of the MS.: 'Messer

[1] Speculum I (1926) 87–100, 398–409.

Rinaldo daquino,' which finally was also erased.[1] Poem No. 4 is attributed in *LR* to 'Rex Federigo' and in *V* to 'Rugierone di Palermo.'

Poem No. 6 has in *P* the heading, 'Rex Hentius: Semprebonus not. bon.'; and in V^2, 'Re Enzo et messere Guido guiniçelli'; in *LR*, it is attributed to 'Re Enso'; in *V*, to 'Ser Nascimbene di Bologna'; and in *Ch* and *Ma*, to 'Messer Semprebene da Bologna.' Poem No. 7 is attributed in *VB* to 'Fra Guiton da reço (d'Arezzo)'; and in *Ch*, V^2 and *Ma*, to 'Re Enzo.'[2]

As to the other poems of the group, Nos. 1 and 3 each occur in a single MS. (*V*), where they are attributed respectively to 'Imperadore Federigo' and 'Re Federigo.' Poem No. 5 is attributed in all of its MSS to Enzio. The single stanza of poem No. 8 is attributed in the *Libro Siciliano* to Enzio.

With regard to Enzio there arises, therefore, what seems to be a difficult question of attribution, first of all, in the case of poem No. 6. But Monaci, in his note 'Sulle divergenze dei canzonieri,'[3] makes a suggestion which, when applied here, introduces harmony among the various attributions. His point is that much of the confusion in the attribution of poems in the MSS arises from the fact that the poems were frequently headed, originally, by two names — that of the author and sender of the poem, and that of the person to whom the copy was addressed. So that it was necessary for only a few years to elapse until the one was taken for the other, and the confusion thus engendered was multiplied as time went by, and may thus account for single poems being attributed to two, three, or even more persons in as many MSS.

To apply Monaci's theory to the case of attribution under discussion: There is record of a notary named Semprebene, of Bologna, documents by whose hand are extant for the year 1269. The Nascimbene of *V* is probably best taken as a scribal error for Semprebene, although Cesareo[4] has found reference to a judge of that name who was in Bologna in 1231 and 1235, and who might still have been living there in 1260. Hence, in the case of the present poem (No. 6), which is in the two oldest MSS (*P* and *LR*) attributed to Enzio, we may well conclude that the captive king addressed copies of his canzone to Semprebene and Guido Guinizelli, and perhaps also to Nascimbene; whose names the scribes of the later MSS might well have mistaken and probably did mistake for that of the author.[5]

[1] Satta, Egidi and Testa: MS. 3793 of the Vatican Library at Rome (1902–1908), p. 169, Note (1).

[2] V^2 has the heading, 'Questo nobile Sonetto fece lo re Enzo.'

[3] In the *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Sept. 6, 1885.

[4] *Le Origini della Poesia Lirica* (2d ed. accresc., Milan: Sandron, 1924), p. 147.

[5] Cf. Casini, *Rime dei Poeti Bolognesi* (Bologna, 1881), pp. 374–376.

Poem No. 7, the sonnet, is attributed in one MS., *VB*, to Guittone d'Arezzo; in two other later MSS it is attributed to Enzio. The substitution of Guittone's name for Enzio's in the intestation would be, of course, much easier to explain than the reverse, since Guittone was a much more famous poet at the time MS. *VB* was written (1325–1335) than was Enzio. The internal evidence furnished by the poem itself is such as to leave the authorship somewhat in doubt. In its didactic tone it does not resemble the two canzoni which are confidently attributed to Enzio, nor is it at all consonant with what we know of his character and manners; although the appropriateness of the sentiment of the first line of the poem (*Tempo vene ki sale e ki discende*) to the vicissitudes of Enzio's life must not be overlooked. On the other hand, it might readily be included among the moral and didactic poems of Guittone. Pellizzari, however, in his study on Guittone,[1] does not mention this sonnet even among the poems of doubtful authenticity. Whether or not we may predicate a sagacity and a reflective turn of mind in the middle-aged Enzio of the later years of his captivity, which might justify the belief that he is the author of the poem in question, must for the present remain undecided.

The major problem of attributions, however, as will be seen, concerns our first group of four poems, those attributed to the Emperor or to 'Rex Fredericus.' It is improbable, of course, that a scribe would change an attribution to the Emperor in such a way as to make it appear that the poem in question was written by his son Frederick of Antioch. Any such emendation would tend in the other direction, that is, toward the attribution of the poem to the greater and better known of the two men in question. This consideration is of real importance and should be kept in mind during the discussion which follows. On account of the long history of the question and the number of writers who have committed themselves in regard to it, it seems worth while to give here a brief resumé of the discussion of this problem during the last fifty-five years. A few lines from some ten different scholars who have referred to the matter will be quoted.

Grion published, in 1870, a table of contents of MS. *V*, as number I of Böhmer's *Romanische Studien*, at the end of which he included the version of our poem No. 3, found in that MS., and attributed there to 'Re Federigo.' He prefaced the poem with the following remark:

> Hier möge zum Schlusse einen Platz finden die 48. Canzone von König Friedrich, der sicherlich (*sic*) kein anderer ist als Friedrich von Antiochien. Das Lied gehört ins Jahr 1239, als der Dichter von Sicilien schied, um die Statthalterschaft von Toscana auf Geheiss seines Vaters, Kaiser Friedrichs II., anzutreten.

This seems to be the first statement setting forth the hypothesis that

[1] *La Vita e le Opere di Guittone d'Arezzo*, Pisa, 1906.

Frederick of Antioch is the 'Fredericus Rex' of the MSS, and may be judged, I think, on its own merits. The year 1239 as a date for the poem in question is in itself merely a conjecture on the part of Grion. It is worth noting, however, that in 1239 Frederick of Antioch was only ten years of age, and therefore scarcely of an age to assume the rather arduous military duties of his father's Vicar in Tuscany.

Gaspary, in the *Sicilianische Dichterschule* (Berlin, 1878, p. 93), makes the following statement:

> Grion glaubte, es [our poem No. 3] Friedrichs II. Sohne, König Friedrich von Antiochien, zuschreiben zu müssen und nicht dem Kaiser, wohl deshalb, weil der Verfasser RE betitelt ist; aber in der palatinischen Handschrift wird Friedrich II selbst RE FEDERIGO gennant in der Ueberschrift zweier Canzonen, von denen wenigstens die erste (Poi ke tti piace, Amore) ihm allgemein zuerkannt ist.

It is clear that Gaspary's logic is at fault here. He begs the question by assuming that the Emperor's authorship of poem No. 2 is established, an assumption quite unwarranted by the facts.

In his 'Annotazioni' in Volume V of the *Antiche Rime Volgari* (Bologna, 1888, p. 341), Casini says:

> [La canzone] fu già pubblicata dal Grion nei Romanischen studien, vol. I, p. 110, e dal Bilancioni nel cit. art.; il primo dei quali dubitò che potesse esser opera, non di Federigo II, ma di suo figlio Federigo re d'Antiochia: ipotesi fuor di luogo, poiché, come osserva il Gaspary, in Pricorre l'appellazione di REX FREDERICUS innanzi a canzoni che sono generalmente giudicate dell' imperatore.

In the *Crestomazia* (1889), Monaci published our poems, Nos. 3, 2, and 4, headed respectively, 'RE FEDERIGO,' 'REX FREDERICUS,' and 'REX FEDERIGO.' He attributes them all to the Emperor, and does not comment on the matter under discussion here.

The following quotation from the brochure of Zenatti, *La Scuola Poetica Siciliana del Secolo XIII* (1894), is of interest:

> Perchè certo poetarono già prima della morte del padre, ricordo Enzo e il re Federico; Federico, intendo, d'Antiochia, malamente confuso da tutti con l'imperatore, ma che io chiedo sia d'ora innanzi ricordato anch' egli fra i poeti della scuola siciliana e riconosciuto autore se non anche d'altre, almeno della bella canzone di partenza, Dolze, ecc. L'unico codice che la contiene la attribuisce a 're Federigo' e non a 'Frederigo imperatore.' Ciò che più monta, ai pianti dell'amata così risponde il poeta: Dolze mia donna, ecc. Ma quando mai l'imperatore ebbe padroni e dovette andare in Toscana per ordine altrui? Ben v'andò, per ordine del padre appunto Federico d'Antiochia qual vicario imperiale nel 1247 e avendo già titolo regio.

Later in the same year Torraca published his important article "La Scuola Poetica Siciliana," in *Nuova Antologia* (1894) in which he agrees with Zenatti, and from which I quote somewhat fully:

Federico d'Antiochia, il figliuolo dell'imperatore . . . nel 1248 aiutò a cacciare da Firenze i guelfi, e restò a reggere la città sino alla fine del 1250. Il giovane vicario generale era anch' egli poeta e scrisse, pare a me come al mio amico Zenatti, una al meno delle canzoni attribuite ne' codici al 'Re Federico,' perchè egli, non il padre, quando la sua donna biasimava la dolce Toscana, "che le dipartiva lo core," poteva rispondere:

Dolce mia donna, lo gire
non è per mia volontate,
chè mi convene ubbidire
quelli che m'à 'n potestate.

L'imperatore non avrebbe mai detto d'essere in potestà d'altri, ne potette comporre innanzi al 1220, essendo ancora re di Sicilia e re dei Romani, il Contrasto, che allude a un viaggio in Torcana, dove non pose piede prima del 1226. Rispetto al titolo, noterò che Federico di Antiochia, designato dal padre al re di Toscana, col titolo regio è nominato in documenti senesi del 1247 e in cronache del tempo.

It must be remembered that there is no contemporary testimony as to Frederick of Antioch's writing poetry; so that the statements of Zenatti and Torraca in regard to that question, undocumented as they are, must be accepted merely as opinions. The statements as a whole constitute, however, the best and most plausible enunciation of the Frederick of Antioch hypothesis.

Carducci, in the *Antica lirica italiana* (Florence, 1907), includes our poems No. 3 and No. 4 among his 'Canzonette,' attributing them both, without comment, to 'Re Federigo d'Antiochia.'

In *The Forerunners of Dante* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910) Butler, in a note on our poem No. 4, reverts to the Gaspary-Casini position: 'the Re Federigo or Rex Fridericus of the MSS being the emperor.'

In his work on the *Duecento* (Milan: Vallardi, 1911), Bertoni, referring to this matter, makes the following confused and erroneous statement:

Uno dei quattro componimenti (De la mia desianza) reca nell'unico manoscritto, che ce lo ha tramandato (Palat. 418, 50), l'intestazione: 'Rex Fridericus Antiochie'; nè v'è ragione di toglierlo a questo gentile figlio di Federico II, che viene a porsi, come poeta, a lato di Re Enzo.

It should be emphasized at this point that the term 'Antioch' does not occur in any form in any of the MS. attributions. Furthermore, poem No. 1 is not found in MS. *P* (in *V* it is No. 51) and is not attributed to 'Rex Fridericus Antiochie,' but to 'Imperadore Federigo,' as has been noted.

In Ragnar Öller's edition of poem No. 1 in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* for 1915, there is found the following note in regard to attributions:

Au nombre des chansons italiennes qui nous sont parvenues, sans compter les anonymes, deux seules peuvent avoir été composées par l'Empereur. Si la poésie présente lui est attribuée par le manuscrit unique (MS *V*), l'autre, 'Poi ke ti piace, Amore' (Monaci, p. 72), ne l'est que par trois MSS tardifs d'entre les cinq

qui nous ont transmis la chanson. Il se pourrait toutefois que quelqu'une des trois chansons qui, dans quelque Chansonnier, portent le nom de l'Federico Re' ou 'F. d'Antiochia' (1229), ait été écrite par Frédéric II. Si on fait abstraction des témoignages des contemporains . . . , nous avons par conséquent très peu de matériaux pour juger des aspirations poétiques de l'Empereur Frédéric. Ni Hans Niese . . . ni Torraca, Studi . . . n'étudient Frédéric II poète lyrique.

The latest word in the whole discussion has been said by Cesareo in the 1924 edition of his *Origini*,[1] and I therefore quote what he has to say (two short paragraphs) in extenso:

E anche notevole che a volte ne' codici le poesie attribuite a Federigo II portano il titolo RE FEDERICO. Ciò fa sospettare che egli abbia cominciato a comporre versi nella sua prima giovinezza, prima di partire dalla Sicilia (1212); ma i copisti avranno poi confuso le originarie rubriche . . . Il Grion sospettò che fra i rimatori di quel tempo fosse anche Federigo re d'Antiochia, figliuolo dell 'imperatore, perchè ne' codici occorre l'attribuzione a 're Federico.' Ma re Federico era per l'appunto il re di Sicilia; nè alcun codice ha espressamente il nome di Federigo d'Antiochia, nè risulta da alcuna testimonianza che Federigo d'Antiochia rimasse.

Here, once more, we find Cesareo, who had not mentioned this question in the 1894 edition, definitely rejecting the suggestion that 'Rex Fredericus' indicates anyone but the Emperor.

Let us now turn to a consideration of such internal evidence as this group of four poems presents. Poem 1 is of decidedly complex metrical structure and No. 2 is relatively so; both include the *rimalmezzo*, in fact its use in Poem 1 is most formal and involved. On the other hand, Poems 3 and 4 both have quite simple metrical arrangements. In regard to content, Miss Josephine Indovina[2] has pointed out that poems No. 3 and No. 4 are companion pieces, No. 4 following immediately in its thought No. 3; and that poem No. 3 is the only poem of the specific leave-taking type in the whole body of Frederician verse.

Poems No. 1 and No. 2 furnish no localizing evidence of any sort, and are, it must be admitted, on the whole, conventional. If we admit the connection between poems No. 3 and No. 4, two passages, one in each poem, claim our attention at once. They are the last half of stanza II and the first half of stanza III of poem No. 3, which run thus:

Or se ne va lo mio amore
ch'io sovra gli altri l'amava;
biasmo la dolze Toscana,
che mi diparte lo core.

[1] *Le Origini della Poesia Lirica*, 122.

[2] In an unpublished paper on the 'Absence Motif in the Frederician Lyrics' prepared for Mr E. H. Wilkins's Univ. of Chicago seminar (1925) on the Italian lyric at the Court of Frederick II.

Dolcie mia donna, lo gire
nonn è per mia volontate,
chè mi convene ubidire
quelli che m'à 'm potestate.

and the first two lines of the commiato stanza of poem No. 4;

Kanzonetta gioiosa,
va là, fior di Soria . . .

As Gaspary suggests,[1] one must be cautious in the use of such statements as biographical material or in a biographical connection, since the whole poem may be conceived as a fiction. But if both these passages should be regarded as historically accurate in their implications, they must still leave the problem unsolved. It is true that the Emperor could not have truthfully written the lines quoted from stanza III of poem No. 3, although they might well have been written by Frederick of Antioch, who, as a youth of seventeen, went into Tuscany as his father's vicar, in 1246. We have, on the other hand, absolutely no reason to believe that Frederick of Antioch ever went on a Crusade or that he visited the East at any time. So that, however the much-discussed line referring to "Soria" may be read, it must render improbable the attribution of poem No. 4 to Frederick of Antioch, unless, of course, such reference be considered merely as a poetic fiction.

Having thus sketched the history of the attributions discussion concerning poems Nos. 1–4, and examined the internal evidence afforded by the poems themselves, one must admit, I think, the impossibiliy of coming to a formal conclusion, with the evidence at present available. There is, however, one concrete gain to be derived from reviewing and bringing up to date the discussion of this problem of attributions, that is, in the fact that two questions emerge clearly from such an examination of the material: (1) Were any of the poems extant really written by Frederick II? (2). Can the Frederick of Antioch hypothesis be considered seriously? To neither of these questions can a dogmatic answer be given at present.

If the present writer may be permitted to state his personal opinion in the matter, it would be, at present, something like this: that the intermingling of royal and imperial titles in the headings of the poems in various MSS does create a difficult problem; that some such hypothesis as that which would make Frederick of Antioch author of two or more of the poems is needed and appropriate; but that that specific hypothesis does, in its application, fall short of being a satisfactory one.

[1] *Dichterschule*, 94.

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WHEN DID SIMONE MARTINI GO TO AVIGNON?

Simone Martini is known to have been in Italy as late as 1335, for in that year he painted a fresco in Siena.[1]

Della Valle quotes a statement of the old Sienese chronicler Tizio to the effect that Simone was taken from Siena to Avignon by a Cardinal — *tametsi opus imperfectum a Cardinali transeunte in Franciam secum perductus reliquerit* — assumes that this Cardinal 'doveva essere il Legato, che passò per Siena l'anno 1336, come si legge al libro di Biccherna'; and draws therefrom the conclusion that Simone went to Avignon in 1336.[2]

Milanesi in 1854 published the following document:[3]

In nomine Domini amen. Anno Domini MCCCXXXVIIII, indictione VIII die octavo mensis Februarii. — Universis — presens instrumentum publicum inspecturis pateat evidenter, qualiter ser Andreas olim Marcovaldi de Senis, rector ecclesie S. Angeli ad Montonem de Senis — fecit, — discretos viros, magistrum Simonem et Donatum, filios olim Martini de Senis, — procuratores — in Romana curia — ad impetrandum. et contradicendum licteras Apostolicas tam simplices quam legendas, gratiam seu justitiam continentes, et quaslibet alias licteras; et ad contradicendum impetratis, et impetrandis, et ad convenieńdum de loco et judicibus, et judices et loca eligendum, et recusandum. Et generaliter ad omnia et singula facienda, procurandaque in predictis, et in quolibet predictorum, ut fuerint opportuna, et quod de jure vel de consuetudine requiritur. —

Actum in ecclesia fratrum Servorum sancte Marie de Senis, coram fratre Bartholomeo Acchursii de Senis, et fratre Guardia Pucii de Senis, et fratre Feo Vive de Senis, testibus.

Milanesi inferred that this document was issued at the time when Simone and his brother left Siena for Avignon; and gave it therefore the heading:

Procura fatta in maestro Simone *di* Martino, *e in* Donato *suo fratello, quando andarono ad Avignone.*

Following Milanesi, directly or indirectly, several other writers, including van Marle, have stated, without other evidence, that Simone went to Avignon in 1339.[4]

Quarta[5] maintains that Simone went to Avignon in 1336 or 1337. He supports his thesis by three lines of argument, as follows:

1. Petrarch wrote two sonnets, *Per mirar Policleto* and *Quando giunse a Simon*, in praise of a portrait of Laura painted for him by Simone. These

[1] G. Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi sopra le Belle Arti* (Rome, 1785), II, 98. [2] P. 83.

[3] G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese*, (Siena, 1854), I, 216.

[4] So Agnes Gosche, *Simone Martini*, (Leipzig, 1899), p. 44; P. Rossi, "Simone Martini e Petrarca," in *Arte Antica Senese* (= *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, XI) I (1904), 165, 166; R. van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague, 1924), II, 170.

[5] N. Quarta, *Studi sul Testo delle Rime del Petrarca* (Naples, 1902), pp. 55–58.

sonnets appear, in the hand of Petrarch, on a sheet now included as f. 7^r in MS. Vat. Lat. 3196. Quarta thinks this sheet must have been written between November 4, 1336 — a date written by Petrarch at the top of f. 9^r, which Quarta regards as the original first page of the series of sheets in question — and November 16, 1337 — a date written by Petrarch on one of the later pages of the same series of sheets.

2. Benedict XII, who ascended the pontifical throne in 1334, at once began erecting the palace of the popes at Avignon and calling artists to his court. He tried hard to get Giotto, who died in January, 1336. It is very unlikely that Benedict waited three years before getting Simone, who was, after Giotto, the most outstanding painter of his time.

3. Milanesi's interpretation of the document of 1339 is erroneous. Nothing in the document implies that Simone received it in Siena. On the contrary the nature of the document and of the mission is such that the document would most likely have been given to Simone only after he was well established in Avignon.

Wulff [1] approves in general the conclusions of Quarta, but points out that ff. 7, 8 of V. L. 3196 antedate f. 9; that the sonnets on the portrait, which appear on f. 7^r, must have been written prior to the date November 4, 1336, which appears on f. 9^r; and that Simone must therefore have come to Avignon before that date.

De Nicola [2] and Venturi,[3] like Quarta, point out that the document published by Milanesi may perfectly well be subsequent to Simone's arrival in Avignon. Venturi, like Quarta, points out that Benedict would presumably have summoned Simone before 1339. Venturi refers also to the statement of Tizio referred to by Della Valle; assumes erroneously that the fresco referred to by Tizio is the one referred to in the first sentence of this study; and draws therefrom the conclusion that Simone went to Avignon in 1335.

The weight of modern argument is then to the effect that Simone went to Avignon before 1339, probably in 1336 or 1337. It is the purpose of this study to reënforce this conclusion, and to make it somewhat more precise.

The career of Simone in Italy can be traced with fair continuity until 1335. The period 1336–39 has been unaccounted for by the students of Simone, except by those who would place the Assisi frescoes within that period. The only reason they have for so doing is that this undated work might well be supposed to have been done during a period not otherwise accounted for.

[1] F. A. Wulff, "La Prima Crisi del Petrarca sulla Fine dell'Anno 1336," *Rivista d'Italia*, VII (1904), ii, 102, 103.

[2] G. De Nicola, "L'Affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone," *L'Arte*, IX (1906), 343.

[3] A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* (Milan, 1907), V, 619.

The recent discussions of Supino and Kleinschmidt,[1] taken together, indicate, however, that earlier arguments to the effect that the Assisi frescoes were done after 1328 are invalid; that their style is not that of Simone's work of 1333 and later; and that there is specific reason for thinking them done before 1322.

The period after 1335 remains, then, unaccounted for; and the contrast between the ample documentation of Simone's presence in Italy prior to 1336 and the absence of such documentation for 1336 and later years makes it strongly probable that Simone left Italy in or soon after 1335.

It is to be noted, in connection with the argument based upon the two Petrarch sonnets, that Petrarch could not have met Simone in Italy at any time between Petrarch's enamorment and his departure for Italy late in December, 1336, since he did not enter Italy between those events. The assumption that the portrait and the sonnets are subsequent to Simone's arrival in Avignon is therefore justified.

Mr E. H. Wilkins, by further development of the line of argument already used by Wulff, shows in a forthcoming study that the two sonnets were composed at least as early as August, and probably as early as July, 1336.[2]

This result in turn bears directly upon the date of Simone's arrival in Avignon. It is indeed probable enough that the composition of the sonnets followed at once upon Petrarch's reception of the portrait; but we may safely assume that obligation to the Pope kept Simone completely busy for some time after his arrival. We may conclude with assurance that Simone's arrival occurred at least as early as July, and probably as early as June, 1336.

By combining this result with the initial knowledge that Simone was in Siena at some time in 1335, we have the conclusion that Simone left Siena for Avignon in 1335, or within the first seven months, probably within the first six months, of 1336.

In reaching this conclusion I have not utilized the argument based on the statement of Tizio: for even if that statement is correct, it seems to me unsafe to infer that only one Cardinal passed through Siena on the way to Avignon in the period in question.[3]

[1] I. B. Supino, *La Basilica di San Francesco d'Assisi* (Bologna, 1924), pp. 164–167; B. Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi* (Berlin, 1926), II, 263 ff. Simone's activity in Italy is attested in each of the years 1315, 1317, 1320, 1322, 1324–1330, 1332, 1333, 1335: see Milanesi and van Marle, *passim*.

[2] Students of Petrarch concerned with the dating of these sonnets have in general been misled, ultimately by Milanesi, into the assumption that they were necessarily of 1339 or later: see Ruth S. Phelps, *The Earlier and Later Forms of Petrarch's Canzonniere* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 74, 75.

[3] This study was suggested to me by Mr E. H. Wilkins, President of Oberlin College, to whom I am indebted for help in preparing it for publication.

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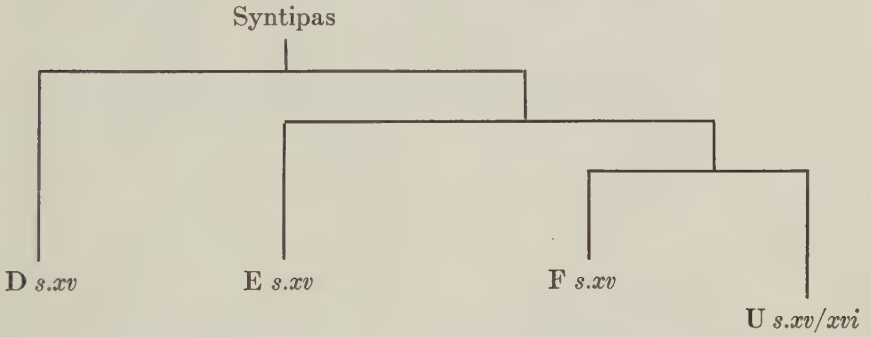
THE URBANA MANUSCRIPT OF SYNTIPAS

In 1921 the University of Illinois purchased from Miss Alpha L. Owens of Ithaca, N. Y., a MS. of Syntipas, the provenience of which was unknown. Since Syntipas is one of the few *Weltbücher;* since MSS of this particular version are rare;[1] since this MS. is probably not without value for the constitution of the text; and since European scholars have been known to complain, with some measure of justice, that a MS. or a work of art was apt to be lost entirely to science once it was carried to America, a brief description and partial collation is offered herewith.

The MS. (which we shall call *U*, with the call-no. *181.5 Sy 7c*) is an octavo, on unusually fine, glossy paper, 70 leaves, 16.5 × 13.8 cm., *saec. xv–xvi*. It contains the version called *R* (= *Retractatio*) by Jernstedt and Nikitin and belongs to the line of tradition represented by *E F* (called *B V* by Boissonade and Eberhard), being closely related to *F* but not derived from it, as a glance at the respective lacunae will show. The stemma is, therefore, probably something like this:



That *U* is not without value as an aid in establishing the text is clear from the number of excellent readings which it offers. When one considers, however, the extremely large number of grotesque errors of all kinds, initacism, breathings, accents, punctuation, etc., it is clear that our MS. is a copy of an excellent archetype by an unusually ignorant and careless scribe, who could not have introduced so many correct readings as his own corrections.

[1] Only three have been ever collated (by Fr. Boissonade, Paris, 1828, and Alb. Eberhard, Leipzig, 1872), and Krumbacher, *Byz. Lit.*[2] 893, knew of but one more, *Cod. Marc. 605* (supposed to be closely related with *F*). Even the authors of the latest and very elaborate critical edition, K. Jernstedt and D. Nikitin, "Mich. Andreopuli Liber Syntipae," *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sci. de St Petersbourg* XI, 1 (1912), make no mention of any but the three utilised by their predecessors.

We may first list the more noteworthy and plausible emendations of Boissonade, Eberhard,[1] and others, which are confirmed by *U*. References are to page and line of the Jernstedt-Nikitin edition:

Page line				
15, 20	κατέλιπεν	confirms Boissonade's emendation,		
33, 31	ἐπηρώτησε	"	"	"
34, 26	ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου	"	"	" (so Π).[2]
37, 24	καταλείψει	"	"	"
37, 28	the adjectives are divided as Cassel and DuCange had conjectured.			
39, 40	καί τις	confirms Val. Schmidt's emendation.		
44, 24	ἵστασο	"	Boissonade's	"
48, 24	ὀσπιτῖω	"	"	"
51, 32	σκοτίας	"	"	"
62, 27	οὕτως	"	Jernstedt-Nikitin's	"
64, 18	ἀγαπητικότερον	"	Boissonade's	" (–ώτερον). (Here in J.-N. the readings of the text and the apparatus should change places.)
64, 21, 29	ὀρχέων	confirms Boissonade's emendation (with regard to the accent, although the breathing is wrong).		
66, 25	ὀσπίτιον	confirms Boissonade's emendation.		
68, 14	ὀσπίτιον	"	DuCange's and Boissonade's emendation.	
70, 17	θρύμματος	"	Eberhard's emendation.	
71, 20	ἔσται	"	"	"
71, 27	om. δορυφόρον	"	Boissonade's (Eberhard's) emendation.	
27, 24	τὴν δοῦλον αὐτου after πέμψας	"	"	emendation against J.-N.
79, 25	om. second τὸ γάλα	"	Eberhard's	"
82, 25	om. καλῶς	"	"	"
87, 13	μηνύουσι	"	Boissonade's	"
111, 14	ἐκπομπευθῆναι	"	"	"
123, 12	καὶ before σοφόν	"	"	"
126, 22	μυσαρὰ	"	"	"
126, 23	ἀλαζονεῖαν	"	Eberhard's	" (–εἰαν)

In addition to these almost certainly correct readings there are a good

[1] These first editors made a great many superfluous suggestions and emendations. I here consider only those which are recorded by Jernstedt and Nikitin as being especially plausible.

[2] This symbol is used by Jernstedt and Nikitin for the older redaction.

many others that deserve consideration, some of which may very possibly be right. They are:

P. 15, l. 30, τι κατὰ; 20, 29, προσήνεγκεν; 23, 27, διέτριβεν; 30, 24, τοιοῦτον; 34, 22, κατώκτειρε (i.e., κατῴκ–), as in Π; 35, 22, πέπονθεν, as in Π; 38, 30, αὐτῆς, as in Π; 40, 24 ἔλεγεν; 41, 28, τυγχάνουσιν; 47, 33, σινδόνος ἢ ἐφαπλώματος; 50, 26, μερτικά; 50, 34, γέγονεν; 51, 16, σκεπασματα ῥούχου; 64, 17, φησίν; 64, 18, ἐστίν; 65, 16, μηδὲν (with *E*, Boissonade, Eberhard); 65, 16, om. νῦν, as in Π; 67, 17, εἶπεν; 68, 3, γεγραμμένον; 68, 22, ἐβόησεν; 72, 20, δρομαῖος; 75, 19, ἀπεκρίθην; 75, 32, ἦσθα, as in Π; 82, 20, υἱόν, as in Π; 84, 17, καρτέρησον; 84, 22, ἦν; 86, 24, ἀπ' αὐτῶν; 86, 25, λέγει αὐτῇ (–ῇ); 97, 20, ὠφελίμου (except for the false breathing); 98, 20, συνήντησα, with the first hand of *F* only; 108, 22, πορτάριον; 108, 23; 109, 12, and 15 ἀλώπεκος, as in Π; 115, 12 ὀσπιτίω; 115, 15, ὀσπιτίου; 115, 12, τρέφειν τρυφεροῖς βρόμασι (for βρωμ–); 124, 21, χαίρουσιν; 126, 16, εἶπεν; 127, 24, βαρὺς (intended for βαρεῖς).

There is deposited in the Library of the University of Illinois a detailed collation of *U*, which is in the main the work of Miss Madden. It aims to include everything of importance except accents, breathings, iota subscript, capitalization, and punctuation. Many of the more notable direct and indirect agreements with *E F* and with *F* are recorded. This collation is of course available for lending to any interested scholar. An eleven-page summary of the more important readings, prepared by Mr Oldfather, is also contained in the collation-volume.

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THE SONG OF THE SOLDIERS OF MODENA

Domenico Comparetti, in his *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*,[1] has a long note on the origin of the song of the soldiers of Modena, assigned to the tenth century, which runs as follows:[2]

Vigili voce avis anser candida
Fugavit Gallos ex arce Romulea,
Pro qua virtute facta est argentea,
Et a Romanis adorata ut dea.

The tradition of a single goose, as Comparetti notes, goes back to Virgil's description of the shield of Aeneas (*Aen.*, viii, 655, 656):

Atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser
Porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat.

[1] Second ed., Florence: B. Seeber, 1896, p. 77, n. 2. Eng. tr. by E. F. M. Benecke, *Vergil in the Middle Ages* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1895), p. 298, n. 6.

[2] Du Meril, *Poésies Populaires Latines antérieures au XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1843), p. 269.

Servius knows only of one goose in Virgil. Describing the attack on the Capitol by the Gauls, he ends thus:

Tunc Manlius, custos Capitoli, Gallos detrusit ex arce, clangore anseris excitatus, quem privatus quidam dono Iunoni dederat: namque secundum Plinium nullum animal ita odorem hominis sentit.[1]

The peculiar powers of the Capitol Goose of scenting man from afar might have been known to the Middle Ages also through the encyclopaedic work of Isidore (*Orig.*, xii, 7, 72) and, for aught I know, may have crept into the Bestiaries. However, Isidore follows Servius word for word here.

Whence is derived the fancy suggested in the last two lines of the song? Comparetti cites the opinion of Massmann[2] that the legend probably arose from observing the moving figures on certain clocks, of which there was one in the Capitol. Massmann claims a Teutonic origin for the story. Graf's belief is also noted. Here the theory is brought forward that the story arose in Rome in the fourth and fifth centuries through a transformation of the ancient idea of the Capitol as the citadel of the Roman empire.[3] Comparetti himself believed that the legend was of Byzantine origin.

What is more natural than that we should seek for *one* source for all aspects of the legend? The so-called enlarged Servius has the following comment immediately after the Servian note on Virgil given above (Thilo and Hagen, II, 293, 26 f.):

Qua causa postea eo die quo hoc factum est, canes qui tunc dormientes non senserant, cruci suffigebantur, anserès auro et purpura exornati in lecticis gestabantur.

The geese[4] routed the Gauls and therefore[5] were given the honors due to victors.[6] The only essential difference between the story as told by the scholiast on Virgil and that in the song of the soldiers of Modena lies in the nature of these honors. Virgil supplies the *argenteus anser;* his commentator, the triumph in honor of the watchful guardians of the Capitol.

[1] G. Thilo and H. Hagen, *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur* (Leipzig, 1878–1881), II, 293. This comment is on line 652.

[2] Comparetti, *loc. cit.* The passage in Massmann's work (Kaiserchronik, III, 424, 425) I have not seen.

[3] A. Graf, *Roma nella Memoria e nelle Immaginazioni del Medio Evo* (2d ed., Turin: E. Loescher, 1923), p. 157.

[4] Plural in the addition to Servius.

[5] '*Pro qua virtute*' in the song of Modena; '*qua causa*' in the addition to Servius, the manuscript tradition of which goes back to the ninth century.

[6] The note from the enlarged Servius seems to refer to a mimic *triumphus.* The toga worn by the magistrates enjoying a triumph was of purple embroidered with gold. See Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, s. v. *purpura.* The tortured dogs would seem to add to the realism.

To a Christian reader of this gloss on Virgil the words *auro et purpura exornati in lecticis gestabantur* would very likely suggest a religious procession with an elaborately decorated image borne in front, and so the *odorata ut dea* of the song of the soldiers of Modena.

However there is no need, I think, to assume that the so-called enlarged Servius as the 'source' of this song. Servius's actual comment [1] on the line of Virgil referring to the 'silver goose' on the shield of Aeneas (655) may very well have caused the writer of the soldiers' song to create a new divinity for the Romans:

> Et satis prudenter argenteum anserem dixit: nam est epitheton est coloris et significavit rem veram. Nam in Capitolio in honorem illius anseris, qui Gallorum nuntiarat adventum, positus fuerat anser argenteus.

Here was left plenty of room for the imagination of the writer of the song to fill in as he pleased.

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GUILLAUME DE NOYON

In his memoir, published in 1891, on the Old-French version of Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae* Léopold Delisle calls attention as follows to an unknown lexicographer, Guillaume de Noyon, who is cited by Jean Daudin *ca.* 1378:

> A la fin de son prologue, le traducteur indique un certain nombre de livres d'histoires ou de fables. Aux lecteurs curieux de "savoir l'integument ou l'allégorie des fables," il recommande "le prieur de Saint Eloy, sur Ovide le Grant, et aussi Guillaume de Noyon, en ses Dérivations." Le prieur de Saint-Éloi est à coup sûr Pierre Bersuire . . . Quant aux Dérivations de Guillaume de Noyon, c'est un ouvrage dont personne n'a encore reconnu l'existence. Le nom de Guillaume de Noyon ne paraît figurer jusqu'ici dans aucuns des répertoires bibliographiques du moyen âge.[2]

If one may trust Chevalier's *Bio-Bibliographie* (1905), which cites only this passage, Guillaume de Noyon is still unknown; and, having discovered a copy of his *Derivations* some years ago in the Ambrosian, I feel justified in bringing it to the attention of lexicographers. The manuscript, *E. 12 inf.*, is of the thirteenth century and comes from Saint-Denis.[3] It begins (fol. 1r):

[1] Thilo and Hagen, II, 294, 21 f.

[2] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits* XXXIV (1891), 1, 286.

[3] "Iste liber est Sancti Dyonisii in Francia" appears in a fourteenth-century hand at the head of f. 58. Fol. 1 has in a later hand the heading: "Commentarius in Pricianum. Dictionarius Guiciani."

Incipit prologus in tabulam libri Guillelmi Noviomensis super derivationes magistri Hugonis. Quia librum Guillermi Noviomensis legentibus vel in eo studentibus dirivata a primitivis pleraque vocabula propter varietatem dirivacionis multiplicem reperire laboriosum erat et interdum difficile, idcirco presentem tabulam compilare placuit secundum ordinem alphabeti . . . .

Then follow (foll. 58r–92v):

Exceptiones Willelmi Noviomensis ex libris Prisciani sumptis glosulis ex libro rosarii magistri Uguccionis et in marginibus hinc inde appositis. Then (foll. 92v–96v) comes Hugutio *De accentu.*

The main treatise occupies foll. 96v–424v, beginning as follows:

Incipiunt derivationes magistri Uguitionis quibus Willelmus Noviomensis multa utilia multo studio et labore inseruit et adiecit paucis ademptis, initialium dictionum serie ordinata, habita discretione in literis secundum ordinem alfabeti.

Aala uxor Assur patris Recue in Paral. (i, 17); ligata, anxia, saxum.

Aaron interpretatur montanus vel mons fortis, mons fortitudinis, mons eorum cantor, quia thuribulum aureum accipiens in medio superstitum et interemptorum obvius stetit et ruinam mortis quasi quidam mons exclusit. Hic fuit frater Moysi. . . .

So the work goes on, with abundant quotations from Scripture and the Latin classics. The volume also contains Hugutio *De Physica* (fol. 424v) and *De Algorismo* (fol. 443), as well as (fol. 447) the *Dragmaticon* of William of Conches.[1]

The date of Hugutio, *ca.* 1200, and the age of our codex combine to place Guillaume de Noyon in the thirteenth century.[2] The comparison of the two sets of *Derivationes* must be left to the lexicographers, with the reminder that the commentators and continuators of Hugutio still remain to be studied.[3]

[1] To be added to the list of MSS of the *Dragmaticon* given by L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), I, 65.

[2] A Master Guillermus de Noyon appears at the University of Paris in 1284 (*Chartularium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, I, 603, no. 514).

[3] On Hugutio, see G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (Leipzig, 1888–1923), I, ch. 17. For the *Derivationes* of Walter of Ascoli, *ca.* 1229, see my paper in the *Mélanges Ferdinand Lot* (Paris, 1925), pp. 245–257.

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REVIEWS

JOHN REVELL REINHARD, *The Old French Romance of Amadas et Ydoine. An Historical Study.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1927. Pp. 218.

IN 1902 Gaston Paris called attention to Professor Warren's striking observation (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIII [1898] 344) that, in the progress from Arthurian romance to *roman d'aventure*, there arose in Old French a trilogy on the subject of love for a married woman:

> in *Tristan* a love unconstrained by personal morality or public opinion, in *Cligés* responding to the appeals of both (but the latter much more than the former), and settled according to the best private and public interests of all concerned in *Amadas et Idoine*.

Having recently edited the last-named story (see SPECULUM, I [1926,] 359), Mr Reinhard now offers us an interesting commentary on its sources and the background of mediaeval culture it reflects. While the preceding reference escaped his notice, his study is thoroughgoing and, on the cultural side at least, anything if not replete. Since he is dealing with a literary work on *fine amour*, one may express the hope that he will some day give us a discriminating analysis of that side of the romance.

As it is, he divides the story into a number of narrative themes, important among which are: 1. Love Sickness (and Madness), 2. Forced Marriage and Wedding-night Resistance, 3. Abduction and Rescue theme, 4. Divorce, 5. The Ring of Death, 6. the Squire of Low Degree, 7. The Test of Worth.

With the exception of 4 and 5 these are conventional topics in Old-French romance, and Mr Reinhard has brought together pertinent material in each case. To 1 is devoted an entire chapter, entitled "The Malady of 'Hereos'" and drawing to a considerable extent on Mr J. L. Lowes' well-known article. Mr Reinhard is judicious in making a distinction between the *folie* and the *maladie* of love, and in pointing out that the frenzy of Cuchulain and the madness of Ivain are antecedents of the *foursenerie* of Amadas, without necessarily being sources: by 1200 the madness motif had become a commonplace. One should consider, however, that the idea is suggested in the *Folie Tristan* (Mr Reinhard appropriately quotes from the *Prose Tristan*); possibly it was in the lost *Estoire*, which, together with other romances (see Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, p. 136 and Bédier, *Tristan par Thomas*, I, 342, note 2) was acquainted with the 'conceit' of the power of the beloved's name. Note also the passage in *Claris et Laris* (Gaston Paris, *Hist. Litt.* XXX, 130), from which I extract the following:

Li nons de sa tres douce ami
. . . . . .
Li ramaine le cuer a point.[1]

To be sure, Mr Reinhard thinks (p. 43) that Gaston Paris exaggerated the indebtedness of the *Amadas* to the *Tristan* of Thomas; but compare now v. 694:

Ma vie est en vous et ma mort

with Bédier, *op. cit.*, 258 (and v. 1061):

Isolt ma drue, Isolt m'amie,
En vus ma mort, en vus ma vie;

an idea that Thomas took[2] from the *Disciplina Clericalis* (Exemplum ii) by Petrus Alphonsi:

Aeger [the sick man in love] vero, adspecta hac, ait: "Ex hac est mihi mors et in hac est mihi vita."

As for the *maladie*, there are two elements to distinguish, difficult as that may be: namely, the Ovidian and the medical. To Mr Reinhard's Ovidian references should be added the articles by Foster E. Guyer, *Romanic Review* XIII (1921), on "The Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes," not only because of their intrinsic worth but because they will make clear that only in the *Charrete* does Crestien uphold extra-conjugal love (in subservience to Marie de Champagne), whereas in all his other works Crestien champions the view, which is also that of *Amadas et Ydoine*, that love and marriage go hand in hand. Furthermore, the use of Ovid, so vividly stated by Honorius of Augsburg (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* CLXII, 1086), may reach back to Wace (see the passage on *oisdive* in *Brut*, vv. 11021 ff., and compare its use by Crestien as shown in *Mod. Phil.* XI, 1914, 456–457) and to Geoffrey of Monmouth; see also the related idea in the *Imram Brain* (ed. Kuno Meyer, I, 14):

Do not fall on a bed of sloth,
Let not thy intoxication overcome thee.

In short, the imitation of Ovid is, I believe, earlier and goes deeper than we yet realize.

On the other hand, the medical aspect proper, mentioned twice in *Amadas* (v. 317 and v. 1955), appears in definite form, for the Middle

[1] Mr Reinhard mentions the parallel from the *Vita Merlini*, but does not quote it. See now the excellent edition of J. J. Parry, Urbana, 1925, v. 210 ff.:

Et gemit ad nomen motus pietate sororis
Uxorisque simul mentis ratione recepta,

which contains the essential idea.

[2] See Alfons Hilka, *Zeit. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLV (1917), 38.

Ages, in the *Disciplina Clericalis* (Exemplum ii), and this work influenced the *Tristan* of Thomas, as has been shown by Professor Hilka — a reference that again escaped Mr Reinhard. On p. 111 the latter calls attention to the "rôle of the physician, Fachtna," who attends Ailill in the Irish *Tochmarc Etaine;* but this feature appears to be peculiar to the Egerton MS.,[1] which, being of a late date, may also have been influenced by Petrus Alphonsi. In any event, the question is worthy of further study.

Under the heading 'Witchcraft and Faery' Mr Reinhard ably discusses 2, 3, and 5, mentioned above. As the *Amadas* is a genuine *roman d'aventure*, its author was of course guided by the tendency to be 'true to life' (realism in fiction); hence his toning-down of the supernatural and his use of divorce (4) as a literary device. Here a reference should have been made to the clear-cut treatment of the Abduction and Rescue theme by the late Gertrude Schoepperle (*op. cit.*, Appendix IV). What Mr Reinhard means by saying (p. 88): "the rape of Guinevere does not exist in Chrétien's *Conte de la Charrette* [sic]," is puzzling; certainly Guinevere is carried off by Meleagant after his combat with Kay. The Abduction theme is also present in the *Tristan*. Again, the *Amadas* gives what appears to be a much attenuated version of the theme, the distinctive feature of which is the Ring of Death (5). For this Mr Reinhard finds an analogue in a Magyar tale (p. 92). See, however, the ring in *Rigomer*, ed. Foerster, Dresden, 1908, p. 182. To be sure, the latter induces weakness, and not the semblance of death, but that is in agreement with the point which Jehan, author of the *Rigomer*, happens to be making.

The 'fight at the tomb,' so strongly reminiscent of the form of the Abduction theme known as the *Atre Perilos*, is also a possible argument in favor of Celtic provenience, considered not as an immediate but as an ultimate source. Here Mr Reinhard (see p. 122) is wisely cautious. Possibly the name *Idoine* offers a clue. I would call attention to the following details:

In *Meraugis*, Lidoine [according to the edition of Friedwagner, p. lxxxv, l'Idoine, "die Schmucke"] is, like Enide (see my article in *Mod. Phil.* XI, [1914], 6, note), the heroine of a Sparrow-hawk adventure; so is Ide, or Idain, the *amie* of Cardroian, in *Durmart le Gallois;* in *Claris et Laris* (see Gaston Paris, *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 130) the *amie* of Claris is Lidaine; in the *Vengeance de Raguidel*,[2] Ide, or Idain, is the flighty *amie* of Gauvain, the possessor again of a Sparrow-hawk. While the Latin *idonea* is doubtless the guiding 'conceit' in the use of the name, the possibility yet remains

[1] See Gaidoz in the *Kuno Meyer Miscellany*, 93. *Egerton 1782* is a fifteenth-century MS. Of course, the story, known in antiquity, is also recorded in Plutarch's Life of Demetrius (ch. 38); see Gaidoz, p. 94.

[2] On this name in the *Atre Perilos*, see Friedwagner, ed. *Raguidel*, p. cxciii.

that through the forms *Ide* and *Idain* the tale may ultimately go back to the widespread motif of the Fairy Mistress and her various lovers.

Taken all in all, I think the evidence supports Mr Reinhard's view that the Abduction theme in the *Amadas* points to an ultimate Celtic source.

F. M. Warren (*loc. cit.*) and Gaston Paris (*Furnivall Miscellany*, p. 386) dated the romance (roughly) as of the close of the twelfth century. Mr Reinhard places its composition at about 1220, "a convenient number of years after the battle of Bouvines." This seems plausible in view of the antecedents of the work and the reference to a 'mortal war.' Mr Reinhard accepts Paris' view that the poet was an 'Anglo-Norman'; yet a conservative view establishes only that the poet, like Marie de France, wrote in Old Francian, also known as Norman (see now Warnke, third edition of the *Lais*, p. lxxx), and to call him "an English writer" (p. 138) is quite hazardous. He was well versed in the code of chivalry; on this subject it would have been advisable to cite Roy Temple House, *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* (text, with introduction and notes), Chicago, 1918. One question of detail: on p. 27 it is inferred that the passage on *Nouvele* (the Virgilian 'Fama') derives from the *Aeneid*, probably through the medium of the *Eneas*. On this matter, see also *Mod. Phil.* XI (1914), 458 ff., and *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXIII (1908), 71. In the *Eneas* and the *Thèbes*, the Latin *fama* is translated by *fame;* in the *Brut* and the *Troie*, by *renomee;* in the *Erec* and Crestien generally, as in the *Amadas*, the translation is *novele* or *nouvele*. I believe, therefore, that while the *Amadas* poet knew his Virgil he also knew this motif as a commonplace of later Old-French romances.[1] Finally, any treatment of the Test of Worth (7) should, it appears, begin with the famous passage in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, IX, xiii, of which I quote the significant sentence:

> Nullius amorem habere dignabantur, nisi tertio in militia approbatus esset.

It seems superfluous to add that Mr Reinhard's study, in spite of several omissions and some needless lengths (see, especially, the Bibliography), is a valuable contribution to an important subject. The poet who wrote the *Amadas et Ydoine* lacked the psychological depth of a Thomas, but he is not without charm and glow, and he is close to "the society in which he himself lived." A mediaeval might have said that his *matière* and his *sens* are about identical.

[1] In Robert de Boron, *Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal*, v. 611, the reading is again:

> la renummee
> Ala par toute la contree.

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Sister Miriam Annunciata Adams, *The Latinity of the Letters of St Ambrose*, Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. XII. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1927.

The series of patristic studies published by the Catholic University of America should be of considerable service to students of Mediaeval Latin. The present volume is the twelfth of the series and the sixth devoted to the minute study of the style of the Latin Fathers. The merits of the scheme are obvious: the fourth-century Fathers have been much neglected both by classical and mediaeval scholars in favor of writers who show more startling peculiarities, like Arnobius and Tertullian at one end, and at the other, writers like Gregory of Tours who illustrate the decline of Latin into Romance. But ordinary mediaeval prose owes comparatively little to either school: if we except the Vulgate it is built chiefly on ordinary Christian Latin, such as that of Augustine and Ambrose — precisely the texts studied in these dissertations. It has been a matter of surprise to the writer in studying certain mediaeval authors to find how many unclassical words used are quoted in the dictionaries chiefly or only from Ambrose — while the deficiencies of dictionaries in respect to Ecclesiastical Latin are notorious (though Georges seems to have gone through Ambrose fairly thoroughly). Hence such studies as these are doubly welcome.

On the other hand they are likely to show certain defects. Even accomplished scholars are wont at times to lose their bearings in the vast uncharted waters of patristic Latin. For a young student the venture is fraught with peril. Again, in the case of Ambrose, where the Vienna Corpus fails us, we have to be content with the uncritical and vilely printed text of Migne; so that any work necessarily rests on shaky foundations — what seems a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον may turn out to be simply a false reading, or even a misprint (particularly in the *reprinted* volumes). Above all, such work may degenerate into mere cataloguing; even this, of course, is of value as a basis for later syntheses — but the catalogue must be exhaustive and preferably cover a field wide enough to admit of safety in generalization.

While the above merits are manifest in the present work, some of the defects are also present. One would like to see the conclusions drawn by the author as to Ambrose's place among his contemporaries, his relation to predecessors and successors, the sources of his Latinity, his debt to the schools, to the Vulgate, and to the ordinary Latin of his day. It would appear that Ambrose is much more conservative than, for instance, the African writers (including Augustine), and that where his style is unclassical, this is due to the influence of the Latin Bible, or of contemporary usage. This would naturally follow from his career and training. His tendency to rhetoric is manifest even in the Letters, few of which are really in

epistolary style. (His love of rhetorical balance is shown by numerous examples — see, for instance, pp. 4, 5, and 6.) It is a pity nothing is here said of his *clausulae*.

The syntax is well and thoroughly dealt with, the author going through Ambrose's usage point by point —verb, noun, preposition, pronoun, etc. — but avoiding all broad generalizations. The results are disappointing as Ambrose offers little of striking interest. The section on the noun is more interesting; see, for instance, p. 22, § 5, on the growth of the use of *salus mei = salus mea*, etc. The following points of detail have occurred to me:

Page 11. It is questionable to explain, with Schmalz, Cicero's fondness for the perf. subjunctive in potential sentences by the influence of the Greek aorist.

Ibid., the use of *forte-fortasse* in 43.2 calls for remark.

Page 19 (*ad fin.*). The genitives in 2.31 and 2.13 need not be treated as synonymic.

Page 24. I much doubt the principle of the 'analogy of opposites.'

Page 45. *In Hieremia locutus est* may be translated 'in the person of H.' Cf. *in ansere* 18.5.

Page 46. *in triduo* provides a parallel to the phrase in Petronius 45.4, which is usually misunderstood or suspected.

Page 65. In the example 7.17 and 15.1 *sapientior* may perhaps be 'wiser (than the Three Children),' and *celerioris* 'too swift' (this, too, is rather strange).

In 64.108 *magis* is rather to be explained as on p. 71. In 77.7 *multo magis dives* is not simply — *multo divitior*. In 73.11 (*quo*) *plus* goes with *probaretur*.

Page 83. In Petronius, at least, *quod* in the use mentioned usually (always ?) takes the indicative.

With regard to vocabulary the lists need using with care: e.g., *adoptivu* is an adjective — a class. use: *topazion* is quoted from Pliny. *Vallestris* is an adjective. *Sanitas* occurs before Tertullian. *Flabra* is Virgilian. *Calamisstratus* is used in quite a classical way. *Odibilis* is in Accius (should not *specialis* be added?) *Malesanus* is practically two words. *Subditicius* and *omnifariam* occur before Tertullian.

Perhaps by a closer scrutiny the lists could be extended. In 16.4 alone, *ablevo* seems unique; so too *feriatus* (a noun?), and *hereditas* (='heirs'). So in 16.5 *longaevitas* (a favorite word of A.) should be mentioned, while *canities animi*, a remarkable phrase is, I think, taken from Claudian.

Misprints occur at p. 65 *Origenes* (76.1), p. 104 *diabolus*, p. 117 *Arianorum* (2.28): 44.11 should be 44.9; *navales, novales; mutatina, matutina*.

On the same page *deargentatus* is not listed, p. 118 (28.5 *med.*) *quaesti* should be *questu*. Page 120 (76.4) *haeredis*, p. 124 *Epidiorthosis*. Apollinaris Sidonius twice occurs as two persons (pp. 18, 31).

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L. F. Salzman, *English Life in the Middle Ages*, London: Oxford University Press, 1926. Pp. 287.

Salzman's *English Life in the Middle Ages* is a taking little book, handsomely bound, and printed on heavily clayed paper in order better to show the beautiful and unusually well-chosen illustrations, — over a hundred of them, — for the most part miniatures from famous English, French, and Flemish MSS. It is a superior sort of textbook, and a good popular introduction to the Middle Ages. For those who wish to attain fuller knowledge the author has provided a well-chosen but very brief (one and a half pages) bibliography. But he could have helped them further and not have lessened the popular appeal of his work by indicating in an unobtrusive way the text and line for his citations. For example, many a reader might want to look up the original of the attractive poem about "milking ducks," quoted on p. 137. It is only for the cuts that he gives specific sources. Salzman's own scholarship, of course, does not need this evidence, for his *Mediaeval Byeways*, *English Industries in the Middle Ages*, and *England in Tudor Times* have already demonstrated this.

The twelve chapters after the introduction describe country, town, and home life, the church, education, literature, art and science, warfare, law, industry, women, and wayfaring in a fresh and lively manner. The language is possibly a bit careless at times (pp. 171, 198, 237). Salzman is so sympathetic with the people whom he is describing that he seems even to approve their treatment of what we call the harmless, necessary middleman or retailer, and they the reprehensible "regrator" (p. 242). In general it would be hard to find a similar work so comprehensive, so well informed, and so free from errors. Yet one might query whether as a rule, in spite of the incessant affirmation to that effect, people really slept naked (p. 104), whether villeins became priests so easily (p. 112), whether the *Pearl* is so entirely French in its description of nature (p. 158), whether Lord Berners' translation of Froissart is florid (p. 166), and whether castle moats were usually filled with water (p. 208). There is no need of quarrelling with the little Bibliography, but the following might well have been added: Miss Bateson's *Mediaeval England*, Addy's *Evolution of the English House*, one of the late books on English castles, and W. H. Schofield's *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Elizabeth*.

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Erika von Ehrhardt-Siebold, *Die Lateinischen Rätsel der Angelsachsen* (Anglistische Forschungen, Vol. LXI), Heidelberg: Winter, 1925. Pp. 276.

That a remarkable change in the study of the Middle Ages, in respect both to quantity and to purpose, has occurred during the last decade is apparent to the most superficial observer. Some twelve years ago I chanced upon Bendixen's tiny edition of Hrotsvita's plays, and, being charmed by the work of that learned lady, amused myself by translating several of her bloody comedies. There were then no English editions or translations; since then, at least three separate English translations have appeared. Later, turning my attention to Aldhelm's curious riddles, I found that the riddle as a mediaeval literary form presented an almost unsurveyed field; but already Dr Erhardt-Siebold, in a minute and interesting study, has given a vigorous start to the exploration. Outwardly, her book appears a rather elaborate sorting of the subjects of a number of Latin riddles of pre-Conquest England, with careful discussion of each object, creature, and idea; but, as the author tells us in her introduction, this array of fact is presented solely for its value in enabling us to understand more clearly the culture of Anglo-Saxon England. In general, the reader finds such application easy enough to make as he reads, but rather regrets that no attempt has been made to draw a comprehensive picture in conclusion. Yet perhaps the author is right: she feels that this study should be considered as only a fragmentary beginning in the field of *Kulturgeschichte*, and so refuses to exercise her imagination upon what she regards as insufficient data. At any rate, the last sentence of the introduction presents her attitude:

> Die vorliegende kulturhistorische Untersuchung will nichts weiter als Prolegomena sein; ihr fragmentarischer Charakter, ihre Vermischung von Wort- und Sacherklärung möge in dieser Einschränkung eine Entschuldigung finden.

The purpose somewhat limits the necessary scope of the book. Purely imitative writers would be of little value; hence the field narrows at once to the work of Aldhelm, Tatwine, and Eusebius (*dieser auch nur in zweiter Linie*), two hundred riddles in all. But the variety of subjects treated in these two hundred short poems is bewildering; tools, utensils, weapons, and domestic plants and animals mingle with sacred vessels and the full-voiced organ and blaring trumpet, with lions, tigers, elephants, and other exotic creatures, with fabulous Scylla and the Minotaur, and other monsters and wonders of antiquity. Not the least interesting trait of these riddles is their occasional evidence of the writer's keen observation of Nature: to find Aldhelm vividly picturing a caterpillar and its cocoon, or our familiar fourfooted, darting water-boatman is a pleasant surprise.[1] For its variety

[1] The statement (p. 241), *Die Rätsel bieten keine wichtigen naturwissenschaftlichen . . . Erkenntnisse* is not contradictory: *naturwissenschaftlich* obviously refers to knowledge of natural laws.

and its naïveté, riddle-literature is the right sort of material to use in reconstructing a former culture — often far better than more formal literature. Dr Ehrhardt-Siebold brings order out of the confusion by sorting the subjects under the headings *Unbelebtes*, *Belebtes*, and *Ideengeschichtliches*, with many subdivisions, and systematically treats each subject in order, considering matters of source, etymology, and interpretation. To this work she brings wide reading and acute judgment. Her discussion of *pugillares* (pp. 63 ff.) is a contribution in itself. The pretty reason why the riddlers specify three fingers for the use of the pen and the sling-shot provides another interesting passage (p. 73); and the notes on silk and the silkworm (pp. 214–220) are particularly good. There are many such, usually handled adequately and well. Three indexes make the material readily accessible, and the eleven pages of bibliography greatly add to the value of the book.

Through all the intricacies of detail, the author never forgets that her purpose in analyzing the riddles is to add to our knowledge of the mind and manners of the time of their production. Often, of course, the reader is left to his own resources, but a single example will serve to show how cleverly Dr Ehrhardt-Siebold sometimes picks out the one significant detail from the welter of minor matters. Aldhelm's riddle, *Caecus Natus* (no. 85), runs as follows:

> Iam referam verbis tibi, quod vix credere possis,
> Cum constet verum fallant nec frivola mentem.
> Nam dudum dederam soboli munuscula grata,
> Tradere quae numquam poterat mihi quislibet alter,
> Dum Deus ex alto fraudaret munere claro,
> In quo cunctorum gaudent praecordia dono.

Dr Ehrhardt-Siebold comments thus:

> Bei Aldhelms Blindenrätsel verstehe ich das Geschenk, welches der Blinde seinem Nachkömmling macht, trotzdem er es selbst nicht besitzt und nicht bekommen kann, wenn Gott es ihm vorenthielt, als *lucem* schlechthin = Augenlicht, nicht als *lucem* = *vitam*, wie Ehwald annimmt. Die Angelsachsen haben also dem Begriff der Erblichkeit schon nachgedacht und angenommen, dass sich Blindheit nicht zu vererben brauchte.

'Hence the Anglo-Saxons must already have considered the question of heredity. . . .' Such a statement takes us deep into the mind of a people, and may truly be called a contribution to *Kulturgeschichte*.

James Hall Pitman,
Indiana University.

Alexander Cartellieri, *Weltgeschichte als Machtgeschichte, 382–911, die Zeit der Reichsgründungen* (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1927. Pp. xvi, 398. Unbound, 18.50 M.; bound, 20 M.

The author of this interesting volume undertakes to portray universal history as the story of Power or Might during the significant era of the founding of new kingdoms out of the territories once ruled by Rome. He deals primarily, therefore, with middle, western and southern Europe and the Mediterranean world generally, including North Africa and the Near East.

Discarding entirely the traditional epochs of Ancient, Mediaeval and modern History, Cartellieri seeks rather to envisage events from the distinct and definite viewpoint of Might, for he declares the struggle for power to be an eternally unchanging characteristic of human experience.

The Roman Empire is naturally the point of departure — the necessary prerequisite for subsequent events in the lands already mentioned. Its dissolution is indicated, the author points out, not by that vague period ordinarily referred to by the term "the wandering of the nations," but by a specific event, namely the compact made by Theodosius I with the Visigoths on October 3, 382. For this act marks the transition from mere settlements of the Germans to the founding of kingdoms. The Visigoths preserved their national characteristics, their laws, and their Arian faith; their only obligation to Rome was that of military service for the Emperor, particularly the duty of guarding the frontiers against the incursions of barbarian hordes. Hence the Roman Empire betrayed in this very arrangement its weakness and its approaching dissolution.

With this as a beginning, Cartellieri takes up in chronological sequence the establishment of the various Germanic states of the West and those of the Arabs in the East, calling particular attention to the persistence of the Eastern Roman Empire in the face of these new powers, and to the continuation of the Roman idea of empire in the papacy.

The content of the work is subdivided in four books under the following heads: I, The Germanic Foundings of Kingdoms (382–611); II, The Arabian Kingdoms and the Rise of the Frankish Kingdom (611–774); III, The Great Kingdom of the Franks (774–843); IV, The Downfall of the Great Kingdoms of the Franks and of the Arabs (843–911).

The author indicates in his preface that his one purpose as a historian has been to point the way through the secondary literature to the original sources. Accordingly his brief footnotes, in which he cites authorities for every statement of fact, consist of references to the modern historical literature rather than to source material. There is, however, a full bibliography (pp. xvii–xxvi) which includes editions of the sources, general historical works, special monographs and periodicals. The book contains also

a complete index of proper names (pp. 379–396) and two genealogical tables.

As might be expected in a history which finds its *leitmotif* in the concept of power, the book contains striking pictures of individual embodiments of the quality of leadership: the heroic figures of Alaric, Theodoric and Charles the Great dominate the whole work. If Cartellieri carries out his expressed intention of supplementing this volume by an account of later times, we may confidently look for a similar exaltation of Frederick Barbarossa, Charles V and Napoleon I. "*Männer machen die Geschichte*," says Cartellieri, "*aber die Geschichte macht auch Männer*." In his retrospect at the close of the work (pp. 377–378), the author again calls attention to the great men of action whose achievements in large measure supply the theme of his first three books: first the founders of the Germanic kingdoms, then Attila, Justinian, Omar, Leo the Isaurian, Charles Martel, Pepin and Charles the Great. He adds that in the period from 843–911, a time when such leaders were most desperately needed in view of the three great scourges of the ninth century, the incursions of the Saracens, the Northmen and the Hungarians, there were no outstanding men of this type, and that for this very reason the events recorded in his last book are on a distinctly lower plane. Cartellieri finds the most significant cause for the dissolution of the great empires of the West and of the East in the exhaustion of the powers of the Franks and of the Arabs: he holds that races, like individuals, are in danger of exerting themselves too much. Of these last days he says (p. 378): "*Nicht Macht ist noch das Stechwort, sondern Ohnmacht*"!

Cartellieri believes that history can be raised to the rank of a science only by admitting no statements that are not susceptible of proof by being referred, immediately or mediately, to the sources. Furthermore it has been his aim — as he states explicitly in the preface — to conceal rather than to enlarge upon his own personal investigations and contributions to knowledge. He has succeeded in producing a very clear and readable account of one of the most involved and perplexing periods of history.

While stressing the separate states that arose successively or simultaneously on the soil of the Roman Empire, the author, nevertheless, gives a unified account and never loses sight of great underlying tendencies which are valid for all times and peoples. He credits Theodosius I (whom he, nevertheless, begrudges the title of "the Great") with having discovered that Germans can be held in check only by Germans (p. 5); he points out that the true significance for universal history of Alaric's sack of Rome lies in the fact that Germans have conquered the capital of the people that had hitherto ruled the world (p. 21); the kingdom of the Visigoths in southern Gaul is notable as the first that deserves the name (p. 25); Aëtius teaches

the world that separate Germanic tribes may stifle private feuds and unite against a common foe — in this case the Huns — in defence of their western inheritance against the aggression of Asia (p. 34); Odovacar's lasting contribution is the creation of a Romano-Germanic Italy (p. 41); the Eastern Roman Empire appreciably facilitates the undisturbed development of the Germanic Kingdoms by serving as a bulwark for the Christian Occident against invasions from the East (p. 187).

Particular attention is called to the fact that the various Germanic leaders devoted their efforts not to mere destruction but to the preparation of a habitable abode for their people upon the ruins of the Empire. They were ready to adopt the Roman culture without a fear that their native manner of life might suffer thereby. Their aim was a synthesis of the Germanic *Wehrstand* with the Roman *Lehrstand*. "*Das Vorbild blieb immer das eine Reich und die eine Kirche, die sich in einer höheren gottwohlgefälligen Einheit verschmolzen*" (p. 239). This, of course, is completely true only in the case of the great kingdom of the Franks in the days of its mighty ruler Charles the Great. Cartellieri leads up to this period (774–843) as to the outstanding example of *Machtgeschichte*, the one which, after four hundred years of vicissitudes in the rise and fall of kingdoms, offered at least the chance of a certain permanency (p. 189). The third book of his history, "*Das Fränkische Grossreich*," is perhaps the most notable section of the entire work. The author states (p. 85) that any investigation into the roots of existing state relations will inevitably lead one back to the achievements of the Carolingians. And again (p. 177) he remarks that while we know nothing whatever of the personality of Pepin, his deeds form the foundation of modern Europe.

Cartellieri writes in a clear and pleasing style, and his work contains many a memorable turn of expression which lends distinction and charm to his book as literature. It may be of interest to illustrate by quoting a few characteristic sentences:

Nur allzu leicht vergessen Menschen, die sich des bequemen Lebens in wohlgeordneten bürgerlichen Verhältnissen erfreuen, welcher Ströme von Blut es bedurft hat, um die aus der menschlichen Natur stürmisch herausdrägenden Triebe zu bändigen und der allgemeinen Wohlfahrt unterzuordnen. Deshalb ist es auch späteren Zeiten oft schwer geworden, die Männer der germanischen Reichsgründungen gerecht zu beurteilen (p. 73). Sein Wollen war stärker als sein Vollbringen (of Dagobert, p. 107). Wie fern liegt dem geistlichen Hirtenamt die Befestigungskunst! (p. 134). Das heilige Öl ersetzte das fehlende Königsblut (p. 152). Gemeinsamer Hass hat viele Bündnisse der Weltgeschichte gekittet (p. 173). Das bessere Recht in Freiheitskampfe ruhte hier wie sonst auf der Spitze des schwertes (p. 192). Es würde kaum zu beweisen sein, dass die christliche Kriegsführung menschlicher war als die heidnische (p. 195). Ruhe wäre germanischen Kriegern unerträglich erschienen (p. 200). Die germanischen Fürsten seit Alarich konnten sich wohl alles zutrauen (p. 225). Nicht nach dem Gesetz des inneren Zusammenhangs

entwickeln sich die Schicksale der Staaten (p. 227). Er hatte nichts gelernt und nichts vergessen (of Louis the Pious, p. 259). Ideen gehören zu den Giften oder Heilmitteln, die langsam wirken (p. 298). Jeder Karolinger traute es sich zu, ein neuer Karl der Grosse zu sein (p. 327). Durch die Geschichte dieser Zeit läuft ein Blutstrom (p. 375).

The typographical work is good and there are surprisingly few misprints. A careful reading has disclosed but three in the entire book: *dei* for *die*, p. 55; *gcneigt* for *geneigt*, p. 80; *Haupst* for *Haupt*, p. 174.

The reviewer feels constrained to admit a certain personal dissatisfaction with a book that so frankly exalts the purely physical element of force to the practical exclusion of other no less important aspects of human development in the course of the ages. Nevertheless "*Weltgeschichte als Machtgeschichte*" is a distinct contribution to the historical literature of the period with which it deals.

Charles Christopher Mierow,
Colorado College.

Donald Maclean, *The Law of the Lord's Day in the Celtic Church*, Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1926.

The subject of Dr Maclean's study is the Irish treatise known as the *Cáin Domnaig*, or "Law of the Lord's Day." The *Cáin* is accompanied in various manuscripts by the so-called "Epistle of Jesus on the Observance of the Lord's Day" — the *Epistil Isu* — and by three *exempla*, or illustrative anecdotes, which describe the divine punishment visited upon transgressors of the law. All three Irish texts have been published: the *Epistil Isu*, by Mr J. G. O'Keeffe in *Eriu* II, 193 ff. (with an English translation); the *Exempla*, by Kuno Meyer in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* III, 228 ff.; and the *Cáin*, by Mr O'Keeffe in the *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* III, 23 ff. In the volume under review Dr Maclean has printed the first translation of the *Cáin*, together with a discussion of its date and its relation to the Sunday law in other countries. He has not published the Irish text, which is somewhat to be regretted, since he had at his disposal an unprinted copy in *MS. XL* of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Even a list of the variant readings in the Edinburgh manuscript, though Dr Maclean says they are only orthographical, might have been of some use in establishing the text of what is a difficult piece of technical legal prose. Without knowledge of his exact original it is not possible to control his translation, which corresponds, however, very closely to the text printed by O'Keefe in the *Anecdota*.

Both the *Cáin* and the *Epistil* have been shown by the editors, on the evidence of language, to belong to the Old-Irish period. There is also external testimony that both were current in Ireland in the ninth century.

The *Annals of Ulster*, under the year 886, record that "an Epistle came with the pilgrim to Ireland with the *Cáin Domnaig* and other good instructions." And in the first half of the same century the *Epistil*, substantially in its Irish form, if not actually in the Irish language, was apparently known to a certain Pehtred, a priest in the diocese of York. Between 830 and 837 Pehtred was accused by Egred, bishop of Lindisfarne, of various heresies, among them false doctrines concerning the Sabbath and superstitious beliefs about visions of the other world attributed to an Irish Deacon, Niall. The probability of Pehtred's acquaintance with the *Epistil* was argued by Professor R. Priebsch in the *Otia Merseiana*, I, 140 ff., and in a later article (not noted by Dr Maclean) in the *Modern Language Review*, II, 138, Mr Priebsch made a careful comparison of the related texts in Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish. On the basis of the foregoing evidence it is safe to date the Irish *Epistil*, and probably also the *Cáin*, as early as the first half of the ninth century. Dr Maclean thinks they are older still, and he may be right. But he has not produced positive proof of his opinion. The reference to the *Cáin* which he cites from the *Félire Oengussa* would carry us back to the very beginning of the ninth century if it occurred in the *Félire* proper. But it is found in the commentary, which is of undetermined but later date. Certain verbal parallels, too, which have been noted in the *Epistil* and the *Félire*, though striking, hardly prove Oengus' knowledge of the Sunday tract. And Dr Maclean is surely not warranted in inferring from references to the apostolate rather than the primacy of St Peter, and from the mention of St Patrick as vice-regent of God, that the *Cáin* and the *Epistil* come from a period prior to the synod of Whitby (664).

In the matter of Celtic influence upon the Sunday laws of western Christendom Dr Maclean's claims are interesting and suggestive, but scarcely supported by the evidence he presents. By his own showing, the Sabbatarian observance of the Lord's day had progressed far in the time of Gregory the Great. It may of course be true that the Sunday laws of Ine of Wessex and of Charlemagne were due to Irish influence, transmitted in the one case by Aldhelm and in the other by Alcuin. Both these scholars were thoroughly imbued with the traditions and the practices of the Irish church. There is doubtless even a presumption in favor of Irish ecclesiastical influence both in Anglo-Saxon England and at the court of Charlemagne. But it would be interesting to determine, what Dr Maclean does not make clear, whether the Sunday regulations of Ine and of Charlemagne contain significant features which appear in the Irish *Cáin* and not in the laws of other peoples.

F. N. Robinson,
Cambridge, Mass.

MAURICE DEWULF, E. C. MESSENGER, trans., *History of Mediaeval Philosophy*. Vol. II. New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927.

AN extended notice and critical estimate of Volume I of M. de Wulf's *History of Mediaeval Philosophy* have already appeared in SPECULUM. It remains but to call the attention of scholars to the publication of the second volume of M. deWulf's most useful manual. This volume carries on the story of philosophy from the time of Thomas Aquinas to the end of the sixteenth century, emphasizing the conflicts of the fourteenth century, the influence of Avverhoism on the systems of the period, the break-up of Scholasticism and its division into warring schools. M. deWulf has made use of recent Scotist literature, and in particular the researches of Father Ephrem Longpré, to the extent that he has completely revised his original opinions on that much maligned thinker. He appreciates, too, the value to mediaeval philosophy of the views of that remarkable series of Franciscan philosophers, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, Scotus, Roger Bacon, and Roger Marston, to mention but a few. The new orientation given to historical studies by this deeper and truer estimate of the commanding rôle which Augustinianism played bids fair to change radically many of our ideas concerning the development of Scholasticism. There is much yet to be done in this field, to say nothing of that no less fertile field of Arabian philosophy. M. deWulf's volume reflects well and soundly the present state of opinion and research concerning Scholastic thought and can be recommended highly to all who are interested in the story of the progress of philosophical thinking. As a matter of fact, the field of the history of mediaeval philosophy is so vast and has been cultivated for such a short period that it need surprise no one to learn that much remains to be done, and that in several instances the opinions of deWulf will have to be reviewed and corrected in the light of the discoveries which are being made almost daily.

This reviewer, too, is cognizant of the fact that many competent critics disagree with the theory of a philosophical patrimony common to the Middle Ages put forth by deWulf as the connecting link of the systems of philosophy then current. But whatever the faults of details in this work, and however adverse one may be to deWulf's synthetic starting-point, few will dispute the value of the *History of Mediaeval Philosophy*, and fewer still should fail to express their gratitude for the work he has so well done.

JAMES H. RYAN,
The Catholic University of America.

W. W. Williams, and B. R. V. Mills, edd., *Select Treatises of S. Bernard of Clairvaux: De Diligendo Deo; De Gradibus Humilitatis et Superbiae.* Cambridge, England: University Press, 1926. Pp. xxiii + 169.

Of the eminence of St Bernard of Clairvaux there is no question. Indeed it is hard to say whether he was greater as scholar or administrator, greater as thinker or as saint. But there is one respect in which he is perhaps unique among mediaeval writers. Probably none other could be named whose works exist in such abundance in autograph or practically in autograph. The Clairvaux Library has been in great part preserved and is now housed in the Town Library of Troyes. In that collection are to be found a large number of twelfth-century manuscripts copied either under the immediate direction of St Bernard himself, or as the result of a movement of which he was the inspirer. The Troyes Collection was an object of much interest to the late Léon Dorez of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, himself a native of Troyes, who, if he had not been cut off in middle life, would have communicated to the world his great knowledge of these incomparable treasures. Happily a younger man, Dom André Wilmart, now of the Benedictine Abbey at Farnborough, England, and one of the greatest living patristic scholars, has felt the same passion, and has revealed to us some of the most valuable contents of the library.

It was a very happy idea of the two Anglican clergymen to edit in a way worthy of modern standards two of the most interesting works of St Bernard: the *De Diligendo Deo* and the *De Gradibus Humilitatis et Superbiae.* Their general introduction admirably sets forth the significance of St Bernard. They did wisely not to rely on the standard edition of his works by the great Mabillon, but to go straight to the manuscripts, since there are eighty-four readings in Mabillon's edition for which they have been unable to find any manuscript authority. Two Clairvaux MSS at Troyes (426 and 799, both of the twelfth century) are nearest to Bernard's autograph and they differ from the Benedictine text in 282 places. No. 799 appears to be a copy of No. 426. But the editors have not restricted themselves to the superlatively valuable testimony of this latter MS. They have also collated twenty-two other manuscripts, of which eleven belong to the twelfth century. Further, though this might seem in the circumstances a work of supererogation, they have used seven printed editions, from the Spires (Speier?) Edition of 1501 down to the Benedictine of 1690.

The result is a practically immaculate text. We venture to question only one reading, *percursum lancea* (*De Diligendo Deo*, C. 3), with reference to our Lord. It is true that in English we speak of 'running a man through the body,' but the true text here is surely *percussum;* (cf. 1 Reg. xx, 33: *et arripuit Saul lanceam ut percuteret eum;* Cicero, *Pro Milone*, 24, 65, *se gladio percussum esse;* and examples in Georges s. v. *percutio*, II, A 2 a).

The editors have quite rightly followed the orthography of the MSS. Students of Latin orthography in MSS can distinguish four stages: (*a*) what might be called the classical style, lasting down to about 570; (*b*) the Merovingian Stage, lasting from about 570 to about 780; (*c*) the Caroline Stage, 780 to about 1000; and (*d*) the late mediaeval stage, inaugurated in the eleventh or twelfth century, by whom it is not known, and which is exemplified by *nichil, michi, iccirco, spiritualis*,[1] and such forms. It is these last that Bernard uses.

The remainder of my space may be used to add certain notes or Biblical quotations or references, on the one hand, and some illustrations of the language, on the other. *Doctis et indoctis* (p. 8, l. 10); cf. Hor. Epist., II, l. 117; *quod ipse dabit* (p. 9, l. 3); Aug. *In Evang. Joh.* passim, e. g., 38, 1, *quod ipse donare dignatus est; preminere* (p. 12, l. 3) is a specially Augustinian word, e. g., *Conf., VI*, 9; *C. D.*, IV, 23, 3; VII, 23; *De Gen. ad Litt.*, IV, 14; X, 19; *Serm.*, 280, 6; 281, 1; *De. Bapt.*, II, 1, § 2; *Quaest. Hept.*, III, 84; *Epist.*, 28, 2; 33, 1; 126, 11; *De. Cont.*, 11; also two passages in Anti-Pelagian Writings (see C. S. E. L., LX, p. 704); *temporum decursorum* (p. 19, l. 8); Ambr. *Hexaem.*, V, 12, § 37, *decursi . . . nocturni temporis;* Aug. *De Cat. Rud.*, 11, 15, *decursis temporibus;* Rufin. *Hist.*, I, l. 1, *Tempora quae . . . decursa sunt;* Cyp. Gall. *Gen.*, 525, *decursa ob tempora*, etc. (see *Thes.*, V, p. 232, 73); *porro autem* (p. 19, l. 9) is especially Augustinian [see *Thes.*, II, 1593, ll. 43–49, and add *Epist.*, 187, 6, § 18; 200, 3; 148, 2; 185, 6, § 21; *Epist., ad Val. Com.*, § 3 (p. 210, 11, Urba and Zycha)], though also classical (e. g., Cic. *Rosc.* 39; cf. J. S. Reid on Cicero *De Finibus*, II, 25; *incentivis* (p. 21, l. 6) is Hieronymian (cf. Goelzer, p. 110); *aiens* (p. 23, l. 2) deserved a note; *in . . . comparatione* (p. 24, l. 17) is especially Augustinian [see *Novum Testamentum S. Irenaei* by Sanday, Turner, and Souter (Oxford, 1923), p. 97, on these alternative expressions]; *procul dubio* (p. 25, l. 6), is characteristically Augustinian, though Augustine uses also *sine dubio; inhianter* (p. 25, l. 8) is also Augustinian (*Conf.*, IX, 8; *Gen. ad Litt.*, XII, 30; *Epist.*, 147, 20; *Contra Faustum*, XV, 7; cf. also his constant use of *inhiare* with the dative; the mysterious *impresentiarum* (p. 25, l. 12) which the editors derive too confidently from *in presentiarum* doubtless comes to Bernard from Jerome, who alone among the great Fathers affects its use; *distrahit* (p. 40, l. 11) had for centuries before Bernard's time been a mere synonym for *vendere* (cf. Krebs-Schmalz, *Antibarbarus der Lateinischen Sprache*, I, s.v.). *Rogasti me, frater Godefride* (p. 76, l. 10) is modelled on the opening sentence of the *De catechizandis Rudibus, Petisti me, frater Deogratias, Fructum desidero* (p. 80, l. 4); cf. Phil., 4, 17; p. 83, 3; Gal., 5, 22, should also have been cited: p. 83, l. 9 and p. 84, l. 2, cf. 5, 12; 14: p. 85, 7; Iac.

[1] On the form *Spiritualis* for *Spiritalis*, cf. A. Souter, 'Miscellanea Latina,' *Raccolta di Scritti in Onore di Felice Ramorino*, Serie Quarta: VII (Milan, 1927), 286.

4, 6; 1 Pet. 5, 5: p. 92, l. 2, cf. 1 Thess. 4, 16: p. 98, l. 11, cf. Rom., 10, 10: p. 100, l. 21, cf. Matt. 7, 4: p. 103, l. 2, cf. Apoc., 3, 17: p. 106, l. 17–19, cf. Eph. 5, 27; p. 107, l. 10, cf. Cant., 5, 2: p. 108, l. 1, cf. 2 Cor., 12, 2.

For 'H. C. Rose' (p. vii) read 'H. J. Rose.' On p. viii, 'then' should precede the word 'Bodley's.' The book is charmingly produced.

J. P. Christopher
The Catholic University of America.

G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Mediaeval England, An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period* c. 1350–1450. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Pp. xviii, 381.

Of the valuable series of volumes on mediaeval life and thought which owe their inspiration to Dr Coulton, this is one of the most substantial and informing. Based upon extensive research in the sermon manuscripts, it contains fresh material alike for the religious and social historian, the ecclesiastical archaeologist, and the specialist in mediaeval literature. Probably its greatest importance is for those interested in the state of the English church in the age preceding the Reformation. Such sermons have been strangely neglected in England, in spite of excellent examples of their use by Continental scholars, yet they are worthy of all Dr Owst's labor, and more, for those who would understand the later Middle Ages. The thirteenth century saw a great revival of popular preaching in western Europe, especially at the hands of the Mendicant orders, and these preachers made free use of stories and references to contemporary life which are full of matter for the historian. Indeed one could wish that Dr Owst had begun his studies at least a century earlier, for any discussion of preaching which starts with 1350 must largely hang in the air. If the volume were less definitely focussed on the Lollard epoch, it might also quote more texts on the less specifically religious aspects of life.

Within its limits, however, the book is excellent and touches the principal aspects of the subject with scholarship and discrimination. First come the preachers, regular and irregular, then the "preaching scene," and last the sermons themselves — their various types, the manuals and treatises, and the processes of sermon-making. There are abundant extracts from the unprinted sermons, largely in English, and a number of plates and sketches in which the author has made good use of his own skilful pencil. We miss a list of the manuscripts cited, an adjunct of investigation which no such monograph should lack. We note that Dr Owst has used English libraries exclusively, and are led to wonder whether there may not be copies of English sermons on the Continent to offset the volumes of Paris sermons in various English libraries. University sermons (p. 259) are rare in England in this period, in contrast with thirteenth-century Paris.

Charles H. Haskins,
Harvard University.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

W. H. B. Bird, ed., *The Black Book of Winchester*, Winchester: Warren & Son, 1925.

A. Brandl and O. Zippel, edd., *Mittelenglische Sprach- und Literaturproben*, Neuausgabe von Mätzners *Altenglischen Sprachproben* mit Etymologischen Wörterbuch zugleich für Chaucer, Berlin: Weidmann, 1927. Review in preparation.

J. Dickinson, trans., *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, being the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the *Policraticus*, New York: Knopf, 1927.

J. S. Furley, ed., trans., *The Ancient Usages of the City of Winchester*, from the Anglo-French version preserved in Winchester College, with a glossary by E. W. Patchett, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

C. H. Grandgent, *From Latin to Italian*, an Historical Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of the Italian Language, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.

M. R. P. McGuire, ed., trans., *S. Ambrosii De Nabuthae*, a Commentary with an Introduction and Translation, Catholic University of America diss., Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1927.

H. V. Routh, *God, Man, and Epic Poetry*, Volume II, Medieval, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927.

W. P. Shepard, ed., *The Oxford Provençal Chansonnier*, Diplomatic Edition of the Manuscript of the Bodleian Library *Douce 269* with Introduction and Appendices, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1927.

S. H. Thomson, ed., *Mag. Johannis Hus Tractatus Responsivus*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1927.

G. H. Tupling, *The Economic History of Rossendale*, Publications of the University of Manchester, Economic History Series IV, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1927.

É. Voosen, *Papauté et Pouvoir Civil à l'Époque de Gregoire VII*, Contribution à l'Histoire du Droit Public, Louvain diss., Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1927.

L. C. Wimberly, *Death and Burial Lore in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism, Number 8, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1927.

A CORRECTION

SPECULUM, II (1927), 216, line 4: for 'by the brief, admirable indexes' read 'by three admirable indexes.'

A. SOUTER.

†ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK
1853–1927

PROFESSOR COOK died peacefully at his home in New Haven on the first day of September, a few hours after he had been conveyed thither from his summer home in Vermont. It had been hoped that the sea-level would decrease the cardiac strain from which he suffered; but this was not to be. The loss will be felt by the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY; a loss will be felt on every side, and by scholars in every land. Yet his influence will continue potent in the years to come.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of his notable scholarly life was the ever-fresh productive activity of his latter years, which saw much of his best work on Chaucerian problems, and on the background of Old-English poetry. His intellectual, his spiritual, energy was amazing to the end.

A telegram asks me to write a few words on his service to the study of the Middle Ages. First of all, that service, very great as it was, must be seen in due perspective. In literary and linguistic scholarship, in the kind of history that makes the human past move in living detail before us, his interests were all-embracing. He saw the whole. He also saw the parts precisely. From childhood a lover of the best literature, he was first trained as a mathematician; yet his earliest publication was a rendering from the German of Uhland. He took up the study of Greek by himself, and shortly acquired a knowledge, which became far-reaching, of the ancient classics. His intimate knowledge of the Bible and Biblical studies can be but mentioned. His investigation of the Biblical influence in Old and Middle English, and his spirited chapter in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, on the Authorized Version, are alike well known. The range of his publications includes work on Greek and Latin authors, on Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, on Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Gray, Tennyson, Browning, Bacon, Arnold, De Quincey, and Ruskin. His courses in Ruskin and Dante will not be forgotten by those who attended them.

Perhaps in his middle period, and by those who did not know him well, he was often regarded as only a student of 'Anglo-Saxon.' His insistence upon the use, rather, of the term 'Old English' marks his inclusive view of our language and literature from Cædmon to Kipling. *Puck of Pook's Hill* was one of his favorite books. And those who knew him better were well aware of his philosophic tendency never to separate the particular from the general, or the one from the many. Hence the training he gave his pupils — and he was greatest as a teacher — in philosophic method as applied to the study of English. Hence also the training he gave them in the principles of poetry, from those of Plato and Aristotle down. No summary of his work should omit his address, *The Province of English Philology*, or his editions, prepared for use with classes, of Sidney, Addison, Shelley, Hunt, and Newman, or his Horatian volume entitled *The Art of Poetry*.

But he certainly laid stress upon mediaeval studies, and therewith plunged his students *in medias res* as a wholesome thing for their literary perspective. For them he adapted Sievers' *Old English Grammar*, and produced *A First Book in Old English*, which is a model for an introduction into any language. Latterly he opened the treasures of Middle English to the public eye through his fascinating *Literary Middle English Reader;* since that appeared, its subject-matter never again can be dry as dust, as it was to so many in the days before.

And what could be said in narrow space of his editions of the Old-English *Judith* and *The Dream of the Rood?* In that of the *Christ* he applied the method of classical scholarship to the elucidation of a native masterpiece, setting a standard of editorial workmanship which has hardly been surpassed in his own subsequent edition of the *Elene*, *Phœnix*, and *Physiologus*.

Or what can be said of his study of the mediaeval crosses, or of his work on and for concordances? But where shall we end the list? The amount of valuable work he did himself can partly be gauged from the *Bibliography* of his writings (then numbering more than 300) which was privately issued in 1923; like the similar bibliography for Gaston Paris, it is a document for all mediaevalists. The extent

of the work which he stimulated others to do, whether by correspondence or yet more through constant and intimate relations with his graduate students, can never be known; an inkling of it may be gained from the volumes — some seventy-five of them — in his series, the *Yale Studies in English*. This series, begun thirty years ago, he edited single-handed, and with meticulous care; he was reading proofs of at least two forthcoming volumes in the past summer while in the grasp of a mortal ailment. Many of the volumes, needless to say, are on mediaeval subjects; editions, syntactical studies, translations from the Latin, are included.

He lavished himself on his students. His scholarly and friendly correspondence was very large. How could he find time for all he did? Certainly in latter years he almost never worked at night. But, rising betimes, he worked with extreme rapidity, with tireless industry, and with an artistic method. For those who can understand, he doubtless bared his secret in a fine address, *The Artistic Ordering of Life*.

Professor Cook hated folly and fraud, but was sympathetic with all honest endeavor. He was unwearied in his helpfulness, resourceful for himself and others, cheerful, and, above all, courageous and alert. There was a quickening power in his first suggestions, there was a quickening power in his final criticism. His quiet, deep-seated Christianity rendered him peculiarly sympathetic with the better side of the Middle Ages. He showed a prompt enthusiasm for the Mediaeval Academy, and soon became a valued contributor to Speculum. He was elected a Fellow of the Academy on April 23, 1926.

He was born in Montville, New Jersey, on March 6, 1853; graduated from the Latin-scientific course at Rutgers College in 1872; was tutor in mathematics there for the following year; taught at Freehold, New Jersey, from 1873 until 1877; studied abroad under Wülker, Sweet, and Sievers in two periods, 1877–78 and 1881–82; and put his mark upon the teaching of English at Johns Hopkins in 1879–81. On returning from Europe, he went to the University of California, where he remained until 1889. From then on, he was active at Yale, shortly as Professor of the English Language and

Literature, until his retirement in 1921. He did not retire to be idle.

On short notice, and at a distance from his books, it is difficult in limited space to write fittingly of his many and varied gifts to learning; but it is not unfitting that this tribute should proceed from Greensboro, Vermont, where for years the happiest seasons of his life were spent, and where so much of his constructive work was accomplished; and it is a faithful hand that writes these lines.

Lane Cooper.

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